Music and Health in Kenya:

Sound, Spirituality and Altered Consciousness Juxtaposed with Emotions

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"…the effect of music is so very much more powerful and penetrating than is that of the other arts, for these others speak only of the shadow, but music of the essence"

Arthur Schopenhauer

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ACRONYMS

ASC	–	Altered State(s) of Consciousness
ATR(s)	–	African Traditional Religion(s)
CCR	–	Catholic Charismatic Renewal
CDF	–	Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith
CMT	–	Creative Music Therapy
GIM	–	Guided Imagery and Music
NGO	–	Non-governmental Organization
WFMT	–	World Federation of Music Therapy
WHO	–	World Health Organization

INTRODUCTION

This text deals with a subject of a long standing debate: music and health. The fragmented discourse emanating from this nexus is speciously scattered in a range of study fields including anthropology, ethnomusicology, religious studies, history, psychology, and music therapy. Music therapy, which is well placed to animate the discourse, appears to have taken a narrow path when it concerns itself primarily with professional practice.[1] Thus, as Horden observes in *Music as Medicine*, we must start by pointing out whether we speak from 'heterodox', 'professional' or 'historical' viewpoints whenever we talk about experience of music in or as a healing practice.[2] What's more, healing and health are indeterminate concepts that must be defined here as well. I will begin by outlining definitions of healing and ill-health sourced from my findings.

After scrutinizing individual cases and various methods of healing in Kenya (see section 5.3), I define healing as *a life-long process of eliminating, adjusting to, or preventing ill-health through culturally situated practices*. Put differently, healing is the process and/or product that counters or prevents that which is perceived to be ill-health. Ill-health in this case is *any challenge to physical, emotional, social or spiritual wellbeing of a person considered to warrant pursuit of remedy or adjustment aimed at enabling coping* (see section 5.2). There is a great deal of subjectivity in these definitions, but this is a global

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[1] Music therapy is usually defined as a professional practice not an area of study. This is evident in the definition of music therapy proposed by the World Federation of Music Therapy which says: "Music therapy is the use of music and/or musical elements (sound, rhythm, melody, and harmony) by a qualified music therapist with a client or group, in a process designed to facilitate and promote communication, relationships, learning, mobilisation [sic], expression, organisation [sic] and other relevant therapeutic objectives, in order to meet physical, emotional, mental, social and cognitive needs. Music therapy aims to develop potentials and/or restore functions of the individual so that he or she can achieve better intra- and inter-personal integration and, consequently, a better quality life through prevention, rehabilitation and treatment" (WFMT, 1996). Advocating for a music therapy seen as a discipline rather than just a professional practice, Brynjulf Stige (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy,* 2002, p. 196-199) defines it as "the study and learning of the relationship between music and health". He observes that rituals and everyday uses of music in health form part of the several subfields of study in the discipline. I find it very important to emphasize Stige's idea that music therapy be defined as a discipline rather than just a practice. That way music therapy would cease to be 'the use of music to do ABC…', and instead becomes 'the study of …'

[2] Peregrine Horden ("Musical Solutions", 2000, p. 4-32) describes 'heterodox' as animated by an appeal to spirituality and "given varied more or less pejorative labels: New Age, Para-scientific, esoteric, and so on"; the 'professional' as mainstream European and American music therapy; and historical as the domain shared by both the other two in their appeal for precedent or legitimacy.

trend. We know, for instance, that weight is perceived as a determining factor of the health status for many people. Social conventions have thus determined what people term as ill-health, and how they attempt to heal themselves.

Regarding discursive alignments on this subject, I consider rather positively Horden's categories of 'heterodox', 'professional' and 'historical'. However, I need to realign them somewhat differently in this discussion. Although there is a historical dimension in the studied Kenyan healing functions, that is not the main concern. I am more interested in how individuals currently make decisions when confronted with various health-related challenges than in historical accounts. By and large I will be discussing spiritual and paranormal healing experiences; and so, all cases fall under what Horden terms as 'heterodox' but viewed here either as non-ritualized or ritualized. The third category is that of professionals, or music therapy, mentioned here only for comparative reasons because it is only a little explored field in Kenya today.[3]

Through non-ritualized I embody practices in which individuals apply music to address particular problems perceived to be ill-health at home, work, streets, schools, or other contexts.[4] It is common knowledge that even a single day's life experience may overwhelm one with deleterious feelings, and having perceived this as harmful, individuals often turn to music for relaxation or spiritual nurture. So long as this is an attempt to deal with something perceived as ill-health, music is a healing tool. Music may be applied without a definite procedure or help from a healing specialist or therapist. The music is not designed to engender trance or invoke spiritual powers, and no assessment other than that of oneself is carried out to discover the extent to which people are healed.

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[3] There have been attempts to establish music therapy in Kenya. Music Therapy International, an NGO, has recently started experimenting on music with patients at Nairobi's Mater Hospital, where music has been dramatically appreciated by patients according to a media report (Lillian Aluanga, "Patients Dance their Way to Good Health", 2006).

[4] Nicholas Kofie (*Contemporary African Music in World Perspectives*, 1994, p. 116) refers to music application in certain non-professional contexts as music therapy. The broader view of music therapy as more than just a Western profession, also mentioned by in Penelope Gouk's introduction to *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts* (2000, p. 2), is common among non-music therapists. I believe non-professional uses of music in health need to be terminologically distinguished from but affiliated to music therapy. Perhaps we could use words such as Stige's "folk music therapy" (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy*, 2002, p. 194), to separate such uses from the profession which requires specified training, certification, code of ethics, and so on.

This could be done privately or socially, as is demonstrated in this text by the study of Nairobi street musicians (chapter 4).

Under ritual practices I bracket healing functions in indigenous "tribal" cultures, and comparable Christian church rituals.[5] These rituals are organized as healing functions whose results are noticeable to participants and observers. Historians and ancient records insinuate that some of these rituals are centuries if not millennia-old, and have existed in all continents.[6] In their manner of application of sound and music, traditional rituals resemble rites found in many churches or Christian movements around the world. Both indigenous cultural and Christian healing practices can and should, in my view, be classified as ritualized forms of healing with or through music. They all definitely are guided by persons endowed with certain spiritual competences. The rituals address matters of the spirit, allow dramatic trance and other forms of altered states of consciousness (ASC), and advance expectations of supernatural healing. Examples of this sort of ritual healing practices from Kenya are discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Although I agree with Horden about terming music therapy as the 'professional', professionalism is also found in some traditional ritual healing practices.[7] In the West 'profession' must bring to mind an occupation that requires special skills acquired through long term training, usually leading to certification, and controlled by regulatory bodies that have certain codes of ethics for practitioners. Music therapy is a profession in that sense. However, while traditional healers may not have such requirements they are people possessing special spiritual or musical skills. They are sanctioned and authorized by participating societies, and are usually remunerated for their services. This social sanctioning mirrors certification in that it is acknowledgement of one's exceptional and

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[5] In this case I define ritual as events that involve cultural specialists (Thomas Csordas, "Imaginal Performance and Memory in Ritual healing," 1996, p. 96). The specialists include those ministers with spiritual charisms, the shamans and possession adepts. Csordas appears to relegate role of the musician as mundane in rituals. However in some rituals music plays the major role.

[6] Martin West avers that science has enabled us to understand that disease is caused by viruses, bacteria or degeneration of cells (West, "Music Therapy in Antiquity", 2000, p. 51). However, he does not acknowledge that disease can be caused by evil magic or spirits. I believe this is not just the view of the pre-scientific man but a reality in some contemporary cultures.

[7] Horden ("Musical Solutions", 2000, p. 16) also observes that there is "professionalism" in some traditional healing rituals, but a "professionalism" that differs from that of the West.

valuable abilities. Professionalism must not inevitably include Western methods of social sanctioning, and is therefore exercised in both music therapy and traditional healing. The major distinction between the two is that music therapy consists of psychotherapeutic practices defined in specific ways in Europe and America. Embracing a great variety of application methods, these practices are associated with academic training and scientific research. Major differences in their schools of thought indicate that some approaches emphasize creative performance of music by clients (active music therapy) while others engage clients in active listening to recorded music (receptive music therapy). But each of these categories further subdivides into specific preferential procedures in different countries or regions where music therapy is practiced. Many of these practices are related to or affiliated with psychological theories.[8]

Are there any commonalities amongst the various practices of healing with or through music? With regard to music therapy and rituals there are a number of useful observations.[9] Firstly there is the common primary usage of sound and/or music in all cases. Not only is organized sound a major factor in all cases, but its form determines whether and/or to what extent healing takes place. Secondly healing appears to relate to some non-musical variables in both cases. Particularly there is the regular need of skilled people in rituals and music therapy. Just like the indigenous cultural rituals have human intermediaries with certain spiritual or musical abilities to support healing, so have churches their spiritually endowed ministers, and music therapy its trained clinicians. As such, it is not possible to think of musical sound as the only tool of healing in either case. Finally in each instance the would-be-healed person has to be willing to submit to feelings that prevail at the time of experiencing musical sound. To be healed through or

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[8] Music therapists Wigram, Pedersen & Bonde (*A Comprehensive Guide to Music Therapy*, 2002) state that Analytically Oriented Music Therapy and Free Improvisation Therapy share Freudian psychoanalysis and its notion of discovery of the unconscious; Creative Music Therapy shares humanistic psychology's idea of struggle for self actualization; and, Behavioral Music Therapy shares the idea of behavior modification through conditioning as proposed by behavioral psychologists.

[9] Music therapy has been described among music therapists as a ritual. Music therapist Carolyn Kenny (*The Mythic Artery*, 1982) believes that music therapy is comparable to those dramatic and emotion-filled rituals of a shaman. She (p. 108-109) highlighted seven ways through which the shamans and music therapists act in comparable ways. Both work with "a magic phenomenon of art which is not fully understood.... oversee the health of community, preventive and curative... require the faith and trust of their communities... learn their skills... are dynamic personalities... heal themselves by participating in their shamanistic art, and offer rituals intimately connected with myth and various art forms".

with music one needs to be open to the mystical power of sound.[10] Emotions and varied subjective experiences are thus common experiences in the uses of music in or as healing.

With the three categories of practices, namely non-ritual, ritual, and music therapy existing in different locations, there is little doubt that music heals or is employed in healing practices throughout the world, even if no method or music type is dominant in all cultures. Unlike other practices, music therapy has been based on academic theoretical premises and empirical research. Rituals on the other hand, are rooted in religious beliefs developed over time in cultural practices. Non-ritual practices are often founded on spirituality, the postmodern perspective of religion. It is understandable if music therapists dissociate themselves from practices with little regard to universal concepts, because of their relationship to science. Despite the fact that the basic elements of healing with or through music are at times comparable, many music therapists appear to think of rituals as archaic, though the rituals remain important methods of dealing with ill-health in many parts of the world anyhow.

Music therapy expresses traditions from certain cultures just like ritual healing practices involving music in other cultures do. Because professionals in the Western world have aspects such as specialized training, certification, and codes of ethics, so must music therapists if they desire to be recognized as professionals. Whether we are talking about ritual specialists or music therapists, how specialists become socially sanctioned to offer services does not provide enough ground to separate music therapy from related healing practices.[11] The distinction resides in the presence of religious beliefs and/or paranormal experiences, in rituals, largely believed to fall outside the domain of science, with which music therapy identifies. Despite the fast advancement of science, the postmodern era is

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[10] Peter Hamel (*Through Music to the Self*, 1976) has pointed out that we have the option to open ourselves to this mystical power of music, or, with a rational attitude block its healing power on us. He writes of one who fails to open up to the power of music: "[s/he] has necessarily to stand outside it and may perhaps be secretly jealous of those who are able" (p. 147).
[11] Stige (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy,* 2002) has extensively argued that music therapy cannot be separated from culture, but should, instead, be culture-centered.

marked with a return to spirituality and subjectivity.[12] This appears to have impacted some music therapists, particularly Guided Imagery and Music (GIM) therapists, some of whom have recently shown an interest in spirituality.[13] Given the variety of methods and places where music therapy exists, we may not be able to predict its future as a global practice. It might favor aspects of spirituality now largely ignored by music therapists, or develop other new directions.

Music therapy will be a global phenomenon, as the variety of its practices more likely proliferate. Observations of universal responses to music versus specific sound properties may point towards characteristics of music that generally cause bodily or psychological effects that have implications for health in all humans. Although we do not respond the same way to music, we now know that certain qualities of musical sound evoke related effects in us, while the impact may vary depending on various cultural and personal factors.[14] To establish a universal relationship between features of specified music parameters such as pitch, harmony, rhythm, intensity and tonality with specific psychological or physiological effects, may turn out to be rewarding in the application of music in health. In our efforts to show how particular properties of music affect us universally, it seems rituals are a valuable resource. Accounts of healing through or with music from anthropological and musicological viewpoints should be of interest to music therapists if they show effects that specified music features create in people across the world. Although science may be based purely on experiments, to set hypothesis based on cultural wisdom is reasonable as well, and this may become more evident as professional music therapy becomes more a global reality.

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[12] David Aldridge (*Spirituality, Healing and Medicine*, 2000) observes that spirituality enables transcendence in difficult situations. He believes that it may enable the dying to see a purpose, those in pain to find relief, and those chronically sick to find hope (see p. 53).
[13] Roseann Kasayka, "A Spiritual Orientation to the Bonny Method: To Walk the Mystical Path on Practical Feet", 2002, p. 257-270.
[14] That music can be composed with the express aim of generating particular emotional effects in listeners, through manipulation of parameters like rhythm and pitch, has been scientifically found to work in certain contexts in the Western world (Penelope Gouk, "Sister Disciplines? Music and Medicine in Historical Perspective", 2000, p. 181; Bunt & Pavlicevic, "Music and Emotion: Perspectives from Music Therapy", 2001, p. 197-198). What should be further tested is whether these parameters can be manipulated in similar ways to create same effects worldwide.

Practices of healing with or through music in African and other cultures may be a proper basis upon which Africa's music therapy may grow, when they indicate how sound of a particular kind influences subjective experiences related to healing. These accounts may create hypothesis to be tested through experiments in a controlled setting. I believe in the effort to develop a workable music therapy for Africa, we need to look at already existing applications of music in healing and to acquire some wisdom from cultural practices.

In Africa music therapy as a profession currently exists only in South Africa.[15] I may therefore contend that in Africa, music and healing usually intersect at religious rituals and non professionalized avenues. Ethnomusicological or anthropological literature on this subject associates healing rituals with low technological advancement. Perhaps these venues appear a logical starting place for the reconstruction of music therapy history. Could this be the case? To me rituals constitute healing methods that are separate from biomedicine and psychotherapy. Due to their dependence on changing beliefs, I would refer to them as cultural healing practices. They deal with problems of a different sort, not always akin to those handled in psychotherapy and biomedicine. They are separate contemporary healing methods, not obsolete precedents of current Western methods.

That scientific exploration of these healing practices in Africa has been inadequate is shown by the small number of scholars who have written about the subject.[16] "Of the many musicologists who have studied African music, only a few have looked specifically at the place of music in healing".[17] Janzen belabors this point by his assertion that entries under 'music and healing', 'music and medicine' or 'music therapy' were missing from the latest bibliography on African music. He attributes this to the fact that researchers or

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[15] Interestingly Andeline Santos ("The Role of Culture in Group Music Therapy in South Africa", 2005) writes that until July 2005 South Africa had only white music therapists. Exactly why native South Africans have not been attracted to the profession may be hard to tell, and it makes me curious.

[16] Healing rituals from around the world are more commonly documented by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists. According to Charles Briggs ("The Meaning of Nonsense, the Poetics of Embodiment, and the Production of Power in Warao Healing", 1996, p. 187) researchers focus on the collective role music, language, movement, gesture, use of objects, touch, smell and others, rather than study one facet that fits their training. I think this is appropriate because these elements appear to be fused too strongly, and to study one facet, say exclusively the role of language, music, or religion, may leave the readers wrongly disposed to seeing it as the only meaningful variable in healing.

[17] John Janzen, "Theories of Music in African Ngoma Healing", 2000, p. 47-60.

bibliographers have equated trance behavior, with music and healing. I agree with him that "combinations of song, dance, and catharsis evocation does not make ngoma any less technically 'therapeutic' than technical approaches to Western music therapy." Perhaps a clearer assessment of 'technicality' of functions such as ngoma would have emerged had music therapists and social anthropologists not been writing almost in absolute ignorance of each other.[18]

Many writers take a broad view of music or culture, thus, just briefly mentioning music in healing. For instance ethnomusicologist Berliner[19] dedicates only a chapter to music and spirit possession in Shona people's *Mbira* music, while Blacking[20] barely mentions spirit possession dances of the Venda in South Africa. Anthropologists Stoller[21] and Rosenthal[22] make little mention of music in their accounts on spirit possession among the Songhay of Mali and Ewe of Togo and Benin respectively. Stone[23], a musicologist, mentions spirit possession in connection with music and experience of 'inner time' among various peoples in West Africa, without going into detail. Isaacson,[24] a journalist, briefly describes music as a means to induce trance in healing shamanic rituals of the Bushmen in the Kalahari Desert. The music culture of the Bushmen has been described as somewhat different from that of the rest of black Africa, but their healing rituals are not quite different.[25] Campbell[26] does not focus on music in her account on ancestral

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[18] Horden ("Musical Solutions", 2000, p. 17) has noted this problem, though he refers specifically to social anthropologists versus music therapists, while I think this also includes ethnomusicologists.
[19] Paul Berliner, *The Soul of Mbira*, 1993, p. 186-206.
[20] John Blacking, *Music, Culture, Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*, 1995.
[21] Paul Stoller, *Fusion of the Worlds: An Ethnography of Possession among the Songhay of Niger*, 1989.
[22] Judy Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy, & Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 1998.
[23] Ruth Stone (Music in West Africa, 2005; see also, "Time in African Performance", 1998, p. 124-145) refers to 'inner time' in connection with possession. Indeed, time appears to change in spirit possession music/dance. As the sound and dance vigor intensifies while approaching a climax, people get more and more removed from awareness of real time. While possessed dancers almost totally lose consciousness, other participants also to some degree are affected in connection with the time factor.
[24] Rupert Isaacson, *The Healing Land*, 2001.
[25] On "Africa" in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 1980, Waschmann & Cooke cite Grimaud & Rouget as having identified features of music putting apart the music of the Pygmies and Khoisan from the rest of black Africa. They both yodel, have vocal parts that are distinguishable through their different timbres, have relatively wide voice ranges, and frequently develop voice by disjunct intervals and pseudo-arpeggios. Additionally the Khoisan use imitation, augmentation, contraction and expansion of intervals, repetition in echo and ornamental counterpoint, use tritonic, tetratonic and more often pentatonic patterns, and use rhythmic counterpoint above an ostinato. But Isaacson's account (*The Healing Land*,

spirits of South African peoples in Botswana, Swaziland, and South Africa. Mbiti,[27] a distinguished authority in African Traditional Religions (ATR(s)), writes that people generally valued spirit possession across Africa, and music was used to either induce it or in some cases exorcise spirits perceived to be dangerous.

A few texts focus exclusively on the subject of music in healing rituals. In Friedson's *Dancing Prophets*[28], he shows how different drum rhythms are played to invoke *vimbuza* spirits among the Tumbuka in Malawi. Zambian spirits are invoked using *vimbuza* mode *ßaßiza*, while the *vyanusi* mode invokes spirits from Ngoni. Diallo & Hall[29] account for healing rituals of the Minianka of Mali in an illustration of just how much music could be affected once it is applied in ritual healing practices. The healer musician, who must be a good observer and musician, changes the rhythm beats until he finds the beat that a patient desires. Then "agitated rhythms may be used if the patient needs more movement". After catharsis is triggered, it is further stimulated through the music until the patient is pacified, and then an appropriate monotonous rhythm closes the ritual.[30] Describing the musician's role as indispensable and most challenging, they argue that same mental health problems may call for different individualized rhythms.

The above accounts, whether detailed or just brief, suggest that possession is widespread in Africa, and music is used to either induce it for mediumship or exorcising of spirits.

In Kenya a number of authors briefly mention music in connection with healing in specific cultures. They include Akombo who mentions *ngoma za pepo* of the Digo[31], and

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2001) of healing rituals of the Bushmen does not suggest that their healing methods differ from those of other Africans.

[26] Susan Campbell, *Spirit of the Ancestors*, 2002.

[27] John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2002, p. 81-82. See also Aylward Shorter, *African Culture: An Overview*, 1998, p. 67-74.

[28] Steven Friedson, *Dancing Prophets*, 1996.

[29] Diallo & Hall, *The Healing Drum*, 1989, p. 160-161.

[30] This is similar to what a music therapist does in Creative Music Therapy (CMT). The healer musician and music therapist both observe reactions of the patient to decide whether to change the music. They are must both be flexible in music making. A difference, however, is shown by the kind of activity undertaken by the patient. In CMT a client performs musical sounds, while in this ritual the patient is often only a dancer, although some also play certain instruments.

[31] David Akombo, "Reporting on Music Therapy in Kenya", 2000.

pepo spirit dances of the Taita[32] also described by Judge[33]. These authors indicate that in Taita tradition different disease-causing spirits demand different rhythms to heal the affected. Harris[34] mentions another form of possession 'hysteria', *saka*, in which the affected person demands things and not music to get well. Zake[35] does not specify what kind of drums or rhythms are used when he describes how drumming exorcizes spirits among the Pokomo in the *taireni* dance. Kavyu[36] dedicates a chapter to *kilumi* dance of the Kamba, which is also discussed in Zake's *Folk Music of Kenya*[37]. Both indicate that *kilumi* was initially a dance meant to appease *kathambi* or *lala,* a possessing nature spirit. Kavyu describes another dance called *mwase* as a dance performed to drive out possessing human spirits. *Mwase* dance was formerly known as *ngoma*.[38] *Ngoma*, which changed its name to *mwase*, is what Kamba people presently call *kilumi,* and *mwase* is now the name of the accompanying drum (see chapter 2). These accounts have one thing in common: they tell of Kenyan traditional healing practices not in much detail.

It must be said that although most writers focus on the traditional practices, music is used in newer contexts as a healing tool. I have mentioned elsewhere that music is used widely in healing rituals of the neo-pentecostal churches and movements often described as charismatic.[39] Besides, a number of special schools, city streets, hospitals and hospices, have applied music for healing although most of the organizers of these practices, at least those I talked to, have little if any understanding of the healing powers of music. I see a need to document not just traditional healing, but also new uses of music in healing. Africa is certainly changing and this change needs to be talked about as well.

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[32] David Akombo, *Musical Healing Across Cultures*, 2006.
[33] Brandon Judge, "The Ngoma Healing Ritual of the Taita People", 2003.
[34] Grace Harris, "Possession "Hysteria" in a Kenya Tribe", 1957.
[35] George Senoga-Zake, *Folk Music of Kenya*, 2000, p. 81-83.
[36] Paul Kavyu, *Introduction to Kamba Music*, 1977, p. 47-53.
[37] Zake, *Folk Music of Kenya*, 2000, p. 94-95.
[38] Paul Kavyu, *Drum Music of Akamba,* 1986, p. 57.
[39] Shorter & Njiru (*New Religious Movements in Africa,* 2001, p. 26) describe as "charismatic", the movements formed within mainline denominations that are non-pentecostal such as Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches. They distinguish these "charismatic" movements from neo-pentecostal churches that are not attached to such mainline churches, and mention that both "charismatic" and neo-pentecostal differ from mainline so-called "classic" Pentecostals.

In this text both traditional and imported cultural attributes in response to problems of ill-health in Kenya were examined. The overall aim was to show how the past and present have been negotiated in healing practices of Kenya's dynamic cultures and varied lifestyles. To work with a multi-contextual scope, I selected contexts that were geographically accessible at the same time. Traditional rituals are classified under one group as Kenyan healing methods, and I represented these through the account on Akamba because they were located within easy reach from where I needed to carry out further field research. Unlike the traditional healing rituals mentioned by some authors, I am yet to find an account on Kenyan Christian rituals with a meaningful reference to music. A number of authors have briefly referred to music in church rituals and worship in protestant churches,[40] but these are not focused on the themes of healing and music. Further, I am yet to find a text on people in circumstances like those of street musicians.

While the uses of music in healing were evident in the various Kenyan geographical or cultural contexts, I limited my scope to the Kamba tradition, catholic charismatic rituals, and the streets of Nairobi. In fact looking at the complexity of the matter, this is a vast domain. Though it is assumed that these contexts represent related ones, chances are that related contexts may show significant differences. For example Christian rituals of different church denominations may differ, just as traditional healing rituals of other ethnic groups could differ from that of Akamba. Talking about music and health in Kenya might give the impression that this text covers all possible areas of music's use in health care. Of course this is not the case, though I posit the three contexts as largely representative of related contexts.

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[40] Shorter & Njiru (*New Religious Movements in Africa,* 2001, p. 25) describe neo-pentecostalism in Kenya, citing its susceptibility to the so-called 'prosperity gospel'. They very briefly mention the disco-like music usually performed in such churches or movements from which catholic charismatics have borrowed some attributes. Gregory Barz (*Music in East Africa*, 2004, p. 119) briefly describes a church healing function in Kisumu city, while Paul Kavyu ("Music in Kenya", 1998, p. 630) describes music in independent churches in what sounds like the music commonly found in parts of neo-pentecostal healing rituals. But he describes the performances as worship music and makes no mention of healing.

I sought to fulfill the following objectives:

1. to identify music features that indicated that/if its composition or performance was influenced by an intention to create an atmosphere of healing

2. to identify non-musical factors with a valued role in the performance of healing

3. to identify particular consequential changes taking place among participants

I set out to identify aspects of particular music examples that were performed and ways through which music affected particular people in functions taking place at specified places and times. I will show what makes each context a distinctive healing practice for the specified persons or groups of people, before attempting to read any similarities amongst them. The text is thus a broad based analysis of selected uses of music in healing in Kenya. It provides a terminological template for the labeling of practices as technical or simple, worthwhile or worthless and so on. The views show how Kenyan people define ill-health, and why they decide on treatment options connected to music making.

After carrying out fieldwork in the three different contexts, I analyzed the music, interviews and observations. Through reduction, a phenomenological method in which a researcher naively examines an experience without preconditions, prejudices or biases,[41] I described and reflected upon experiences of individuals in order to precisely state how music played a role in their healing as individuals or groups. Music relates to healing in such complex ways that a study of such a relationship might reveal a conscious or unconscious emphasis or marginalization of one or the other. Janzen observes that scholars in African studies who study music generally ignore healing, while those who look at healing leave out music.[42] I have attempted a balance of the two. While music and healing remained my main focus, I was open to cultural variables and personal convictions related to healing. Factors other than sound, including those one may term as mythical or possibly in some respects naive, were important in my approach.

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[41] Cohen & Omery, "Schools of Phenomenology: Implications for Research", 1994, p. 148.
[42] John Janzen, "Theories of Music in African Ngoma Healing", 2000, p. 60.

Results indicate that music was affected when it was performed with the aim of creating a healing space or environment. Healing music has special characteristics which were not negotiable as indicated in sections 2.5, 3.5 & 4.5. But, as section 5.3 shows, the music does not turn out to be that cross-culturally comparable. Apart from music, spirituality, as that which concerns itself with matters of the spirit, became a constant variable. Relations between spirits or God and specific devotees enable humans to perform extraordinary healing beyond scientific explanation. For those who are Christians, beliefs in life everlasting become a basis for hope in circumstances in which hopelessness is pretty expected. Particularly, people endured hostile social conditions in the belief that they would find happiness at God's appointed time, even if this would be in the afterlife. The conditions pertained to social, economic, and more importantly health challenges.

Music and health relations can briefly be summarized as: 1) musical sound and spirituality work in a partnership in which they guide humans into varied altered consciousness states (ASC) and emotional experiences, 2) In altered consciousness humans are enabled to conduct supernatural healing, or for those who are unwell, they are pacified by its very effects so that they feel better, 3) Emotions likewise bring about catharsis. Emotions were invoked in people who had lived in hostile socio-economic environments among CCR members and street musicians. In both of these two contexts emotions seemed more meaningful than in the case of Akamba. Different forms of ASC were evident, some pretty well affiliated to consciousness and others more linked to unconsciousness. ASC and emotions definitely shared time and space in all described contexts and functions of healing. Evidently some people experienced altered consciousness while others experienced emotions at the same place and time. Moreover some experienced both: they expressed emotions in altered states of consciousness, although such emotions were not verbally describable. Juxtaposition may connote that the juxtaposed elements influence each other. Altered consciousness affects emotions, but the opposite seems impossible. For instance possessed dancers could not comment on their emotions or feelings, while they facially appeared intensely emotional at possession. Exactly how emotional were their experiences? I suppose no one can tell.

1.1 METHODOLOGY

This study used primarily qualitative methods, though the overall design is a combined qualitative and quantitative one. A combined design is used if a researcher uses methods attributable to the two paradigms in a single study. A principally quantitative design may use some qualitative methods, to organize research in a more meaningful way. Similarly a qualitative design could employ quantitative methods such as setting of hypothesis to be proved or disapproved through research. Bruscia[43] notes that qualitative and quantitative paradigms are competing claims of knowledge, with contrasted underlying philosophies. He notes that in quantitative research detailed research questions and hypothesis are formulated in advance, while in qualitative research the purpose for inquiry remains broad based. I will briefly state how/why methods from the two paradigms were combined in this study shortly. Usually researchers combine methods for a number of reasons. Greene, Caracelli & Graham[44] point out that it can be done to seek convergence of results, to compliment different facets of a certain phenomenon, to sequentially develop a method, to initiate - wherein contradiction and fresh perspectives may emerge, and to expand the scope and breadth of a study.

Preference for qualitative methods follows the fact that both health and music are value bound when they find their expression through changing beliefs and traditions around the world. Not only is health defined differently in dissimilar traditions, but it has become separated from disease in our day. Often people think of themselves as unhealthy not because they are sick, but because they have failed to fulfill certain socially constructed conventions that have imposed an imprecise definition of health. In the same way music is organized sound, whose form varies from one culture to another. Indeed defining

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[43] Kenneth Bruscia notes that positivists believe that there is absolute truth or reality existing "in the form of immutable laws and mechanisms of nature", while constructionists believe that "truth and reality exist in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions" influenced by people. ("Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Research Paradigms", 1995, p. 66). He points out that while methods from the two paradigms may be combined, they represent philosophical paradigms that cannot be combined or integrated, as they are two "mutually exclusive ways of thinking about the world…the positivistic and nonpositivistic paradigms are not two ends or directions on the same road, they are two different roads altogether" (p. 73).

[44] Greene, Caracelli & Graham (*Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-method Evaluation designs,* 1989, p. 255-274) have discussed the reasons for combining designs in detail.

music appeals to cultural values that often go beyond sound properties. In traditional Africa, dance, costumes, ritual and drama were inseparable to organized sound, which is basically what the West terms as music. Since music and health are conceived in ways suggesting possibilities for multiple realities, inductive rather than deductive analysis was preferred. While the inductive approach focuses on multiple realities that present themselves in the course of research, the deductive focuses on specific aspects perceived to be truths or pointers to a certain single reality.

In support of the inductive approach is also another fact that music participates in health promotion in rather complex ways not understandable on the basis of cause and effect. Music's connection to health takes us to a level that is not just cultural, but also personal and may even change through time. A music piece may be therapeutically meaningful to an individual at one time and not another, one person and not the other, one culture and not another. Numerous cultural, personal and everyday experiences determine whether and/or how we get healed when we experience music. In doing qualitative research, there is a need to negotiate for knowledge with people in particular contexts and particular circumstances, and to shed one's biases or imagination before undertaking research.

Only one aspect in my research design relates to quantitative methodology. It is clear that themes of interest did not emerge from my interaction with the informants or from observations in the field. Instead, reviewed literature, interviews and past experience guided the formulation of open ended questions to which informants responded. Similarly certain aspects, such as bodily expressions of change versus developments in the music, as well as eventual observable healing effects, were noted through a ready made observation guide. Such a procedure does not give unlimited room for any issues to be carefully noted if they were not initially thought to be important.

Morse observes that in qualitative studies, questionnaires and observation schedules would normally be unstructured,[45] so that issues would arise from the interviewees, not the researcher. Even if I used pre-established instruments, these instruments were developed after my brief studies on music and healing, from which I had a fair picture of these healing rituals in Kenya. Besides, flexibility in data collection and analysis gave my approach a design that was fundamentally qualitative.[46] Numerous essential observations that were initially not planned for in the prearranged observation schedules were done and the notes separately recorded.[47] In the same way, it was pointless to use interview schedules in some cases in the interviews, where it seemed clear that the interview schedule was inappropriate and an informal interview preferable.[48]

Using pre-established research instruments helped to ensure that vital information that more directly responded to study questions was not left out. This was appropriate as the study theme had been narrowed down to specific objectives for which responses were sought. These objectives had guided the formulation of both the questionnaires and observation schedules. Findings that seemed to have had no relevance to the stipulated objectives were ignored in the instruments, but some were noted or recorded if they struck me as interesting or relevant at the time of fieldwork.[49] The philosophy behind the qualitative paradigm was therefore closely followed at all stages.

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[45] Janice Morse, "Emerging from the Data: The Cognitive Process of Analysis in Qualitative Inquiry", 1994, p. 39. It is only possible to work with structured questions when the subject of study is not entirely unknown to the researcher, or when there are particular issues one wishes to isolate or lay emphasis on.

[46] Kenneth Bruscia (see "Designing Qualitative Research", 2005, p. 129) views a qualitative design as one that emerges in the process of doing research. This is an important observation relative to my design. Even if my intention was to follow pre-established instruments in collection of data, I found many useful ideas in the field that I could not have thought of when preparing the questionnaires and observation schedules. Flexibility was therefore quite useful in my design, despite my having pre-established guiding questions.

[47] There were important observations in the case of catholic charismatics, say when teachings appeared very important in the healing practice. The themes covered in these teachings have in fact been included in my observation details, while they were initially not directly targeted by the observation schedule applied.

[48] When interviewing people who were healed by *waganga* like Mutua, it was pointless to refer them to *kilumi* since that was not the avenue where they were healed. My interview schedules were designed for people who participated in healing performances like *kilumi*. But in the field it became clear that a lot takes place after *kilumi*, as *waganga* do healing rituals privately. An example is Mutua's interesting account which was presented through narrative not structured questions.

[49] Sound and video recording of some of the events played an important role, since information was accessible even after fieldwork was done for deeper reflection.

1.1.0 Phenomenological Design

German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) is credited for establishment of phenomenology as an epistemological thought, arguing for a return to the concrete and affective everyday life, which he saw as having been overwhelmed by positivism. Phenomenology may be seen as a method that endeavors to describe lived experience, showing the essential qualities of a phenomenon,[50] and distinguishing it from related ones.[51] The experiences are described without being obstructed by preconceptions and notions of so-called 'objective' reality. Because phenomenology accounts for experienced space, time, body, and human relation as lived by people rather than a product of empirical or theoretical accounts, a phenomenologist must exclude past experience in the examination of findings.[52] As Van Manen has noted, one may say doing phenomenology is converting lived experience into a text detailing its essence.[53] It is for such reasons that phenomenology is suited for studies of complex and mysterious aspects of our living that call for thoughtful and reflective approaches.[54]

It should be noted that phenomenology applies here both as a philosophy and as a method of enquiry. As a philosophy, phenomenology challenges positivism when it seeks to get the grip of real life experiences that are not measurable, quantifiable, verifiable or explainable in theory. As a method, phenomenology seeks to descriptively and reflectively uncover meanings of 'lived experience' of persons under study, in relation to time, space, and personal history.[55] Phenomenology accounts for one of the designs that are often used in human and social science research, which include, among others, ethnography, grounded theory and hermeneutics. Because these qualitative designs borrow methods from each other, and because methods from these four have roles in the current study, I will now briefly state below how the ethnographic, hermeneutic, and grounded theory techniques contribute to the applied phenomenological design.

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[50] Henk Smeijsters, *Multiple Perspectives*, 1997, p. 52:

[51] Max van Manen, "Variable Experiences", 2002.

[52] Smeijsters observes (*Multiple Perspectives*, 1997, p. 52) that exclusion of past experience can be hard, as it is also ones objective to make insightful reflections, and one can be influenced by a variety of factors.

[53] Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, 1990, p. 36.

[54] Forinash & Grocke, "Phenomenological Inquiry", 2005, p. 324.

[55] Phyllis Stern, "Eroding Grounded Theory", 1994, p. 215.

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Ethnographers take a holistic and context based approach in describing the everyday or cultural experiences of a particular group of people in a specific environment.[56] They believe data can only be understood in context, which is why extensive interactions with people in particular contexts are demanded, while this makes ethnography labor intensive.[57] With its tendency to begin with theory, and eventually determine whether theory is supported, modified or rejected, the ethnographic approach contrasts with phenomenology which aims at identifying essential components of a phenomenon and ideally avoids outside theoretical obstructions. The ethnographic method advocates for prolonged stay on the part of a researcher in the context of interest, with participatory observation as its commonly applied fieldwork method.[58]

Grounded theory was developed by sociologists Glaser and Strauss as a method of generating theory based on systematically acquired data. Grounded theory contrasts with theory generated from logical deductions from *a priori* assumptions, and represents departure from what they saw as overemphasis in verification rather than generation of sociological theory.[59] They proposed various methods of coding, which enhance theoretical sensitivity and promote procedural creation of theory. In the sense that the design aims at generating rather than verifying theory, it contrasts with the ethnographic design. Through its avoidance of theory *a priori* it resembles phenomenology. Unlike grounded theorists, phenomenologists restrain from steps leading to construction of theory. It is common belief in phenomenology that phenomena may have meaningful structures that cannot be theorized and concepts that cannot be captured well in

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[56] We know that the ethnographic method started as a method in anthropology. Commonly, nowadays, this has been described as a method in which a researcher takes enough time to familiarize him/herself with a context. Stige ("Ethnography and Ethnographically Informed Research", 2005, p. 396) has pointed out that the method should inform research in music therapy. He maintains that one needs to carefully study certain contextualized factors that could affect therapy.
[57] Joyceen Boyle, "Styles of Ethnography", 1994, p. 162-163.
[58] Hammersley & Atkinson (*Ethnography Principles and Practice*, 1983, p. 2) state that ethnographers participate in daily lives of people for extended periods of time "watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions…"
[59] Glaser & Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 1995, p 1-3.

definitions.[60] In this study, phenomenology was favored over grounded theory because my aim was to identify that which characterizes healing so as to show whether and/or how music experience forms part of contextualized healing, rather than to generate a general theory. I saw giving three distinctive phenomena the liberty to unconditionally present their essence to be more significant than generation of theory, my inquiry contexts being pretty so diverse that contrasts between contexts were palpable.[61]

Hermeneutics, broadly defined as a practice of interpretation, is something every qualitative researcher does irrespective of design. In other words ethnographers, grounded theorists, and phenomenologists and other qualitative researchers interpret data anyhow. German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is credited for introducing hermeneutics in phenomenology, thus adding to Husserl's eidetic/descriptive perspective. Hermeneutic phenomenology presupposes that there are hidden meanings that are only accessible through interpretation and do not become clear through the eidetic method.[62] As a design, hermeneutics implies that interpretation is the primary method, and it is especially necessary where the meaning of data is obscure.[63] A popular way of doing interpretation is application of the hermeneutic cycle [meaning of parts of data is determined after examining first the whole, and vice versa. The process is done repeatedly until the meaning of data is acquired]. It is assumed that understanding the meaning of parts enables a deeper understanding of the whole, just as the general view of the whole makes it possible for a researcher to see hidden meanings in parts of data. Often this is exercised arbitrarily since a researcher may take a highly opinionated perspective upon reality,[64] and often leads to pronouncement of prescriptive ideas.

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[60] Carolyn Kenny, (The Story of the Field of Play", 1996, p. 61) indicates how phenomenology as a philosophy impacts research when she sees a possibility of defining and yet being repelled by her own definitions.

[61] Glaser & Strauss (*The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 1995) have discussed the comparative method as basic in grounded theory designs. In the last chapter, not only is the comparative method used but some terms are defined in what may appear like a strategy of grounded theory. Development of theory was not my objective, as the phenomena under investigation seemed to me quite different from the very beginning.

[62] Cohen & Omery, "Schools of Phenomenology: Implications for research", 1994, p. 146.

[63] David Rennie, "Grounded Theory Methodology as Methodical Hermeneutics", 2006, p. 33.

[64] Even Ruud, "Philosophy and Theory of Science", 2005, p. 37.

Hermeneutics applies not only to texts, even though it developed initially among theologians dealing with sacred texts, but to conversations, non-verbal interactions and clothing or fashion.[65] The reflective or hermeneutic phase of phenomenology may closely resemble interpretation in hermeneutic designs. The difference is the degree to which one's opinion is involved, and the aim of it. The role of hermeneutics in phenomenology is not to come to a definite answer, since phenomenological texts may have rather vague outcomes whereas they enable a better grasp of real life experiences. Hermeneutics may be described as more ambitious in that it aims at finding a definite response.

This study was thus not restricted to the use of phenomenological methods. Nor do the qualitative designs just described above, in fact, have clear distinctions in their methods. There are shared aspects in phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, and hermeneutics; and methods could be interchanged even as a study remains inherently 'shaped' by one of them. Design is therefore the overall strategy which does not need to apply only methods attributed to phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, or hermeneutics. In fact a qualitative design could even go further to applying quantitative methods as earlier suggested. If the method applied is primarily description of views and/or real life experiences of people, the aim being to unconditionally outline the essence of a phenomenon, the design is basically phenomenological. If coding strategies [these may obstruct detection of the essence of a phenomenon or distort it, say in trying to define something indefinite] for creation of theory are manifest, the grounded theory design is preferable. If the primary method of inquiry is so much of interpretation that arbitrary views of a researcher are condoned, the hermeneutic design is reasonable. If the objective is to describe phenomena in context, to modify theory using data collected through long term participatory observation, the design is essentially ethnographic.

In the study, the hermeneutic method was meaningful as the second phase of the eidetic-hermeneutic components of the broad phenomenological approach. In connection with grounded theory designs, a natural search for any underlying principles that could lead to

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[65] Kenny, Jahn-Langenberg & Loewy, "Hermeneutic Inquiry" 2005, p. 335. Physical or verbal gestures may be ways of communicating, which are just as prone to misinterpretation as written texts are.

development of theory are evident especially in chapter 5, where the comparative method is widely used. Notably though, there was no strategy to build theory, as it was expected that some phenomena may not be reasonably theorized, and some concepts cannot be properly grasped in definitions at a general level. When describing what interviewees saw as usual day to day experiences, I used ethnographic present, so that accounts resembled reports of constant everyday/cultural experiences usually presented through the ethnographic design.[66] This is because interviewees implied that healing performances are activities they engaged in regularly rather than one-time experiences.

The study design is basically phenomenological, since I do not concern myself with theory [whether verification or generation of it]. My description of occurrences and interpretation aims just at spelling out what healing fundamentally is, and how/whether music relates to its existence or being. Besides, observations that have informed the analysis are accounts of experiences of particular people, which took place at specific places and times. The complexity of phenomenology is clear as the "essence" does not emerge as a specified property or single idea, but as a complex array of aspects, properties and qualities, some of which could be more critical to the being of things than others.[67] Essence has been defined as that which makes something what it fundamentally is. For example music is commonly believed to be sound that is pleasing to listen to. Removal of any of these aspects [sound and pleasantness] means it partly or fully loses its essence. Basically if we have no sound, many people would say that we have no music. Also if we have sound that is not pleasing to listen to, most people would say we do not have music. The essence of music is then presence of these two components.

The suitability of the phenomenological design is clear given the complexity of issues that were expected to surface in these contexts. Elements such as intuition, religious

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[66] Ethnographic methods are commonly used by ethnomusicologists. In a discussion on forms of music descriptions in ethnomusicology, Timothy Rice (*Music in Bulgaria*, 2004, p. 12) lists the *particular*, *normative*, and *interpretive*. The *particular* descriptions are about specific music events such as the performances described in my observation accounts. *Normative* descriptions are essentially generalizations from observations in many events. I use this often in analysis, and this more readily brings in the ethnographic present earlier described. *Interpretive* descriptions combine the normative and particular and aim at acquiring cultural meanings in the particular event. This is also evident in my analysis.
[67] Max van Manen, *Phenomenology*, 2000.

beliefs, emotions and experience of catharsis were all circumferenced in the performance of healing. These aspects were intertwined in complex ways as they interacted in determining how music influences and/or is influenced in healing practices described. The relationships between music and health in the selected contexts may not be generalized, even if they may find equivalents elsewhere in the world. The study endeavored to identify key aspects without which the essence of the healing phenomena would be largely lost. Constituent elements of the phenomena were discussed separately, while each element was seen as part of the 'whole', which would be the articulation of essence of healing through or with music in specified contexts of Kenya. My procedure was to first identify crucial components of healing before indicating the place of music and/or musical experience in the absolute materialization of healing.

The methods used in phenomenological inquiry may be classified into two categories. Those that are empirical or pre-reflective, normally aim at exploring the variety of experiences that would be the basis for any reflection. The other methods are reflective in nature, since they aim at determining the meanings of the experiences. In this study the empirical methods were observation, which was supported by audio and sometimes video recording, and formal and/or informal interviews. The reflective methods used included hermeneutic reflection, thematic reflection through which phenomena were discussed under certain embodied structures such as role of singers, healers and music, linguistic reflection done on expressions through which people articulated their experiences, existential reflection through which experiences as lived at specified time and place, and by particular persons or group of persons related to each other were reflected upon, and exegetical reflection through which existing literature were used to support reflection.

1.1.1 The Role of Researcher

In any qualitative research outcomes are multiple and negotiated. Researchers together with other human beings are the primary data gathering instruments.[68] The role of a researcher needs to be stated in the research report, as openness to possible biases, values, and judgments is valuable.[69] Not only is there a possibility of a researcher's experience affecting his/her interpretation of findings, but such experience may influence research methodology, thereby affecting obtainable end results. There are possibilities, for instance, for a researcher to familiarize with a topic of interest and/or his/her human subjects in such a way that s/he would reflexively be biased. On the other hand, human subjects need to have their rights protected, and part of the data might need confidentiality on the researcher's part. The relationship between a researcher and his/her subjects need to be such that both are free and safe in discussion. Establishing such a relationship could also lead into problems such as reflexive biases, which cannot be reported since they are barely noticeable to the researcher him/herself.

In this study, my past experience was crucial in the development of the applied design and selection of settings. I did a small study with music department staff, graduate students, and traditional music instructors at Kenyatta University in 2001, from which I garnered useful ideas about Kenyan cultures that had preserved the culture of healing through music.[70] The Taita and Mijikenda people of Coast province and Akamba of Eastern province were found to have sustained the culture of healing through music; a tradition that was largely lost in many other cultures through acculturation. I later did a study on the healing rituals of catholic charismatics in Kenya, and became interested in comparing the application of music in these two contexts.[71]

Subsequently, the current study used similar interview and observation schedules for these two different culture contexts. Preparation of the research instruments depended

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[68] Lincoln & Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, 1985, p. 39 - 41.
[69] John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 1994, p. 147.
[70] Bernard Kigunda, *Music Therapy: A Therapeutic Force Remains Anonymous in Kenya,* 2003.
[71] Bernard Kigunda, *Music Therapy Canning and the Healing Rituals of Catholic Charismatics in Kenya,* 2004.

very much upon my early research experience at Kenyatta University, because my study objectives emerged from this knowledge. Representing two different systems of beliefs, namely, Kamba traditional and the Catholic/Christian religion, there may be good reasons to study each through a different procedure. Studying the two alongside the street musicians using the same methods and instruments could potentially have caused some problems, especially because African customs and philosophies of course differ from those embodied in Roman Catholicism. My earlier observations and experience of the healing practices strengthened my belief that same research instruments could be used to make the findings more straightforwardly comparable, as long as the issues of interest pertained only to music and health. I chose to include the street musicians without altering the research instruments in order to find out whether a changed context[72] brings a significant difference in the findings, besides of course seeking to determine whether the street musicians had an experience that could be termed as healing.

In order to prove to my subjects that the purpose of my study was only academic, so as to assure their security upon sharing information with me, I sought permission from the Ministry of Education Science and Technology of Kenya, as well as the regional and local administrators. To request a subject's co-operation, I produced a research permit issued by the said ministry to all my interviewees. They were informed that my research was entirely for academic purposes. Respondents were asked to choose whether to have their names changed, although for the majority this seemed unimportant.

Since the end of year 2002, when a new government came into power in Kenya, there has been a campaign to make Nairobi clean and decongest the city center, where street musicians performed. People such as street vendors and hawkers, street children, and street musicians were the primary target group. The vendors and hawkers have since been largely forced out of the city center to different places where they sell their wares. Some street children have been enrolled into the National Youth Service programs where they learn practical skills, with the expectation that they would be self-employed

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[72] Unlike the catholic charismatic renewal and Kamba contexts, street performances were not described from their point of view as healing functions.

thereafter. Street musicians remain, but they said they could not perform in the areas they preferred, and city council officials and some businessmen harassed them. In this context I had the possibility of being perceived as a state agent. This was evident in my first meetings with them, and I had to develop friendship and some degree of trust before carrying out research. Even so, some could not allow the taking of photographs.

In the Kamba context, the head of department of culture in Kitui district wondered why I was interested in traditional healing performances. Since he came from a part of the country where such performances were non-existent, he seemed satisfied that the ministry of culture had instructed his office to discourage such practices. I later learnt from a junior official attached to his office that the ministry issued certificates of practice to reputable *waganga,* the traditional healers. Because emphasis on traditional practices often leads to disregard of education, it was not in the interest of the government to encourage *waganga*. The campaign to promote literacy skills is largely ignored by those who uphold traditional lifestyles.

In the catholic charismatic renewal (CCR) context it seems I was allowed to carry out research with the Archangel Raphael group of Ministers, because I identified myself as catholic. A staff member at Catholic University of Eastern Africa, who knew me from Kenyatta University where he earlier taught, played an important role of introducing me to a priest who was in charge of this ministry group, before they could agree to co-operate. Requests to carry our research with other ministry teams, including Nairobi's Holy Family Basilica had been turned down. Rumor had it that "agents of Satan" participate in Catholic rituals with ill motives. In CCR such agents are believed to cause trouble. CCR is a controversial movement in a church with other spiritualities. They appeared to jealously guard what they believed in, and took caution all the time against interference from 'Satan'. If not for being one of them, I could have been perceived as an intruder with an aim of ridiculing what they perceived as the work of God. As an insider in this church, I had the role of ensuring that I was not positively biased in the emic view, just like I needed to keep my etic view in the case of Akamba free from negative bias.

1.1.2 Data Collection Procedures

1.1.2a   Sampling

Purposive sampling method was used to choose the persons and contexts of examination. Non-probability sampling methods are normally preferred to random or representative sampling in qualitative studies, because of a higher likelihood that the full array of realities would be exposed.[73] Not every Kamba person in Kitui understands how healing takes place in *kilumi*, but *waganga* and *ngui*, who are not many, do. Similarly, not every Catholic in Kenya can talk about CCR healing as adequately as the ministers who run healing ministries within the church. Besides, not many worship services in the Catholic Church emphasize healing as the CCR services do. Using the purposive sampling method not only makes it possible for one to select interviewees, events, or contexts that provide information that is needed, but also enables a researcher to show all possible viewpoints by focusing on persons or elements that represent, where applicable, diversified perspectives. Before giving the reasons for my choices of contexts, groups, and persons, I will first describe the alternatives that were available.

My preliminary inquiry, as well as reviewed literature, showed that traditional ritual healing closely related to music making was traceable in the Coastal and Eastern provinces of Kenya. In Coast province of Kenya, the Taita and Mijikenda people perform spirit possession dances called *ngoma za pepo* or just *pepo* dances. *Ngoma za pepo* means 'dance/drum/music of the spirits'. In these dances music supported by rhythms of specified drums is the only solution if one is bothered by a spirit. Among the Taita for instance, a dance which falls under these *ngoma za pepo* dances that are well known in this province, *pepo mwazindika,* would be the only solution for a person bothered by the spirit known as *mwazindika*.[74] It is important to note the close relationship between the name of the possessing spirit and that of the drum used to satisfy it. *Mwazindika* is a drum, while *pepo mwazindika* is the complete name of a spirit that demands nothing less than *mwazindika* rhythms for the person to dance and be well. And

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[73] Lincoln & Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, 1985, p. 40.
[74] Zake, *Folk Music of Kenya,* p. 52-55; Akombo, *Music and Healing Across Contexts*, 2006.

a variety of other *pepo* spirits demand the rhythms of several other specific drums. *Ngoma za pepo* is performed by the Mijikenda tribes such as the Digo and Giriama as well. In a similar spirit possession dance, *kilumi* of Akamba, *mwase* drums must be played to appease *maimu* (the spirits), and subsequently heal the affected.[75]

Looking at the Christian healing practices, which have lately been significantly promoted through electronic media, countless Pentecostal movements, evangelistic teams and churches use music in healing functions throughout the country. There are well known 'miracle workers' who have opened up churches and have followers in many parts of the country, especially in major cities. They claim to be able not only to invoke God's power of healing through performances that parallel those of catholic charismatics, but also help believers to solve social and unemployment problems. Among the very popular such ministries in Nairobi include *The Maximum Miracle* and *Jesus is Alive Ministries*. The two are among those that have regular television and radio programs.

Music seems an extremely important affair in these ministries. For the founders, music helps to attract young people because it would be performed in such a way that participants would dance 'for the Lord God'. The performances attract young people in large numbers, as happens in discos and dance halls.[76] Similar musical instruments are used in both discos and the church performances – including electric guitars, electronic keyboards and drum sets. The healing ministries of catholic charismatics therefore exist in an environment already saturated with ideas of miraculous healing through faith in the same Jesus Christ. For some churches, music is employed to make a ministry lively and to attract followers. Testimonies are emphasized in order for a ministry to survive in a very competitive environment.

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[75] Although I have in this text used *mwase* for the name of this drum, many interviewees interchanged *mwase* and *kilumi* as its name.

[76] Shorter & Njiru (*New Religious Movements in Africa*, 2001) have described the popularity of 'New Religious Movements' across Africa. They often teach and emphasize miracles performed through faith in Christ, and find many followers from among women and young people. These movements are Pentecostal in nature, and their music is usually lively and danceable.

The context of street musicians had also many possibilities because these artists are found virtually in all major towns in Kenya. They are usually poorly equipped with musical instruments. They perform music as if with the intention of simply evangelizing to the society but in reality use the occasion to earn a living as well. Most of the street musicians are either people who have physical handicaps such as one non-functional limb and blindness, or people who are well except that they have no way to raise income and have to live in challenging financial circumstances. Their only other way to satisfy urgent and basic needs would be to borrow from friends or beg.

From the possibilities of contexts/cultures discussed above I selected samples based on the following considerations. First, I had clusters from the three contexts, so that each culture context would be represented. I needed to learn from some Kamba traditional *waganga*, *ngui* and other Kamba people, a number of catholic charismatic ministers and CCR participants, and a number of the street musicians.

I preferred to study the practices of catholic charismatics, as the movement represents an important feature of enculturation taking place within the Catholic Church in Kenya. Both acculturation and enculturation seem evident in Kenyan culture. As 'Western' and 'African' have found a battle field in the dynamism that characterizes growth of Kenyan culture, this may be a valuable aspect of any study on culture. Acculturation accounts for establishment of Catholic as well as traditions of several mainstream protestant churches that were introduced by European missionaries more than a century ago when the church was reestablished in Kenya.[77] In recent times, as Kidula[78] has noted, a new style has been developed with the help of the media, which appears to excite the church congregations a

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[77] The Catholic Church was first started by the Portuguese missionaries who were later expelled by the Arabs from Mombasa in 1698. After this time Christians were persecuted, killed and ordered to convert to Islam. Christianity was later re-established after 1844. For a history of Catholic Church in Kenya see John Baur, *Kanisa Katoliki Kenya*, 1990.

[78] Jean Kidula (*Sing and Shine: Popular Religious Music in Kenya*, 1998) notes that the enthusiasm with which these songs are performed in many churches is not the same as that with which people perform western hymns which were introduced by European missionaries (p. 6) The songs are often first performed in television programs like *Sing and Shine* or *Joy Bringers*, with the best impression of the artist being made so that after evangelism artists are exposed and ultimately the music is promoted and commercialized (p. 71). Many churches, including the charismatic Catholics use these songs in the worship. But numerous songs are connected to each other in a climaxing set, just as is the case with independent churches (Paul Kavyu, "Music in Kenya", 1998, p. 630).

lot more than the Western hymns did. This style is common among protestant churches, but has recently become popular among catholic charismatics, which operates as a movement within the church. Looking at this style's strong relationship to traditional Kenyan styles, I would see this as enculturation, through which specified attributes of culture become firmly strengthened. This is despite the fact that Western styled hymns prevail in the catholic scene, of which CCR forms only part. Acculturation and enculturation have thus their places in the growth of modern Kenyan culture.

That the Catholic Church in Kenya allows charismatic renewal while maintaining an old tradition at the same time makes it a suitable vehicle of demonstrating a feature of dynamism that appears to characterize growth of Kenyan culture even outside the church. I chose the Archangel Raphael Catholic healing ministry because unlike several other ministries I approached with the research agenda, they agreed to support my research and offered sufficient time for my interviews.[79] I interviewed all the eight ministers of Archangel Raphael Catholic Healing Ministry, and numerous participants, who were only part of those who testified of healing.

Nairobi was the best place in Kenya to find street musicians. In the last few decades, there has been a yearly influx of young people to town, and Nairobi has been their ideal destination. Many such people find no work, but continue to stay in the cities or towns. Faced with the challenge of finding basic things like food, health services, and housing, these people engage in varied activities ranging from theft and robbery, street preaching, prostitution, and begging among others. Street musicians should be understood in this context. I was able to talk to nine street musicians who were regular in Nairobi city, and to observe their music making frequently. A few played alone while the majority were usually in bands, which often had new performers who were not regular in the city and could therefore not be included in the study.

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[79] A number of priests who could not allow my research argued that some people were trying to discourage the CCR movement, and so they would not allow especially taking of pictures and videos. This is something that also came up as a problem faced by CCR from my interviews with Archangel Raphael ministers.

To select a traditional healing context, Eastern province was preferred to Coast province because it was easily accessible from Nairobi, where a relatively bigger number of street musicians could be found, and from where I needed to find a means of travel to the different parts of the country where the mobile Archangel Raphael Catholic Healing Ministry team evangelized. And having resolved to carry out my enquiry in Kitui district, I used known persons to get to the unknown individuals who possessed the knowledge I was seeking, thus a non-probability snowball sampling method.[80] Ministry of culture officials in Kitui district were of great help in choosing my first contact persons. They were situated in Mulundi and Kisasi locations of the large Kitui district in Eastern Province. I did twelve interviews with *waganga* and *ngui* in different parts of the district, and made observations of two *kilumi* dance nights in these two locations.

The interviews and observations presented in this study were also purposively selected using the following criteria: Firstly, any peculiarity increased the chances of selection because I sought to analyze above all such diverged viewpoints, and to establish a common ground. Rather than choose two musicians playing in bands, I preferred one solo and one from a band. Rather than choose two soloists, I preferred one soloist and a possessee. And rather than chose two music ministers in the Catholic healing ministry, I would choose a healing minister and a music minister. In every case I was particularly sensitive to healed persons or persons for whom a healing event had been organized, and to specifically what they said during the interviews. Five interviews were thus selected to represent ideas of the subjects for the study in each context.

The observations were also likewise selected: observations that had to do with subjects whose interviews have been presented were given priority. Observation details were keenly centered on interviewees, as it would be valuable to correlate their spoken word with the behavior displayed at performances in order to enhance reliability and validity of

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[80] Although snowball sampling is not quite purposive, it is non-probability and expedient when a researcher is new in the culture or environment of interest. There is of course the risk of getting a sample of people who are friends and who share common views. This is the reason I chose to make observations from two different localities. There were no major differences between the practices attributable to the change of place.

the findings. While countless performers entered and left the *kilumi* arena in one night, my observations gave more details about participants I had already known at interviews.

The music sampled for analysis was also selected purposively, so that a song was given priority: if it bore a special message for a person whose interview was sampled, if anything remarkable happened while it was being performed, and if it enabled this study to illustrate a valued aspect of the music being made.

1.1.2b   Research Instruments

The phenomenological method of research allows data collection from a number of ways including: interviewing, writings, study of artifacts, observations and self-reflections. The instruments used in this study included open-ended interview and observation schedules supported by digital recording tools through which any important sound and visual material could be recorded. These instruments were designed not only to limit the area of interest to those issues related to objectives already outlined, but by complementing each other, to avoid bias and add depth. Triangulation has been used in research to minimize biases attributable to single data collection methods.[81] By examining data acquired through interviews and then seeking to establish its relationship to the data from observations, the two could either agree, in which case findings would be validated, or they could conflict, bringing about doubts about trustworthiness on the part of interviewees.

At times observations suffer from biases of the observer, while interviews may likewise be affected say when respondents tell the interviewer what they think s/he wants to hear instead of speaking about reality. Accordingly in this study, data drawn from observations was free to conflict or confirm that of the interviews, or with the message of the song texts. The song text messages are transcribed with their translations (where applicable) and their meanings briefly accounted for. In what could be seen as

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[81] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 1994, p. 174.

complimenting of each other among applied instruments, information missing from the interviews could emerge through the songs, or through what was observed.

The pre-arranged instruments ensured that data collected from the three different contexts was based on a plan purposely aimed at fulfilling the objectives in these contexts. As the aim of the research was to understand all possible relationships between music and health from the point of view of the participants, instruments were designed to show how the two variables interact in a healing context, while also identifying specific emotional and healing outcomes. The instruments were pre-tested and modified before data collection. Small modifications were made on the instruments to suit each of the three specific contexts. Interviewees that were *waganga* and *ngui* were asked to specifically discuss those tasks in the Kamba traditional healing procedures, and to state why/how they played their roles. Church ministers were also specifically asked to describe their roles in CCR healing, and to explain why music was factored in their healing procedures. Finally, the street musicians were asked to account for their experience in street music making, and to state how this influenced their lives generally.

Observation Schedule

An observation schedule aimed at providing details of a specific music making event, at a particular date, place and time, was used. The observation schedule details the situation just before, during, and after an event organized for healing. It included observable activities in which people engaged themselves, but what has been presented in this text, for obvious reasons, gives more details of particular people who were interviewed, rather than on general comments of the whole group, though some general comments were made. The healing functions that were of interest, were those discussed by interviewees as healing functions, or functions related to the practice of healing. In Kamba traditional healing practices, *kilumi* is done to strengthen or initiate one into *uganga*, while a *mganga* performs music when invoking powers of the spirits in order to solve a specified problem. The contexts that were accounted for on Kamba traditional healing include two *kilumi* performances and a *mganga's* invocation of healing powers.

In the CCR healing procedures two functions were accounted for. One was a long week healing retreat that took place in Isiolo district of Eastern Province, while the other was a CCR seminar that took place in Kapsabet, a place where CCR seemed relatively new. While the participants at Isiolo seemed conversant with the procedures in CCR healing, including the songs that were sang, those in Kapsabet appeared different, so that singing was mostly exclusively done by the ministers themselves. Participants hardly sang, and were minimally involved. While participants in Isiolo seemed excited about CCR healing, those in Kapsabet seemed apprehensive.

Finally, there are in this text four observation records accounting for two blind musicians who performed regularly in town, as well as two bands that were controlled by two blind men. The bands and solo musicians performed in different streets of Nairobi city.

Interview Schedules

Structured interviewing, in which "the interviewer asks respondents the same series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories"[82], was found most suitable. The questions in the schedules were left open ended, giving room for variation of responses. Two different interview schedules were used. The first one was used to collect information from leaders of groups; namely, those who decided how music was made, the healers/ministers, and also those generally in charge of the event. The other was used with participants who either claimed to have been healed, or were the ones for whom a function was organized in connection with a healing issue.

The interview schedules provided data that was either not observable, or was personal. Besides, any historical details of certain practices were sought from experienced persons. For most informants whose interviews were sampled for this study, we met at least twice, but mostly three or more times. That way, I acquired additional information about the informants which is not presented in the interviews, but which helped in my analysis. In this regard, I have already said that informal interviews/observations informed this study as well as the formal ones did. Brief details of accounts from informal interviews or

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[82] Fontana & Frey, "The Interview: From Structured questions to Negotiated Text", 2000, p. 649.

observations have been given at the introduction to each analysis chapter, or at the appropriate place in the analysis itself.

Recording tools

Music performances, ritual vocalizations and certain acted procedures were recorded on electronic equipments including: a camera, camcorder, and audiocassette recorder. In this text I found it preferable to provide audio examples as well as photographs, my video recordings having failed to produce fair material for presentation.[83]

1.1.2c   Fieldwork Procedures

Activities Undertaken

Data gathering procedures involved primarily being in the field where the performances were organized. The fieldwork was characterized by appointments and visits to homes of select persons with whom interviews were done. I sought time for formal and informal interviews with the people, who had required information, either at their homes or the places performances were organized. Networking with informants with the knowledge about when and where healing functions were held, regular meetings with such people, and unexpected visits in the case of street musicians typified my fieldwork exercise. During the interviews, I filled out interview schedules, sometimes recorded a number of informal interviews and discussions on audiocassette, and made notes. Music making and healing sessions were always recorded on audiocassette. In some cases video recordings were done, and photographs were taken. Also an observation schedule was filled out for each function.

Encountered Problems

The challenges I met while doing field research were many. As shown in the interview schedules, Kamba *waganga* and *ngui* were little if at all schooled, and could only speak

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[83] I took the videos at difficult circumstances such as darkness in the case of *kilumi* and congestion in the street contexts. Besides, as an amateur cameraman, my video records did not come out well though they were very helpful in the analysis.

in Kamba language, a little of which I could understand.[84] There was therefore a need for a translator, and it is assumed that translations did not affect the material presented in the interviews. There was a problem also caused by the timing of my fieldwork in Kamba land. I was informed that dances were more regularly performed between August and October before the rains. During this time, fieldwork was not possible on my part, because of logistic problems that had to do with financing of fieldwork. More than two events of *kilumi* performance could have provided additional insights into the experience of healing among Kamba people. There was also a problem of video recording since the *kilumi* performances normally take place at night.

A problem I encountered in the CCR context is that although I attended functions of much greater healing impact than those described, officials declined to allow me to conduct research, arguing that research findings could be used badly by people who wanted to discourage the renewal movement. Also there was a problem of follow up that I felt needed to be done, in order to find out whether the healing that took place had long lasting effects. CCR participants were usually from different parts of Kenya, and there were difficulties getting to them after healing functions. Except for a few, I cannot be able to give details about their experiences few weeks or months after the performance of healing. To counter this problem in this text, I have used some examples of people who were healed much earlier, and have since continued to enjoy healing results.

On the part of the street musicians, they could all communicate in Kiswahili, and often stationed themselves at the same places, so that they were easily traced in the city. Except that the streets where they performed were congested, and there was a problem of robberies and theft in this city, I would have worked comfortably in this context. To video record in the streets, I blocked the path for passersby. For these problems I did audio recordings and photographing and only a bit of video. The other problem was that

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[84] Akamba are historically linked to the Meru tribe of my origin. Akamba, Ameru, Agikuyu and Aembu, are usually classified together as highland Bantus, and Ameru neighbor Akamba to the North West. Kamba and Meru languages have therefore a historically close relationship and Meru people at the border zones, such as the Tharaka sub tribe, understand much of Kamba language. But I was born and raised in the central region of Meru land and had very limited contacts with Kamba people. For a detailed analysis of Kenyan language groups see Ministry of Education, *History and Government*, 2003, p. 38-50.

street musicians never believed my recording was without any intentions for sale of their music. In fact, even though I produced my research permit to all of them, most did not quite look well at it. Instead they demanded a fee to permit any kind of recording, and did not actually allow unlimited recording of their music. They also demanded some payment in case I needed to interview one of them, since that was seen as getting them out of their job. During the days for my structured observations, I paid Kshs 200-400 for two sessions in the band performances, and Kshs 100 for five recordings for solo performers each day. As only observations were costless, field research in this context was rather expensive.

1.1.3 Data Analysis Procedures

1.1.3a   Reduction

This study uses reduction as the basic tool of analysis. Reduction has been used here to mean two things. Firstly, as a phenomenological method, it is a device that would enable a person to look at the world as experienced in real life rather than as it is invented in our minds. Secondly, reduction is the process through which a phenomenon is tackled through its fundamental elements. In phenomenology, one needs bracketing or suspension of belief [epoché] to be able to see things as they appear in the world, and reflection [reduction] to be able to identify meaningful structures that are fundamental in the phenomenon. Bracketing is considered important in phenomenology because there is the risk of being influenced by one's beliefs, past experiences or theories.

Reduction, as a procedure of describing phenomena using its fundamental elements, was based on certain guidelines. I often used eidetic reflections - imagining one element being left out, and seeing whether there would be weighty implications in the practices. There were times reflection was centered on what was baffling to me as a person, which was normally followed by more enquiry through interviews. At times reflection was a result of certain experiences that showed up striking me as relevant owing to my research objectives. And there were times reflection was based on certain concrete experiences as seen on the ground, especially the dramatic healing experiences that seemed baffling. There were times I focused on unchanging aspects of a performance, and finally of course there were times I would be guided by free reasoning. I now give some few examples to show instances where the various forms of reflection were found suitable.

A girl who seemed healthy got into strange noise making and rolling on the ground that lasted several hours. After wondering why she had behaved like this though she looked healthy at the start, I sought clarification from ministers and later described spirit possession under spiritual illness that may not appear as ill-health until one attends a deliverance or exorcism session. Such reduction had its base on surprises on my part as a human being, but was extended to study aims. Seeing that each context contains different

forms of outcomes, for example, teachings as vital in CCR, dance and dance costume as critical in Kamba healing, and monetary returns as crucial for street musicians, it is clear that an open mind enabled each context to bring out its most crucial elements. Each phenomenon was free to present itself distinctively. And concrete experiences such as miraculous healing experiences, or expressions of emotions through facial, vocal or bodily gestures were also considered in my reduction.

Through eidetic reduction aspects of the phenomena whose role could not be compromised, such as, presence of music/prayer/noise in CCR healing performances, roles of music/healing ministers, dance dresses, *waganga* and *ngui,* were established as key elements under which the phenomena would be discussed. Free reasoning was applied in many cases, seeing that it helped to discover contradictory remarks from interviewees. For example, when Shombe, a street musician, says that he finds things right even if he earned nothing from street music, he does not make sense seeing that the street was his only source of income. Similarly, Christina would not be so glad singing on the street while she was unwell, and without a way to raise money for medication.

Rather than separate experience and reflection stages, the two were alternated so that occurrences could be reflected upon at the time they took place, while what seemed to be significant experiences upon reflection could be reexamined in the live world. This helped in reassessing the meaningfulness of various elements in determining the essence of the overall healing experience.

In qualitative research data analysis is a concurrent process of interweaving data reduction, data display and drawing of conclusion and verification. Analysis follows a procedure discussed in detail by Miles and Huberman,[85] when they say that research methods do not suggest distinct phases of data collection, processing and drawing of conclusions as separate, but as interlinked procedures that continue until the final results are provided. Accordingly data reduction could begin even before data collection, when

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[85] Miles & Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 1994, p. 10 – 11.

the researcher decides which conceptual framework, cases, research questions and data collection approaches s/he would apply.

Through reduction, data is selected, sorted, focused, discarded, simplified, abstracted, transformed and organized. In data display, data is organized and compressed into a form that permits drawing conclusions and action. As in data reduction, conclusion drawing and verification starts with data collection. One may decide what experiences mean as they surface, noting regularities, patterns, explanations, propositions and causal flows. A qualitative researcher holds these conclusions lightly, maintaining uncertainty and openness even though the conclusions may indeed emerge early during fieldwork.

In this study I began the reduction process right after deciding on the objectives to guide through the process. Subsequently I paid greater attention to certain specific details and not others taking place at a healing function for my field notes. In fact there might have been many more things one could note. Also, not every statement of an interviewee was valued or recorded in my interview schedules, and of course not all the music was transcribed. Whatever is 'displayed' in the analysis has of course been significantly reduced, simplified and organized to facilitate eventual drawing of conclusions.

1.1.3b   Triangulation

One additional method applied in the analysis that helped to sort out the obligatory from the other parts of data was triangulation. While respondents were asked similar questions, their ways of responding naturally varied. A comparison of statements of respondents was done to see how those asked similar questions differed in their responses, or whether they fundamentally said the same thing in different words.[86] What was recorded through the observations was then reviewed to find any issues that confirm or contradict data from interview sources. Finally the music played at the function was examined and key issues that made up the story were assembled and summarized.

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[86] Note that there were two interview schedules, one for those performing a role understood as 'leadership' or 'decision maker' and one for the participants who were served by the first. The latter were the sick that need healing, while the former were the specialist guiding through the healing process.

Triangulation, thus, a procedure that is more dependable if more than one instrument is used to measure the same thing,[87] was used throughout this study to identify the significant ideas and to verify them in an effort to validate the findings and identify the most essential elements of the phenomena. An idea was seen as significant if it was referred to regularly by different interviewees, if it could be verified through observation and music, and if it directly addressed the study objectives. By first analyzing the interviews, common issues emerged from different viewpoints of interviewees. Related issues from observations were interlinked and related to ideas from interview sources. Lastly music indicated whether any connection between all the three could be found, and whether such relationship was strong or weak.[88]

Figure 1: Triangulated Sources of Data
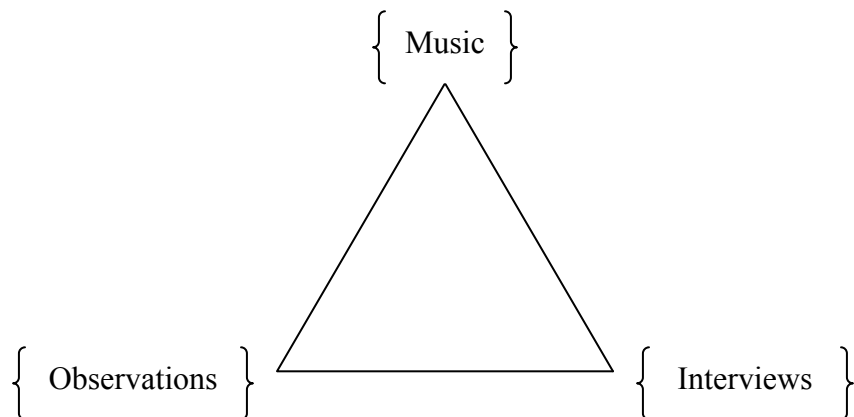
It was considered satisfactory that triangulation as shown in figure 1 did not show a contradiction of findings obtained through each data source, where no verification could be done. The music needed to contain textual messages that agreed with the interviewee's

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[87] Miles & Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, 1994, p. 273
[88] Henk Smeijsters (*Multiple Perspectives*, 1997, p. 32) has described triangulation as a process that may improve reliability of findings in qualitative research.

statements, while the two further show a relationship to what was observed.[89] Issues that were found significant in the fulfillment of the objectives were discussed even if no verification could be possible, but it has been so remarked. This was done particularly to add depth to the study. Data from the three sources was also ignored if no connection with the other two could be established, unless, of course, such information was basic for the study.

1.1.3c   Problem, Procedure, Product (PPP) Guide

In each of the three chapters containing analysis of findings, description of health problems that necessitate performances of healing precede that of healing procedures which include music making. Lastly, there are accounts of healing outcomes which include emotional expressions and behavior of possessed persons in some cases. Figure 2 illustrates this account. I have shown the question that guides each level of analysis. To start with is the question of what makes healing functions under study to continue despite modernized health facilities in the country. The second stage questions the procedure and justification of the use of music. Finally I discuss the specific therapeutic and emotional effects observed. A combination of issues crystallized into brief statements from all analytical stages that spell out the relationship between music and health.

Figure 2: Problem, Procedure, Product (PPP) Guide

| What necessitates healing function? | → | How and why does music take part? | → | What changes take place on people? |

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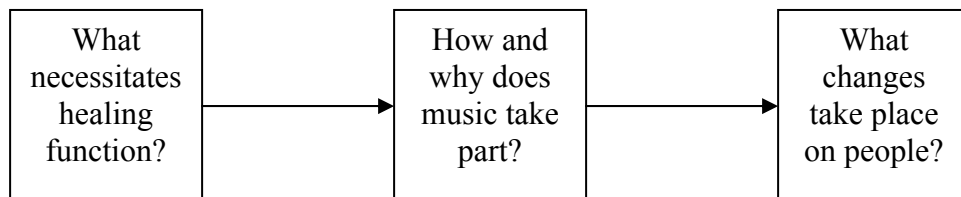
[89] Let us take an example of Ndaa. She argued that when possessed, her personality changed to become that of a spirit. The song *kilinyaa,* which she performed when invoking her spiritual powers, also shows doubled personality as we shall see later. And while paying her the money we were asked to pay for the photographs, she ignored me. One woman who was seated there asked me to place the money on the ground so she could pick after the spirit had left. This suggests that music, observation, and interviews results agree on her change of personality at possession.

Interviews were first used to indicate the health problems faced by participants who participated in the events, before observations and interviews were used to examine the procedure that would be followed in order to heal the sick. Finally, observations and interviews also provided information about the final results of healing experiences.

1.1.4 Study Outcomes

The study outcomes have been presented in three levels. First, there are summaries at each of the analysis chapters, which highlight key issues of the outcomes for specified contexts. The summaries account for the concepts of health, healing and music as applied by the participants in their specified contexts. They also show how music is influenced following its involvement in healing performances discussed, and healing results observed or commented upon by various individual participants.

At a different level results were examined together and common themes discussed from a cross-cultural perspective, before literature was examined to determine how/if the findings fitted into the already existing body of knowledge on matters pertaining to music, healing and therapy. Even though each theme begins on the results drawing from the study outcomes, they are put to the global context using existing literature on related experiences from across the world. Research outcomes are usually viewed in connection with existing literature and theories proposed by others.[90] In the figure 3 below, themes originating from each of the three contexts were examined, so that an emergent key issue indicated a similar or contrasted viewpoint about a pertinent element of music and healing relationship. The element would later be briefly expanded on using existing literature to show its broad meaning and relevance outside of its context.

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[90] Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 1994, p. 14

Figure 3: Dealing with Key Themes
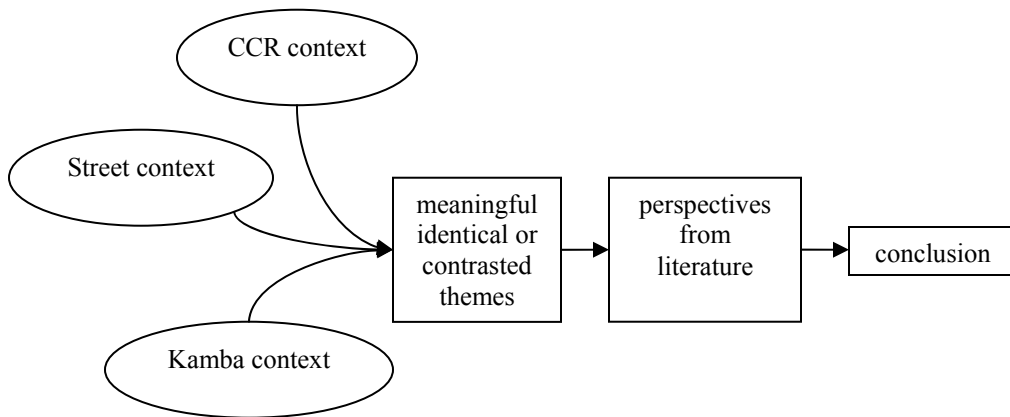
While the issues that bring the accounts to a point of convergence were used to define the relationship between music and health in Kenya, those that indicate significant differences were examined and commented upon appropriately. Both similarities and differences between music and health relations in the Kenyan contexts were then seen against those in other cultures of the world as suggested through existing literature on music, healing and therapy. Subsequently conclusions and implications for the broader body of knowledge on music, healing and therapy to which the study belongs were highlighted.

MUSIC AND TRADITIONAL HEALING OF AKAMBA

2.1   Introduction

This chapter deals with relationships between music and health in traditional Kamba culture. It shows how music makes a healer *(mganga),* how it heals and strengthens a *mganga* and the spirit possessed lead singer *(ngui)*, and how it invites the spirits of the dead to cure through healers *(waganga).* There is little possibility, if any, for Akamba to experience the supernatural form of healing without performing music and dancing to it. And it seems the gap between the living and the dead in this tradition cannot be any further narrowed, as the only clear difference is that the dead have no body, as they are believed to exist even around the home where they lived before they died. They [the dead] are so much valued that not only do their surviving relatives pour libations in honor of them, but for those who are *waganga* and *ngui*, special all-night feasts must be organized specifically to enable the dead to dance in the bodies of the living in the famous *kilumi* dance.[91]

Kilumi is a performance for appeasing possession spirits such as those of *waganga* and *ngui*, which may cause illness if displeased, but on the other hand, may empower *waganga* to exercise healing, *uganga*,[92] and enable *ngui* and some drummers to perform their valued musical tasks in *kilumi*. Particular spirits are offered their various demands, most important being that the possessed gives up his/her body for the spirits to dance in as *ngui* and other people sing and drum. During the dance a possessed person may demand things such as cigarettes, beer, water, and food, to be consumed right at the dance arena. A person dances to a specific song, in a specified dance style and in a specific dress as required by a spirit. As many people attend and are interested in dancing

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[91] The idea that spirits may be invited to dance or take charge of human bodies is popular in many African cultures. Rosenthal (*Possession, Ecstasy, & Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 1998, p. 100) refers to a *voodoo* priest, whose words correspond rather directly to those of a number of my interviewees from Kitui. The priest said that spirits possess people because they need the arms and legs to dance. Indeed one way of offering sacrifice for *waganga* is to surrender their bodies for the spirits to dance in. That is why I have called this 'dancing a spirit'.

[92] *Uganga* is the occupation of *waganga* [plural for *mganga*], which entails traditional healing that involves both herbal medicine and ritual methods for supernatural illnesses and other problems.

their various spirits, the dance lasts no less than a whole night. It is discontinued at daybreak and resumed the following night when more people desire to dance. *Kilumi* is therefore what provides *waganga* with the healing powers from their spirits. Later in their homes or elsewhere, they are consulted by sick people. They then invoke the appeased spirits to be able to tell what the cause of a problem is, and suggest a solution.

The necessity for *uganga* in the healing tradition of Akamba cannot be demonstrated better than through a story of twenty-two year old Mina Mwanzia, a *mganga* from Mulundi location of Kitui district. When I interviewed her, Mina recalled how she had suffered stomach problems for a long time, had frequented many hospitals, and finally realized that her problem had to do with spirits. After she consulted a *mganga*, she fulfilled some requirements suggested by the person and improved very much. However, all over a sudden, she lost her sister who had not been sick at all. Amid significant anxiety over the cause of this death, the girl was buried.[93] After a short while, the dead girl visited Mina in a dream. They both went to a nearby river to collect an ostrich egg, which Mina was told that she would require later. After searching along the river bank for sometime, they found the egg. Mina's sister advised her to take care of it, and after returning to the house, she disappeared.

In the morning Mina was shocked to see that the egg was actually there, and so in absolute incredulity, she showed it to her mother. Nonetheless after a long time, Mina thought the egg was not useful, and she threw it away. Then she became mentally sick, and this prompted her family to once again consult a *mganga*. The *mganga* said that Mina had lost an egg; a fact confirmed by her mother who knew how the egg had been given to her by the deceased sister. *Kilumi* had to be organized to appease Mina's spirits[94], so she could be fine. When the dance was performed at their home, she not only became well, but also became a *mganga*. In another dream that occurred when she was pregnant, she saw herself give birth to a baby girl, and two *mbuu* (pebbles), were removed from her umbilical cord. This again happened in reality, and the *mbuu* have been very useful in her

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[93] In this culture, such inexplicable deaths were often perceived as emanating from dangerous witches or evil spirits.

[94] The *mganga* said that the illness was caused by two spirits: her late sister and late grandmother.

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uganga. They have since been kept in her *kyondo kya utabibu* (healer's bag)[95]. Stories of this kind have been presented in the form of interviews at appendix 1. In all analysis chapters I shall use numbers and letters (e.g. 2e, 4a) along with interviewee's name, to indicate the part of a transcribed interview in which as issue was discussed. For example, Ndaa (3e) means an interviewee Ndaa, in question 3e, referred to the specified issue.

One may reason that the Akamba are naive on the grounds that their practices are exclusively informed by their traditional religious beliefs with little input from contemporary modern medicine or thinking. It is indeed tempting to assume that *uganga* and *kilumi* practitioners and their audience act and react from sheer lack of knowledge or exposure. However, the role of these *waganga* in this part of Kenya should not be underrated. Before western medicine was introduced in Kamba land, and after that, *waganga* have played a valued role in matters that actually go beyond health care. If an item was stolen, *waganga* can name and punish the thief even by death.

Apart from conducting interviews, I witnessed *kilumi* dance twice in different parts of Kitui district. The dance always happened at night. I will provide a detailed description of what I observed shortly. I also witnessed a *mganga's* invocation of spiritual powers, which included music making. I not only observed these events, but I took photographs and made recordings which I later analyzed in order to explain the sequence of the proceedings. I also translated and explained the song texts in order to clarify how messages were passed across between the living and the dead in order to guide the process of healing. The textual and musical analysis in addition to the observations and interviews represent three different but correlated sources of information and ideas.

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[95] *Kyondo kya utabibu* is a small bag in which objects powered by spirits, such as *mbuu,* are kept. They are removed only when treating patients. In *kilumi* they are worn around the waist at the time when one dances.

2.2 Observations

Kilumi Performance at Mulundi

The function

On the night between 24th and 25th February 2005, I witnessed a nightlong performance of *kilumi* in Mulundi sublocation of Kitui district. Although it was hosted by Ndaa in her home, it was a communal gathering that brought together dancers, singers, drummers and general observers for the purpose of appeasing spirits through music and dance. Women and men, who believed that they might have problems caused by possessing spirits, came to the dance in order to get healthier, and for those who were *waganga* or *ngui* to reenergize their healing powers by gratifying their benevolent spirits. For Ndaa, an elderly woman I had met twice before this night, the performance was aimed at strengthening her healing powers. She asserted that her healing capability depended on how well she pleased the spirits. The sixty-two year old woman was not unwell, but in previous interviews, she said that prolonged failure to host *kilumi* could lead into health problems, although that would happen after her healing powers acutely weaken. Hosting the dance protected her from falling sick, but more importantly fortified her healing powers so she could better service her community which depended on her.

The Performing Group

Although the majority of those present were not performers in the strict sense, close to a hundred women and men of different ages were present. The crowd looked excited and was conversing in small groups around the compound until the function began. Everyone looked healthy except for one very old woman whose behavior appeared bizarre. I observed her either talking to herself, or when she spoke to someone else, she would suddenly withdraw from the conversation and altogether appear distracted. Her mannerisms were such that I decided not to interview her. Ndaa later informed me she knew this woman, and her conduct was due to the fact that she had not hosted *kilumi* for more than a year, and her familiar spirits were beginning to agitate her. No other person seemed to demonstrate an unusual condition. Some participants took *karubu* (a form of traditional drink) in small amounts. *Karubu* is an intoxicant but not when taken in small

amounts. Everyone was served traditional mashed food, porridge and tea before the dance commenced.

Proceedings

Just before the dance Ndaa and some other women privately performed some rites inside her house. Once the door was closed shut, she imbibed mouthfuls of a number of drinks and also poured some of it on the floor just next to the door as she whispered something to herself. She brought Fanta soda, *karubu* and snuff individually from her bedroom and poured portions of them out. After this she invoked spirits in a particular manner that I will later describe. Outside the house, observers, who by far outnumbered possessed performers, continued talking softly in a mood that seemed to express enthusiasm. After we left the house at the conclusion of the ritual, I noticed that a fire close to the event arena warmed *mwase* drums for tuning purposes. Then four male and female drummers including Katulu the possessed lead singer (*ngui*) assumed their positions; sitting on *mwase* drums that had been placed in a straight line.

Katulu began to sing and was responded to by a chorus. After several vocal exchanges between *ngui* and a chorus, the drums began to be played. Then Ndaa emerged from a crowd of women who were responding to the soloist and dancing unobtrusively. Most other participants stayed out of the arena, but responded to the soloist even though they did not dance. As the dance gained momentum, a group of women positioned opposite *ngui* and the drummers, danced as if to imitate Ndaa, moving often in uniform motion. She blew the whistle each time before turning left from right or back and forth, and the others followed. She stopped each of her dances abruptly, and everyone else, including the drummers and *ngui* stopped. Once the performance was halted, she either asked for something to drink, smoke or eat, or she danced a different spirit in which case the song had to be changed. She always left the arena to change her dance dress for each spirit. *Mwase* drums clearly dominated the instrumentation and were possibly the only audible sound from a distant, even though *kayamba*, *vilingi* and harmonica were also played. Each entry of *mwase* rhythms announced and signified the entrance of a dancer from behind the group of participating women.

Song was not separated from dance in the performance. The performance always began with the singing led by *ngui*, then the music instruments entered and finally a dancer appeared. Dancing seemed to be critical as it appeared that no participant could possibly be fulfilled by only hearing the songs without dancing. A collection of dance dresses of varied colors, decorated *vyondo* (small bags) and *miinga* (flywhisks) had an artistic variegation although their primary role seemed to be that of music and dance. A dress or costume was removed as soon as the dance ended and hidden elsewhere.

Behavior of the Possessed Dancers

As mentioned before, each time Ndaa was possessed she stopped in the middle of the dance and made certain demands. But not every dancer stopped the music in this manner; only the host and few others including Mina. When Ndaa danced Askari spirit, she had quite a remarkable beginning.[96] Then she suddenly stopped and Katulu immediately stopped singing as if in understanding that something needed to happen. But 'Askari' did not speak. Ndaa groaned and moved around the arena agitatedly. Just when she appeared to lose patience and attempted to get through the crowd, beer was presented. Only after she had taken it did she continue dancing to her special song *Masikali ni Kivole*.[97] When she was possessed by Wanjiku spirit, it looked comical as she ate *githeri* [popular type of food prepared from a mixture of maize and beans] in the arena while dancing at the same time. Her chewing looked forceful and strange. Halting the dance each time she danced other spirits, she asked for water, *uji* (porridge)*,* and soda which she drank as she danced. Possessed by Wanjiku, she stopped at one point and greeted the people. Then said she: 'in this place we are fine too'. She then asked a different song to be performed, and the song *Ndumaniwe Nzeli* followed.[98] The woman who was behaving bizarrely before the start of the dance often joined Ndaa in the opening dances, but did she did not appear to become better after dancing.

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[96] See Photo plate 1.
[97] You may listen to *Masikali ni Kivole* in the accompanying audio CD, track 1.
[98] You may listen to *Ndumaniwe Nzeli* in the accompanying audio CD, track 2.

After several other dancers came and left the arena, it was Mina's turn. She danced a Woria spirit, a Maasai spirit, and a Giriama spirit.[99] For each of the spirits, she wore a different dress, and danced to a different song and in a different dance style. Possessed by Woria spirit, she appeared in a cap commonly worn by Muslim men, and with a sheet of clothing around her waist extending to the ankles. She danced for sometime, abruptly stopped and asked for a cigarette.[100] We had to wait as she smoked while she spoke a strange language to a man who seemed not to understand her. Soon after smoking, singing and drumming resumed as she got back to the arena this time dancing quite gracefully as people sang *Woria Tethya Wia*.[101] Towards the end of this session, she knelt on a spread sheet of clothing, and sang Islamic chants bending forwards severally as if she were in a Mosque. Later on she danced to a Maasai spirit in *nguo ndune ya Maasai* (red Maasai dress). Accompanied by a young male dancer who held a heavy stick known to be a weapon of the Maasai people, they danced in a style that imitated Maasai dance styles.[102] At a different session, she also danced to a Giriama spirit, this time playing *kayamba,* which as the song text notes, 'is an instrument of Giriama people'.[103]

Observance

Kilumi was performed always at night, as some spirits were said to be particular about times at which they can be danced. For instance, Ndaa's Askari never dances after midnight. Procedure was also important in the music performance itself. Singing came before drumming, and drumming before dancing – always in that order. No dancer appeared before there was drumming, and no drumming before vocal exchanges between a soloist and a chorus. The dance intensified in correspondence with temporal change in drumming and singing. The performance lasted for one full night, but I later found out that if more people wanted to dance, the event would have been extended to cover more nights. This unsolicited remark by Katulu, who was the *ngui* of the night, implied that many *kilumi* performances lasted longer than one night.

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[99] Woria [Somali], Maasai, and Giriama are ethnic groups within Kenya.
[100] Photo plate 1 shows Mina smoking at the time she conversed in a strange language with a man who did not understand her. She smiled all the time when possessed. She seemed shy when not possessed, but behaved quite differently in the dance.
[101] *Woria Tethya Wia* is on the accompanying audio CD, track 3.
[102] See photo plate 1
[103] *Kayamba ya Wagiriama* is on the accompanying audio CD, track 4.

Kilumi Performance at Kisasi

The function

This event took place in two consecutive nights (12th – 14th March 2005) at Mbwika Kilonzo's home. In an interview prior to the performance, Mbwika said his *uganga* was being botched because he had not appeased his spirits for some time. He stated that the purpose of the dance was to reenergize his healing powers. He recounted his childhood tribulations that forced him out of school when his late grandfather began to possess him at a very tender age.[104] This is the grandfather he sought to appease during the function, and in return the late grandfather would invigorate Mbwika's healing powers. The gathering of around three hundred people included other *waganga, ngui* and those possessed by spirits as well as a large group of 'audience' members, and so it was an opportunity for some participants to dance their spirits while observers were entertained. Most of them were old women who seemed to be more than fifty years old, young men of perhaps below thirty years of age, and a few elderly men. Young girls and young ladies were not well represented. No one appeared unwell or unstable when the dance began, and no one seemed drank. Participants had been served with food, *uji*, tea and, for a few, *karubu*. *Karubu* the only intoxicant was served in small amounts to avoid drunkenness.

Proceedings

The main activity between 1800 hours and 2200 hours was eating, drinking and talking. Then *mwase* drums were taken outside to be tuned by warming them around a fire. Mbwika, his parents and friends gathered in his small house to perform introductory rites. As Mbwika's mother[105] poured small portions of *karubu*, *uji,* and snuff, she uttered some words to the spirits mentioning their names and saying "*karibu, karibu, karibu....*" [*welcome, welcome, welcome…*]. Then Munalo,[106] who was to be *ngui* of the night, and some other women who were looking on as libation was poured, moved out to confirm

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[104] My interview with Mbwika Kilonzo is presented at appendix 1.
[105] Note that Mbwika's mother was a daughter of Asumani who was to be appeased in the night by dancing through Mbwika. While pouring libations, she spoke to her late father, who was believed to be there in spirit, only waiting to be invited into Mbwika through song, in order to dance.
[106] My interview with Munalo Meliki is attached at appendix 1.

that *mwase* drums had tuned well. The six *mwase* drums were aligned in a straight line with their players seated on them. Munalo led some songs ostensibly to invite people to move closer to the arena. Without further ado, there was a huge circle around the performance area. When she started the *Asumani* song[107], the function kicked off, but with a delayed entrance of possessed Mbwika, dressed in a white long dress, *kanzu*, and in the company of an elderly lady.

Munalo often began the songs in free rhythm, even though the chorus was not as free as her solo part, and the six *mwase* drums entered in loudly making it difficult for the song to be heard clearly. After the dancer entered the dance arena, the drumming gradually intensified in tandem with dance vigor. Singing was often ignored at the dance climax. Mbwika alternated between intensive dancing with majestic walks around the arena as he smoked and shook a flywhisk (*muinga*) in a meditative mood.[108]

After Mbwika numerous other dancers followed each other into the arena displaying varied dance styles. A dancer gradually built up his/her performance, mostly with the eyes closed to the point of evoking ecstasy.[109] Some dancers played *kayamba*, *vilingi*, and harmonica although the later was treated more like a whistle than a melody instrument. As Mbwika had done, some dancers alternated vigorous dance times with languid meditative sections. Others danced without stopping at all until their turn was over.

A female dancer[110] who was possessed displayed a spectacular *kayamba* performance, her superb body movement and *kayamba* sound appearing to be in perfect coordination. Each time a dancer reached this ecstatic level of dancing that excited observers, women ululated in appreciation. Then the dancers would suddenly stop bringing the whole performance to an abrupt end. The dancer then left the arena after shaking hands with *ngui* and other drummers. Only one *ngui* led through each night.

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[107] Audio recording of *Asumani* song is in accompanying audio CD track 5.
[108] See photo plate 2a
[109] See photo plate 2a.
[110] See photo plate 2b.

Behavior of Possessed Dancers

Dancers often performed with their eyes closed, but they did not go outside the small dance arena, and neither did those possessed at the same time collide with each other while dancing. Some of the dancers smiled or laughed while dancing, while others like Mbwika appeared sad. At one point after dancing his *shetani*[111] and assuming the role of master drummer, Mbwika suddenly appeared to experience acute pain and leaned forward, crying, still seated on *mwase*. Everyone else stopped, not only because Mbwika's drum was the master one, but also because he seemed to need help urgently. He could not even walk, and was, thus, helped to the house by *ngui* and *waganga* who sought to identify the cause of the problem. A short time later, the 'doctors' became aware that Mbwika's possessing maternal grandfather just wanted to drink some beer before drumming further.[112] He had come at an unexpected time, and so found Mbwika in the wrong attire. I was later told by one of the *waganga* that wearing the right dress was the first thing he had to do. From the house, a woman possessed by a male spirit accompanied him back to the dance arena. Mbwika's father and two women brought *karubu*, two drinking half calabashes, and two traditional three-legged stools.

The process of taking *karubu* lasted about fifteen minutes.[113] In the meantime the people who had been dancing before Mbwika suddenly stopped appeared disoriented. Some began to shout and behave bizarrely; possibly the reason as to why Munalo decided to continue singing so that those possessed may dance as Mbwika took *karubu*. But Mbwika continued to stay at the centre of the arena where dancers normally performed. Ultimately Munalo began *Asumani* song and Mbwika somehow got up and danced his grandfather.[114] He struggled with help from those around him and eventually managed to dance in upright position even though he had to dance bending forwards for some time. After dance he not only got well, but resumed his master drumming. At this point several behaviors occurred simultaneously among the participants. One woman who was

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[111] *Shetani* is another word used for possessing spirits. It was used by most interviewees in Kisasi location, while *iimu* was used by the interviewees from Mulundi.

[112] The claim implies that Mbwika's grandfather and not Mbwika was the drummer. In other words, his grandfather's spirit was allegedly drumming through Mbwika.

[113] See photo plate 2a.

[114] In my interview with him, he identified this song as his favorite. See more from interview with Mbwika Kilonzo at appendix 1.

sleeping by the fire woke up making noise and rushed to the dance arena as if she felt serious pain. At the arena, even though other dancers were already performing and her spirit was not called to dance at this time, she danced but not in a jovial mood. Another woman fell on her knees while dancing, and was helped in due course to rise and dance.[115] Yet another woman removed her top dress and danced bare breasted.[116] These changes took place after Mbwika's disruption about two hours before dawn. And so, dance appeared to be the ultimate answer for each one suffering from spirit infliction.

The *kilumi* at Kisasi lasted two nights. Except for Mbwika, no dancer stayed more than thirty minutes on the dance arena. Even for Mbwika the dance host, only in the second dance that was prompted by an unexpected 'coming of his grandfather' did he perform for more than thirty minutes. This was mainly because he had to first drink *karubu* at pleasure before dancing. Singing preceded drumming, as drumming preceded dancing.

Ndaa Invokes the Spirits[117]

The Function

On the same day *kilumi* was hosted by Ndaa at her home at Mulundi, she also invoked spirits as accounted for below. The purpose for the performance was to consult her spirits as she normally does when treating patients. When I sought permission to take video records and photographs, she could not decide on whether or not I would be allowed to take photographs during the *kilumi* dance that was to follow minutes afterwards. As if to distance herself from the blame in case her spirits would be unhappy with this, she said: "they will say whether you can take photographs or not, we have to ask them". Therefore invocation of her spirits is her normal routine when consulted by patients for diagnosis and treatment. But this time the purpose was to request her spirits to permit me to

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[115] See Photo plate 2b
[116] Although traditionally a bare breasted woman was not seen as naked in Ukambani, today women cover their chests in normal circumstances. She looked odd according to some remarks I overheard when she did this.
[117] This function took place just before *kilumi* at Mulundi sublocation. I have chosen to account for the proceedings separately because spirit invocation was not part of the *kilumi* at Mulundi that was described above. It is a procedure for spirit consultation usually done whenever a patient consults *mganga*. Ndaa had said that the invocation is only done privately in the house with a particular issue at hand. Once in the house, she first shut the door before starting the procedure.

photograph the proceedings. In this session a spirit entered the body of a living person and spoke through it as the possessed was in an altered state of consciousness enabling intuition. Unlike in *kilumi* where the possessed is primarily a dancer as *ngui* and other musicians sing and drum, at spirit invocation rituals such as this, the possessee is a musician and does not dance but in fact performs music seated.

The Performer

Sixty-two year old Ndaa Mulu Kamau, one of the most helpful informants I met in Kitui, had been *mganga* for over forty years. Because of her outstanding performance of healing, she was among the very few *waganga* granted a certificate of practice issued by the Ministry of Culture of the Kenya government. This means she was allowed to perform healing, including organizing *kilumi* anytime she wishes. But to organize *kilumi* she needs to inform chiefs (local state officials). She did not appear drank even though she took mouthfuls of several drinks including alcoholic *karubu* in what seemed a part of *kilumi* performance that followed rather than part of her spirit invocation procedure.[118]

A big group of people waited for the start of *kilumi* performance, but only three women and two men including myself were in the living room where she invoked her spirits. Until she got possessed and began speaking to us, we remained silent while she performed her activities that included singing and playing *uta*.

Proceedings

As she arranged her paraphernalia on a small area of operation in the centre of the living room, bringing one thing after another from her bedroom, she was either whistling or making unusual sounds with her mouth closed. The latter sound was similar to that of a hen with chicks.[119] While pouring bits of *karubu* and Fanta soda at one side of the door, she murmured to her spirits and returned to her work place already covered with a cloth material of different colors. After a moment of physical manipulation of *mbuu* in a small

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[118] I say this because similar rites were performed at Kisasi location as well. In Kisasi anyone planning to host *kilumi* chooses his/her favorite *ngui*, and then consults a committee of women who organize and publicize the event. Although Mbwika allowed me to carry out observations free of charge, the chair of this committee demanded a fee but did not consult spirits over photographing or video.

[119] You may hear the sound in accompanying audio CD track 6, which preceded her song *Kilinyaa*.

gourd, and smearing of powders of different colors, she picked up *uta* [a bow] and attached a half calabash [resonator], and began to play. Soon afterwards she started *Kilinyaa,* and the performance became a solo song with *uta* accompaniment. She sang one more song before she got possessed, although it did not become clear exactly at what time her personality changed. *Kilinyaa*[120] lyrics suggest she was alternately between being Ndaa and 'Nzeli'.

Her Behavior at Possession

Possession happened in the process of music making, even though it was not immediately clear exactly when she changed her persona. The musical performance varied from plain *uta* sound, to voice accompanied by *uta*, to *uta* with syllabic exclamations rather than sang melody. As she sang, she appeared to change the degree of connection to the music she was making with time. Her facial expressions kept changing from relaxed and cheerful, to deeply contemplative, to very serious or tense.[121] At one point she held her *uta* very close to herself as if to listen to some voices from within it. She began to deviate from normal melodic singing to single syllabic sounds like *...Yah! ...eh...eh ...ii...ya.*[122]

Using her facial expressions, her changes may be described with the words 'attentive', 'tense' and 'relaxed' at different times in her performance. This music continued until she was possessed, and it ended at a climax of a kind. Climax here does not imply most attractive musical section; it is about her apparent deepest level of involvement with the music as may be perceived by her audience. Her vocal sounds indicating deepening involvement were the only sonic aspects portraying a climax, especially when seen alongside changing facial expressions.

Finally she put down *uta* and greeted us after she was allegedly possessed by Nzeli, her late brother's wife. She demanded US $ 40 in return for any number of pictures. When possessed she looked physically unchanged but made astonishing 'explosions' of laughter

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[120] See the song text and additional details under 'song texts and their meanings' below.
[121] See photographs (plate 3) for her various facial expressions described as 'relaxed', 'tense' and 'attentive'
[122] Her sounds/songs are in accompanying audio CD track 6.

and spoke strangely loud. But she was also in absolute control and asked my assistant to address a question to her directly not through a woman who had assumed a mediator's role.[123] After we had our discussions with 'Nzeli', she bent forwards, gave a loud bark sound and 'released Nzeli' to become Ndaa.

Her whole performance lasted about thirty minutes. It is to be noted that the duration of spirit invocation can be much shorter when singing is avoided, as she later said at an interview. But she would not desist from singing if the case was not urgent.

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[123] Because Ndaa did not speak Kiswahili or English I had to always have a translator when talking to her.

2.2.1 Photographs

Photo Plate 1: *Kilumi* at Mulundi location

From top (left) is Katulu on the drum as she led the singing. Top (right) is Ndaa dancing Askari spirit, and middle (left) she was dancing Nzeli in black long *buibui*. Middle (left) Mina dancing Somali spirit. Bottom (left) she spoke a strange language while smoking as the man next to her tried conversing with her, and (right) she dances a Maasai spirit in *nguo ndune ya Maasai* dress in company of a possessed male dancer.

Photo plate 2a: *Kilumi* at Kisasi location

Top (left) is Mbwika (dressed in long sleeved *kanzu*) smoking and swinging his flywhisk in a meditative mood. Top (right) he is dancing Asumani spirit. This was his first dance and the first to be performed at Kisasi in the night. And a woman (bottom left) is carried by the music into ecstasy while dancing. Mbwika (bottom right) is served *karubu* just before his second dance. In both of Mbwika's dances, the *Asumani* song was performed.

Photo Plate 2b: *Kilumi* at Kisasi (Cont.)

A possessed woman plays *kayamba* (top left, middle ground, in a white cap) dancing; her *kayamba* performance was spectacular. Another woman (bottom), who collapsed while dancing during Mbwika's disruption, is helped up to dance.

Photo plate 3: Ndaa invoking the spirits
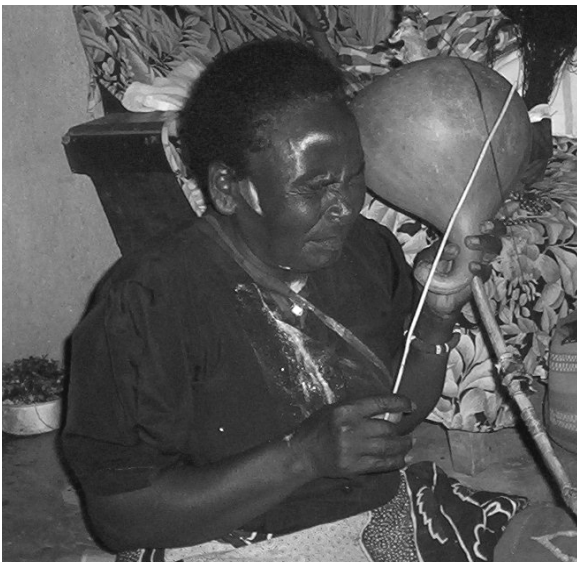
Ndaa shakes *mbuu* in a small gourd (top left). She plays *uta* 'attentively' (top right), 'tense' (bottom left) and 'relaxed' (bottom right) going by her facial expressions.

2.3   Kamba Healing Music

Let me at this point characterize Kamba healing music through its general sonic properties. I will later present some song texts and their translations as well, for they not only were part of what is perceived as music, but provide my analysis with useful data. I have provided scores of five song examples at appendix 2, though some aspects of the music could not be notated with much degree of accuracy and were, as a result, left out. I transcribed the properties of sound that occurred with a fair degree of regularity to avoid adverse notational misrepresentation, and I have presented audio recordings of each of the examples as well. Not transcribed are features such as ever-changing rhythmic variations of the master drummer. The transcription covers the melody in the Western conventional notation, and the repetitive *mwase* rhythms played by a team of drummers represented through time unit box system (TUBS) notation. There were tempo changes, so that one needs to note that the shown tempo applies only somewhere midway in a performance rather than throughout a particular performance.

2.3.1 General Features

One of the prominent sound features in all *kilumi* music is that it interchanges sections for *ngui* and chorus, thus call and response or ‖:AB:‖ form. Call and response, the presentation of one phrase or melody section by a soloist and another by a chorus, existed in all *kilumi* songs. At times the chorus repeated the same complete melody as sang by *ngui*. Other times *ngui* sang a phrase or part of it, as the response completed the melody, phrase or section. The complete melody could be divided into two phrases, or even into quite brief sections of up to three notes as seen in a section of *Kayamba ya Wagiriama*. Call and response does not prevail when a *mganga* sings while privately invoking spirits to treat patients, but the music is remarkably just as repetitive as that which is performed at *kilumi* functions. Possession music can thus be made either by the possessee, or by *ngui* and other musicians. The context determines what form [and by whom] of music is made when calling upon spirits to possess an individual. *Occurrence of possession when spirits are invoked by singing possessees, as well as when ngui invites them to dance at*

kilumi, indicates that possession music does not need to have the call and response form, but in all cases the music is repetitive.

All *kilumi* songs were in the monophonic texture, whereby male and female voices sing the same melody. The prevalence of this texture in Kamba healing music is further evinced by performances of a *mganga* who privately invokes spirits through music. However, there were varied sounds creating harmonies not well describable with concepts such as homophony, polyphony or heterophony. Often, a soloist begins a phrase before the chorus fully completes its part. When the end of the chorus is different in pitch from the start of solo part, there is harmony. This happens in *Masikali ni Kivole* when *ngui* sings parts of the verses as other singers respond with the textual phrase *ii waya kinayumba*. Besides, varied pitches were produced by drums, though certainly not conceivable in intervals such as semitones or tones. The different pitches are set to each other artistically when a master drummer varies his part as other drummers feature at least two pitches by striking the middle and side of the drum head. Drums also produced varied pitches and timbres when finger tips rubbed drum heads instead of striking drum head, and when drums were alternately struck with hand and heavy stick. Additionally there were whistles, sometimes several of them pitched differently, and harmonica, all of which created harmonies rather hard to describe using Western terminologies. The monophonic texture was therefore dominant only in the singing. Presence of a distinctive harmony means that overall texture in the possession music is not adequately describable using concepts designed for textural taxonomy in Western music. *It would be rather simplistic to merely see monophony in sang parts and pretend not to notice that numerous pitches, mostly produced by musical instruments, create harmonies contributing to the panache of the overall sound fabric.*[124]

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[124] Ethnomusicologists advocate for the use of changing canons rather than just those applied in historical musicology in dealing with music from other cultures to avoid such problems. But ethnomusicology cannot be united as a single discipline if its canons cannot be harmonized like they are in historical musicology. Ethnomusicology's canonic reflexivity is a subject of discussion in Philip Bohlman's "Ethnomusicology's Challenge to the Canon; the Canon's Challenge to Ethnomusicology" 1992, p. 117-137. Like he has pointed out, ethnomusicology rejects canons only to embrace reflexivity or avoid rigidity of canons formulated without regard to most forms of world music. My discussion uses parameters and terminologies applied in historical musicology, but this fails to fully represent what needs to be expressed in this context. It does not become satisfactory to describe texture here merely as monophonic, even as alternative textures conceived in Western music seem also inappropriate for what needs to be said.

Transcribed songs illustrate a common usage of pentatonic scales. This is exemplified through *Masikali ni Kivole* and *Woria Tethya Wia,* both evidence to the use of primary pentatonic scale. Although *Asumani* and *Kayamba ya Wagiriama* use pentatonic scale, that scale features a perfect 4th instead of major 3rd from the root of primary pentatonic scales. *Ndumaniwe Nzeli* is the only example in the hexatonic scale featuring the 2nd from the root along with pitches of a minor pentatonic scale. The songs were selected before I analyzed their musical properties, being some the songs performed for the dancers I had interviewed before the day of performance. They were therefore by no means expected to show the varieties of scales used. *The existence of different scales shows that scale is not an intransigent factor in Kamba healing music.*

From the above discussion it seems right to say that scale, texture, and form are changeable aspects of Kamba healing music. There are aspects of the music which are more uncompromising because they play a role that is essentially unavoidable.

One of the unchangeable aspects of possession music is sang melody. It is the melody, along with its textual message, that invites a particular possessee to the dance floor. Different melodies are used for different spirits, so that a dancer appears only when a song specially designed for one of his/her spirits is being sung. In other words, for a particular spirit to be appeased a particular melody/tune is mandatory. A quick examination of the examples tells us that both disjunct and conjunct movements prevail in melodic contours. Further, some melodic notes for *ngui* could be changed so that a melody is not necessarily the same upon repetition. *Kayamba ya Wagiriama* has one good example. The score indicates that in bar 1 Katulu started the song with G# (repeated severally), F# and C# pitches, but she later starts the melody with F# (repeated severally) C# (repeated) in bar 5. Only the above notes are affected, as every other note in the melody remains just the same. Such modifications on the melody were common but prevailed in parts performed by *ngui* only. *One may conclude that while there is high sensitivity to melodic aspects, as that determines [along with textual messages] which spirit is appeased, precision in melodic contour seems not so important.*

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One of the central features of Kamba healing music was gradually changing tempo, or *accelerando*. Tempo was changeable, but in a definite way: it always increased gradually as a performance developed towards a climax. There were times dancers interrupted a performance if possessing spirits had certain demands to make. Often it happened when a performance was building up towards the climax. In this case, the whole performance was stopped and restarted after the spirit was prepared to dance further. In every case though, tempo was one of the changeable elements encouraging and supporting climaxing. Every piece ended livelier than it started. Since a similar increase in tempo was not evident in solo performances through which a *mganga* invokes spirits, it can be said that only the dance factor explains the need for tempo increases in *kilumi. Indeed, gradually building up tempo seemed a very essential if not obligatory factor in kilumi music since it was a key factor enabling desirable gradual increase in dance vigor.*

Meter was not changeable in a particular performance, but different performances had different meters. Metric patterns ranged from duple, triple and quadruple time patterns. Meter is thus changeable from song to song, even if a change cannot occur in the middle of a single performance, as changing dance styles could mean the use of different meters.

Steady drum rhythm is yet another factor working in close collaboration with tempo changes and meter to ensure that a performance had a building up form suited for particular dance movements. These were critical in *kilumi* and not at private spirit invocation rituals of *waganga* because, in the former, they supported dance, while in the latter the performer sang seated. At the times when drums were not played in *kilumi*, before a dancer was in the arena, some soloists paid closer attention to the melody somewhat ignoring meter and using free rhythm. At such times the soloist's part took a bit longer duration than the response, resulting into a combination of melodic phrases or parts, which ideally would have taken same durations, occurring through changeable time. *Like gradual tempo increases, repetitive and metered drum rhythms were crucial in supporting a climaxing dance making it possible for spirits to dance as desired.*

Another crucial aspect of *kilumi* music is its customary increase in intensity (*crescendo*) as a performance develops with more instruments joining in, thus affecting density as well. Instruments such as whistles, harmonica, *nguli*, and *kayamba* joined only when a performance was approaching the climax. This was also the time women began to ululate in appreciation as the dancer entered a final vigorous dance part. Audible sounds were many at such points – ululations, sounding of virtually all appropriate instruments, singing and so on. The gradual increase in intensity and density corresponded with increase in tempo, and the three concomitantly created a captivating dance environment. In short, *accelerando crescendo* largely sums up qualities of *kilumi* sound desirable for purposes of enabling a dance to climax as required by most dancers.

Timbre was adversely influenced by an unavoidable factor in all *kilumi* music. There was absolutely no *kilumi* without *mwase* sounds. This means instrumental sound was dominated by the drum sounds, while spirit invocations had *uta* ostinato rhythms. In *kilumi* timbre was affected by style of playing rather than just the musical instrument. Firstly a group of drummers played uniform rhythm producing at least two pitches by hitting the middle of edge of drum heads, with hand and stick or both hands alternately. Secondly master drummers often rubbed the drum head with finger tips to produce lengthened sounds of varying timbres – which clearly differed from that of a struck drum. As such sound often smoothly crossed over into a new bar, or beat, its high frequency and unpredictability at climaxes often resulted into polyrhythm and syncopation. Other instruments also had their own other timbres. Among them were human voice, *kayamba*, whistles and/or harmonica, and *nguli*.[125] While varied instruments were present, those that prevailed at all times included voice and *mwase* drums. *Voice and mwase timbres were essentially unavoidable, because song was needed as a means of inviting specific spirits to dance, and mwase rhythms produced the dance rhythms.*

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[125] John Wahome (*Musical Instruments: A Resource Book on Traditional Musical Instruments of Kenya*, 1986, p. 27) describes *nguli* as a Kamba horn rather than a flute. The flute looked like *chivoti* also of the Giriama from where *kayamba* comes. It seems this instrument is a recent adoption from the Miji Kenya people [of whom Giriama are part] from whom *kayamba* was also borrowed.

2.3.2 Song Texts and their Meanings

Below I refer to song texts and their English translations, to briefly discuss 'musical meanings' from the point of view of dancers and *ngui*. These details were provided in interviews by either the dancers themselves or *ngui* after a dance was performed.

Kilinyaa

Kikamba	**English**
Kilinyaa Kilinyaa	Kilinyaa Kilinyaa
ngyuka ukamba	when I come to Kamba land
ngauka na ngali	I come by a vehicle
na ngooka na isasi kwitu	I come with bullets home
na ngooka na isasi mbwevwe	I come with bullets and mbwevwe
Wanzeli ndinakoma ngiina	Wanzeli I didn't sleep singing
wa Munyalo ni wakethwa ni wanda	Munyalo you've a lot of visitors
wakethwa wina isasi na mbwevwe	You're greeted as you've bullets and mbwevwe

Kilinyaa refers to Mt. Kenya (also known as Kirinyaga), Kenya's tallest mountain where Nzeli was said to have come from. She was from the Kikuyu tribe, thus 'coming to Kamba land' means going to a place that was not her original place of residence. Bullets refer to *mbuu*, or pebbles used in *uganga*, and Nzeli was promising to bring some *mbuu* and *mbwevwe* [a musical flute] which is also sometimes used in *uganga*. In the song, Ndaa informed Munyalo, her late brother, that he had visitors. Visitors in that case were us, or in usual cases patients, who consulted her. She said to him that the visitors came because Munyalo had the 'bullets', or *mbuu*, and *mbwevwe*, that are needed to heal. As she proceeded to sing other songs, Ndaa had messages for all her spirits, including greetings, asking them to help, and so on. In this song she only mentioned Nzeli and Munyalo, her brother.[126] In the second song,[127] she specifically greeted Nzambi her sister, Malonza her brother, Wanjiku, and Mumanzi.

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[126] This was the brother called Malonza in my interview with her

[127] This song is also included in the accompanying audio recording *Kilinyaa* (track 6) which contains all sounds and songs of her spirit invocation described earlier.

Masikali ni Kivole

Kikamba	English
masikali ni kivole amba ui ni kivole	solders on parade – parade commands
kambu ni ya asungu	white man's camp (troops)
nikutoroka yumite Garissa	it's escaping from Garissa
kukilya ndeke syukite na misinga	planes are coming with guns
ii waya kinayumba	all getting ready to fight

This song was sung to a spirit of a man who was once a solder in the colonial times. This man was said to have been a friend of Ndaa's brother who was also a solder. She said that when her late brother Malonza first possessed her, he 'came' with a friend of his who he introduced only as 'Askari' (solder). From this time, Ndaa has had to dance the spirit of Askari along with her brother's and several other spirits. Askari was together with Malonza in the white man's army camp in Garissa town of North Eastern Kenya, but they always sought to escape so as to return to their homes. By mentioning such things in the song, Askari was being remembered together with what he experienced while he was alive. He was then expected to show up and dance through Ndaa.

Ndumaniwe Nzeli

Kikamba	English
ndumaniwe Nzeli Oo ndakitari no mue	I was called for Nzeli traditional doctor
ndimona Nzeli akitembea	I have not seen Nzeli walk around

The song was addressed to Nzeli, who was a wife to Ndaa's late brother (Malonza). The soloist says that she was called to sing to Nzeli [who was said to treat patients through possessed Ndaa, thus 'traditional doctor'] telling her that though she responded to the call to sing to her, she has not seen Nzeli walk around. In other words they were asking Nzeli to immediately possess Ndaa so that she would be seen 'walking around'. At the climax, when Ndaa was already dancing Nzeli, the soloist alone sings short phrases as the women accompany Nzeli in the dance with intense drumming.

Woria Nindi Wia

Kikamba	English
Woria i O Oo ni tethya wia	Woria i O Oo help in work
mbanda i kisese i kya vunga i salama	I need a secure place to settle and work
andua makwa i nindi wia	In this place of mine, its now work

Mina alone was possessed by a Woria spirit when this song was performed. She interrupted the dance two times. One time she smoked and talked to people around her in a strange language, and just before the end of the dance again she stopped in order to 'get into a mosque for prayers'; where after singing some chants while kneeling and bowing as if she were in a real Islamic worship session, she did not dance any more. She simply left the dance arena.

In the song a spirit she later described as a Somali spirit, thus Woria, was directly being implored to help her in the *uganga* that was now her profession. Though the soloist says 'I need a secure place to work' she was saying the words on behalf of Mina. Mina was also saying that *uganga* was the work of such spirits and not really herself. Saying 'its now work' could imply that Mina felt that she had done her dancing task; the spirit would then act from that moment to facilitate healing, having been offered what it needed, which was the music and dance.

Kayamba ya Wagiriama

Kikamba	English
kayamba iilu iilu ngoma	*kayamba iilu iilu* (dance/instrument)
kayamba ngoma ya Wagiriama	*kayamba* (dance/instrument) of Wagiriama
i kayamba iilu iilu ngoma i kayamba	*i kayamba iilu iilu* (dance/instrument) of Wagiriama
i kayamba ngoma ya Wagiriama x2	*i kayamba* (dance/instrument) of Wagiriama
kayamba, ngoma ya Wagiriama x3	*kayamba* (dance/instrument) of Wagiriama

Two people danced to this song both possessed by spirits of Giriama people.[128] *Kayamba* is a famous shaken idiophone of the Giriama people, but there is a Giriama dance also called *kayamba*. By being reminded that *kayamba* dance (instrument) was of Giriama

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[128] Giriama is a Bantu ethnic group which falls under the Miji Kenda of Coast Province in Kenya.

origin, the spirits were being enticed to come forward and dance to their satisfaction. The *kayamba* was itself played by the possessed. It was clear that possession did not appear to affect her performance in any adverse way; on the contrary she played rather proficiently.

Asumani – Ndelebe Ngali

Kikamba	**English**
ndelebe ngali muraka lembele	car driver taking it forward
nderebe ngali muraka mbike	car driver taking it to the destination
'sumani ketheka wakwa muyombee	Asumani my sweetheart I greet you
ndelebe ngali muraka mbike	car driver taking it to the destination
'sumani ketheka wakwa muyombee	Asumani my sweetheart I greet you
ndelebe ngali muraka mbike	car driver taking it to the destination

Asumani was sung to the grandfather of Mbwika, now in the spirit world having died years ago. He was a great master drummer in Kisasi, and was believed to drum through Mbwika, who was equally good.[129] The song called *Asumani* a 'driver taking the car forward to its destination', metaphorically meaning Asumani always succeeded in controlling *kilumi* through his extraordinary drumming skills. Munalo, who was *ngui* and happened to have known Asumani while he was alive, greeted him through song also calling him 'my sweetheart'.

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[129] Mbwika did not just appear to outdo everyone else in drumming; he seemed extraordinarily gifted in drumming. Besides creating numerous pitches and timbres on the drum, he often danced while playing *mwase*, bending forward and backward and moving his hands not only to strike the drum head, but to add considerable visual beauty in the art. Though the drum was played by a seated performer, he did not settle on the drum fully, as he would arise momentarily if that helped to enhance his body and drum coordination. He also often drummed with his eyes closed, appearing to indeed be controlled by a strange mystical force.

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2.4   Data Analysis

2.4.1 Disease in Kamba Culture

The causes of disease in the Kamba beliefs can be categorized into two classes: those that are natural (biological) and those that are supernatural.[130] Natural causes of disease are implied as Mina obviously believes that her stomach problems were a result of biological causes. [131] She sought redress at hospitals in Kitui but the problem worsened. A similar indication, that disease cause is often understood as biological, was illustrated through Mutua, in a story that will be told later. He was treated using ointments obtained from a hospital in Kitui, before he thought differently about the skin disease from which he was suffering. Such is the common understanding of illness until it persists and does not respond to the treatment given by doctors or herbalists. Thereafter, patients consult *waganga* as demonstrated in Mina's case. Illnesses with supernatural causes result from malevolence by spirits and/or witchcraft, and a few are sourced from curses. Below are examples of stories about how and why spirits and witches cause disease.

For Ndaa (2e)[132] her deceased sister Nzambi delayed her menstruation to catch her attention because she wanted to possess her, and thereafter become her security against malevolent spirits. Ndaa had to dance Nzambi's spirit before she could be well. After she danced the spirit, her menstrual periods commenced. When she got married, she miscarried three times renewing her anxiety since this also meant she would be unable to bear her own children. A *mganga* informed her that she needed to take her late grandmother's *kyondo kya utabibu* and *katinya* [a type of *kilumi* dance dress] with her to the new home,[133] and organize a *kilumi* dance.[134] After this dance, she was not only

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[130] It is difficult to discuss healing in Africa without making this distinction, because it appears that supernatural illnesses fail to respond to Western medicine and herbs, and their solution is traditional healers. Steven Friedson (*Dancing Prophets,* 1996, p. 61) notes that Tumbuka healers collaborate with medical doctors in Malawi to handle both 'African diseases" and normal biological diseases such as malaria. This situation is similar in Ukambani where people visit *waganga* after hospital treatment fails.

[131] See introduction to the current chapter for full story.

[132] From this point I will use numbers and letters after names of interviewees, (for example Ndaa 3a, Katulu 2e etc) to indicate the section of interview in which the stated issue was mentioned. The selected interviews are attached in appendix 1.

[133] She had left the *kyondo* and *katinya* at her parent's home when she got married.

healed but also became a *mganga*.[135] As a *mganga*, if she does not dance her spirits once in a year, sickness is one of the problems she would expect (Ndaa 2d).

Ndaa (3b) shares the opinion of Katulu (3b) that barrenness is one of the reasons *kilumi* must have developed.[136] She listed other problems such as madness, witchcraft, bad luck, failure of crops, and family disputes, as possible reasons why supernatural connections developed in their belief system. *Uganga* must have developed, she said, in order to solve the problems that people have. And so it must be said that disease is not the only problem attributable to supernatural powers, which must be dealt with by a *mganga*. In this study, I will restrict myself to health issues only.

Drawing from Ndaa's story, it can be inferred that spirits cause disease even though their primary aim is not to destroy a person or family, but, on the contrary, to protect.[137] These spirits are mainly those of deceased relatives. For Mbwika (2g), his late grandfather was the cause of his periodic 'death and resurrection' until when he yielded to the demand to take over from him as *mganga* despite the tender age. For *ngui* such as Munalo (2f) and Katulu (2f), their spirits, which are also of their late relatives, could bring them disease if they failed to sing and dance *kilumi* for a long time. That problem is similar to the one facing a *mganga* who fails to dance *kilumi* for long, as corroborated by Ndaa (2d).

For Katulu (2e) voices sang in her head, exasperating her day and night, until she offered a goat sacrifice in a *kilumi* performance in which she graduated as *ngui*. Katulu saw the 'exasperating voices' as amounting to an illness for which a solution had to be found.

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[134] Her dance was done for three nights, once at her parents where she took her required items, and twice at her new home, where she offered the cow sacrifice.

[135] She did not miscarry another time, and has five grown children, some who are university graduates.

[136] In many African traditions, barrenness was seen as a problem of the woman. In such a case, and because children were greatly valued, a man could choose to marry another wife, while the first one was devalued in society. Some interviewees seemed to place the issue of barrenness first among reason why *kilumi* was invented. Ndaa (3b) asked a question "what do you do if a woman cannot give birth?" Katulu (3b) also placed to the barrenness problem before any others.

[137] Ancestral spirits, to whom many problems are attributed in parts of Africa, usually demand sacrifice or respect. John Mbiti (*Introduction to African Religion*, 1992, p. 78) appears to describe what Friedson calls "African disease" when he states that misfortune and sickness may be attributable to the spirits of the living dead, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. Among the Tumbuka of Malawi the *mizimu* caused illness and made it impossible to for an *nchimi* to divine (Friedson, *Dancing Prophets*, 1996, p. 59-60).

While possessed *ngui* failing to regularly sing in *kilumi* could also suffer sickness as noted by Munalo (2f), some *ngui* who are not guided by a spirit may not get sick if they fail to sing or dance in the same. The purpose of such *ngui* and *waganga* diseases, hence, is not to trouble a person, but to encourage them to incessantly appease spirits through music and dance; in other words to ask them to 'keep in touch'.

Apart from these benevolent possessing spirits which are often seen as friends of a family, other spirits may also bring problems to individuals and families. Such spirits are said to be enemies, and they could be sent by a jealous person to harm someone unwary. They include those 'dangerous' spirits Katulu (3c) refers to as *muviti* and *lala,*[138] which could also cause problems even in the event of *kilumi* performance itself. She said that spirits could be sent by a person who plans to destroy a person or family, adding that such spirits could even cause death. Other spirits of this kind are *majini* (genies), which according to Ndaa (2f) are believed to originate from Islam. Notably, though such spirits are foreign to a family, some of them also protect particular families.[139]

Very closely connected with these malevolent spirits is the practice of witchcraft. Witches and wizards work with evil spirits in order to work harmful magic[140] with objects powered by such spirits. According to Ndaa (3b) witchcraft involves objects such as those that may be planted at one's field so that crops would not yield well. In the same way they could be placed strategically in places where their targeted person would normally be, magically causing mysterious problems, illnesses or death.

One man from Kitui recounted how he had suffered a witchcraft ordeal. Mutua[141] said that a workmate at a government office was jealous that he was in charge of funds, a

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[138] According to Kavyu (*An Introduction to Kamba Music*, 1977) *lala* is a rain god, who was later called *kathambi*. This is a nature spirit, not a human spirit such as those benevolent spirits appeased by *waganga* to enable healing. When Kavyu carried out his research, *kilumi* was the name of the dance to appease *lala*. Now the dance is meant to appease *maimu*, who according to our interviews, are largely human possession spirits.

[139] Good examples include the Kikuyu spirits of Ndaa, and the Maasai, Somali and Giriama spirits of Mina.

[140] Magic is understood as good if it is used to solve a problem, say, in *uganga*, while bad magic is meant to harm an innocent or unsuspecting person through witches.

[141] That is not his real name.

position she had held earlier, and through corrupt deals earned herself much money. She consulted a magician, from whom she obtained some powders and other objects. She was instructed where to locate them so that Mutua would be crippled to an extent that he would be unable to handle money and the job would be given back to her. As advised by the witch, the lady put some magical powder in the ash tray used by Mutua, a smoker. She dug a hole and put some objects at a spot where Mutua always had siesta in the hot afternoons under a shade of a tree, and positioned some other objects also at the main entrance to their compound.

After some time Mutua's hands had a skin problem. His hand skin began peeling off up to the wrist continuously, so that it became painful for him to hold anything. Some ointments from a hospital had no effect, he said, and so he suspected witchcraft, because he wondered why the problem was exclusively on the hands and did not spread to the rest of the body. His treatment procedure lasted a whole night, with several dramatic episodes, and costing him more than US $ 150. They went to every spot where witchcraft had been planted and collected it. Then they did a cock ritual, in which a cock was magically made to rest on his head as the *mganga* made verbal and physical gestures sending the disease away.[142] The *mganga* asked the disease to return to where it had come from, while he moved some horns around Mutua's body, across the shoulders, between the legs and around the back and belly.

All collected objects and powders, together with the head of the cock,[143] were boiled to form the treatment medicine. Mutua wiped his hands with the liquid for three days and his hands were perfectly back to normal. The *mganga* gave him a sign by which he would identify the enemy that wanted him crippled. Armed with a set of words, Mutua said he had hardly greeted the female workmate before she said the very words the *mganga* had predicted she would. Because she suspected that a *mganga* had saved Mutua from the illness she had organized, she remarked that *waganga* were cheats only interested in monetary gains, while offering faked solutions. Mutua did not comment.

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[142] It was problematic to make the cock docile, but the *mganga* said some words to his own spirits ultimately getting it quietly there.
[143] The cock was killed in the process.

Mutua's story illustrates how despicable malevolent spirits and witchcraft can be. A thing that *waganga* often use to justify their work,[144] which opposes such evil working magic, and because there are no known scientific ways to deal with witchcraft related problems. The magic relies on spirits whose aim is to harm or kill unjustifiably. A witch uses magic to affect an innocent and unsuspecting person from sheer jealousy as shown through Mutua's story. But *waganga* in fact also use magic, except that they pursue good objectives such as to heal, discover and expose a thief, witch and such other evil doers.

A supernatural cause of disease that is apart from spirits, and often linked to a just God, was mentioned under curses.[145] Ndaa (2d) claimed to have ability to deal with curses with the help of Nzambi her late sister. It is believed that evil doers may be punished by invincible powers attributable to God, an all powerful and just Being that works above all spirits and creatures. Any form of evil is punishable, especially if an affected person [or group of persons] performs a verbal or physical gesture invoking a supernatural administration of justice. The end result is long lasting trouble for the evil doer, and often also for his/her descendants. Following this discussion, the causes of disease in Kamba beliefs can then be summarized in figure below.

Figure 4: Disease Causes among Akamba – Classified

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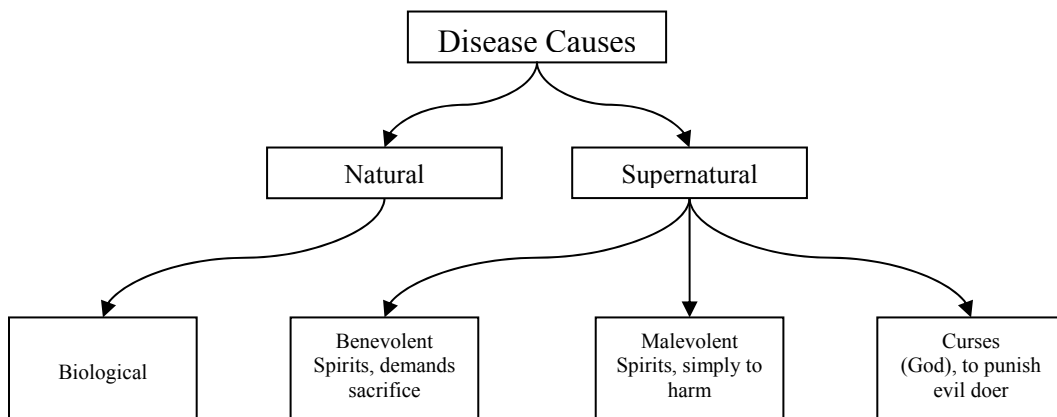
[144] See for example Ndaa (3b).
[145] The belief in curses is also mentioned in the next chapter. Usually curses do not only affect one's health but the whole life of a person. Mburung'a claimed a curse was affecting his business at Isiolo, and he appeared to attribute it to his son's deviant behaviour.

From observations and music examples provided in this chapter, some issues validate certain ideas from interviews. At the *kilumi* performed at Mulundi, I saw a woman who was said to have stayed long without hosting *kilumi* even though she was a *mganga*. I noted her behavior as abnormal and could not therefore comfortably conduct an interview with her. Ndaa, the dance host, informed me that the woman was normal but had not performed *kilumi* for more than a year, so her spirits were beginning to trouble her. This is the kind of problem Ndaa, Katulu and Munalo fear should their *kilumi* performance be irregular. But for this woman, her problems had just begun and could conceivably worsen if she failed to organize *kilumi* at her home for an even longer time.[146]

Another observation concerning benevolent spirits can be extracted from Mbwika's experience on the first night at Kisasi. Mbwika abruptly stopped drumming, and the whole performance had to stop since he was the master drummer. Being the dance host, priority was given to his Asumani spirit. The spirit literally incapacitated him so that he cried as he was helped into the house where he wore an appropriate dance garment before returning to the dance arena.[147] But he did not get into a coma, or as he termed it 'die', though this had happened many times before he was an experienced *mganga*. The song performed to lead him to dance praised Asumani,[148] his late maternal grandfather.

While initiatory disease[149] is almost always connected to late relatives, as is the case with all interviewees mentioned, it was observed that most of the spirits danced were foreign to their families. At Mulundi for instance, Mina danced to Somali, Giriama, and Maasai spirits, while Ndaa danced Nzeli and Wanjiku, both Kikuyu spirits, and Askari of unknown origin. These spirits had somewhat become friends after the first dance prompted by a spirit of a dead relative. This suggests that late relatives guide their surviving relatives into acquiring skills of control of spiritual power. Afterwards the possessed are free to associate with spirits other than those of their late relatives. But

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[146] Dancing one's spirits at another person's home, though important, is not as good as hosting it at one's home compound. The latter is demanded by benevolent spirits, since it is a special and costly offering in which a healer thanks the spirits for their support.

[147] He later described this experience saying, he simply felt weak, and was no longer himself (Mbwika 2a)

[148] See the text of *Asumani* song under 'Song Texts and their Meanings'.

[149] This is the disease caused for the first time by a benevolent spirit, which demands sacrifice. Usually after the spirit is appeased it guides one into the profession of *uganga* or *ngui*.

Nzambi, the spirit of Ndaa's sister who nearly caused her infertility, and her brother Malonza, remained among the spirits she danced and healed with (Ndaa 2d), just like Mbwika also primarily healed with his grandfather's spirit, who had caused his initiatory disease. This suggests that spirits of late relatives remain also very important after one has mastered control of spirits.

It seems benevolent spirits that are foreign to a family do not affect families uninvited,[150] as do spirits of the late relatives, who demand attention and could harm if one does not heed their demands. Ndaa said that when her brother Malonza first possessed her, he 'came' with a friend who was a solder, thus Askari. She did not know where Askari came from, and so the song composed to appease him only talked about things Malonza and fellow solders did when they were alive.[151] Anytime she organized *kilumi*, she bought beer for Askari because he always demanded it just as he did in my presence at Mulundi.[152] A special song, *Masikali ni Kivole*, had also been composed specifically for him. It seems logical to conclude that spirits of late relatives cause initiatory diseases, but later introduce new foreign spirits to boost protection of their living relatives.

Disease in Kamba culture is thus a result of a multiple of factors which include biological or natural causes, benevolent (protective) spirits, malevolent (harmful) spirits and curses. It seems patients who consult *waganga* have problems they consider to have supernatural origins.[153] While the patients who consulted the *waganga* appear to see health as a status that one either has or does not have, *waganga* perceive their personal health along a continuum; ranging from the best to the worst. This understanding is linked to their belief that disease builds up slowly if a *mganga* does not organize *kilumi*.[154]

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[150] Such invitation could be done through spirits of relatives of a healer like in the case of Ndaa.

[151] See the song titled *Masikali ni Kivole* and its poetics.

[152] I have described her behavior when she was possessed by Askari in Mulundi *kilumi* observations (2e).

[153] I say this because herbal medicine and western medicine in hospitals are available and patients who think that their sickness has a biological cause would naturally get help there instead.

[154] Usually the person begins by behaving strangely and then the problem develops. Diallo & Hall describe similar bizarre behavior as illness among the Minianka of Mali (*The Healing Drum*, 1989, p. 147). Many *non-waganga* share this belief, and this makes *kilumi* an important healing function for both healers and non-healers.

2.4.2 Dealing with Disease

There are three possible remedies for a sick individual in traditional Kamba community[155], with the four known disease causes. A disease whose cause is perceived to be biological is dealt with mostly using herbal medicine. What is not obvious is how such herbal medicine was discovered although some of these herbs are now tested in laboratories and demonstrate scientific validity.[156] According to Munalo (3b), dreams may serve as the means through which a spirit assists a *mganga* to discover herbs for the treatment of certain diseases. Ndaa (2e) agreed with this view in her own description on how she was initiated into *uganga*. A spirit often told her which herbs to give a sick person even before the specified person had consulted. However, biological problems could be dealt with using herbal medicine, even without having to contact a *mganga*.

The other three ways of addressing illnesses respond to problems originating from supernatural causes. As mentioned earlier, a problem sourced from a supernatural force would be irresponsive to herbal medicine. If one's illness fails to respond to medicine applied to natural illnesses, one immediately suspects the involvement of a spirit, witchcraft or even curses. A *mganga* must in that case be consulted. The *mganga* deciphers whether the problem is caused by benevolent spirits, malevolent spirits and/or witches, or curses. S/he also offers a solution to the problem. Each of the said causes of disease necessitates a different solution.

2.4.2a   The Role of a Healer – Mganga

As Ndaa (2b) remarks, a *mganga* first carries out a diagnosis on the problem presented, in order to isolate the cause from among the four mentioned above.[157] A solution is further proposed by his/her spirit(s). If the problem is biological and no known herbs can cure

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[155] It is imperative to note that tradition is changing. In this case I refer exclusively to what is indigenous and has resisted acculturation.

[156] According to a report in *Daily Nation,* one of the local newspapers, (Nation Correspondent, "Public Hospitals to give Herbal Drugs", 2006) the government, through a Draft National Policy on Traditional Medicine and Medical Plants, has allowed herbal medicine to be dispensed through pharmacies after vetting by Pharmacists and Poisons Board is carried out to the protect users. The report notes that 70% of Kenyans use herbal when they cannot access conventional medicine, and there is a danger of exploitation by quacks without proper knowledge of herbal medicine, and a risk of extinction of medicinal herbs.

[157] A biological problem may not need such diagnosis as it is remedied by herbal medicine administered according to the symptoms.

the person, a *mganga* may be shown, through dreams, which herbs to use (Munalo 3b). If the problem is attributed to a benevolent spirit, a *mganga* will ask the spirit what it wants and advise the patient accordingly. A benevolent spirit demands a sacrifice,[158] and the performance of *kilumi* as happened in the case with Katulu (2e) when her maternal uncle prompted her to offer goat sacrifice, Ndaa (2e) when her grandmother and sister together obstructed her having a child until she offered a cow sacrifice, Mbwika when he had to dance his grandfather's spirit, and Mina who had to dance *kilumi* after throwing away an ostrich egg offered by her late sister. All these problems are associated with what is termed here as initiatory disease. The healing takes place once a patient fulfills what a spirit requires. In this case a healer's role may be only to state what the spirit needs.

For the problems caused by malevolent spirits and witches or wizards, a *mganga* him/herself must act to save the patient's life. Because s/he is possessed by a spirit when treating a patient, his/her possessing spirit deals with the disease causing one at a spiritual realm, as explicitly said by Ndaa (2c), so that the disease causing spirit will be stopped from afflicting the sick.[159] In the event that witches or wizards are the cause of disease, the *mganga* must find the places where the magical objects of witchcraft have been placed, remove and destroy them before the sick person can be well. This is implied through Mbwika's (2c) visit to homes where he 'solves problems', or, as explicitly seen, through Mutua's night-long healing procedure.

A *mganga* deals with curses ascribed supernatural problems in a manner similar to how s/he deals with witchcraft or evil spirits. In Ndaa's case (2d), one particular spirit, which is that of her late sister Nzambi, helped her solve problems that had to do with curses.

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[158] John Mbiti (*African Religions and Philosophy*, 2002, p. 81) has remarked that spirits are not considered in African traditions as bad or good. It depends on one's relationship to a particular spirit. Although a spirit may be classified as ancestral or other (Paul Berliner, *The Soul of Mbira*, 1993, p. 187), this does not mean foreign spirits are necessarily malevolent and ancestral ones benevolent. Among the Akamba, it appears the ancestral spirits cause initiatory disease and other spirits later strengthen a healer's powers. Interestingly among the Tumbuka only the foreign (*Vimbuza*) spirits possess, but cannot carry out divination without the ancestral (*Mizimu*) spirits. The two usually work together (Friedson, *Dancing Prophets*, 1996, p. 30).

[159] In this case, the healer and the disease causing spirit are both spirits because the healer impersonates a spirit. To negotiate between a living human being and a spirit is impossible without possession.

Nzambi told her what to do to resolve the problem and free the cursed person from trouble and disease.

In one of my observation accounts, Ndaa invoked her spirits.[160] The role of a *mganga* in the treatment procedure is impossible until s/he invokes the power of such spirits. As shown through the observation of Ndaa's spirit invocation procedure, activities undertaken include pouring of libation, manipulation of *mbuu*, and lastly music making. When she was possessed, Ndaa spoke to us, yet, she was not the one who spoke, but a spirit of a deceased woman called Wanjiku. The suggestion is that a *mganga* 'becomes a spirit' during the performance of healing. The money we paid was placed on a tray, rather than given to Ndaa when possessed. This confirms the belief that when she makes a monetary demand for a service offered, she is a different being altogether, and only her beneficiary, Ndaa without the spirit, could later collect the money after the healing spirit departed from her body.

In a nut shell, it is clear that a *mganga* does four things for healing to occur: s/he uses verbal and physical gestures which include music making in order to request a spirit to descend upon him/her, s/he offers his/her body to be used as the communication channel for the unseen spirit, s/he practically finds and destroys magical objects that are used by an ill-intentioned witch or wizard,[161] and finally, s/he appeases the spirits regularly through music and dance. The rest of the work is done by the spirit(s).

2.4.2b   The Role of a Healer's Healer – Ngui

To appease the spirits, every *mganga* needs a *ngui*. Ndaa's *ngui* was Katulu, whose interview is recorded in this text (see appendix 1). Munalo was Mbwika's *ngui* at the Kisasi *kilumi*. *Ngui* are musicians who compose and sing to appease spirits of possession. They are normally available for hire according to Katulu (2f) and Munalo (2d). *Ngui* are knowledgeable of each *mganga* and his/her spirits.[162] They are very well versed with

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[160] See observation schedule titled 'Ndaa Invokes the Spirits'.
[161] S/he is helped by the spirits to find where witchcraft has been placed.
[162] Katulu implies this by saying once a tune is brought into her mind by her spirit she sings it mentioning the names of the various *maimu* that have come to *kilumi*.

details of the *waganga's* spirits, and must know many songs in order to service each *mganga's* needs as was corroborated by Munalo (2e, 4c).

Earlier it was said that a *mganga* who fails to host *kilumi* for a long time ultimately suffers ill-health, besides gradually losing connection to the spirits that enable him/her to heal. Mbwika had organized *kilumi* because he had begun to lose clients. The *mganga* who seemed insane at Mulundi, had failed to host *kilumi* for more than a year. Because *kilumi* is the only way to solve this problem for any *mganga*, it can be inferred that *ngui*, who leads the performance in which a *mganga* dances his/her spirits, is a healer's healer. *Ngui* seemed overall in control of a *kilumi* event, and even manage dangerous spirits that cause anomalous trance behavior that Katulu (3c) believes has to do with unusual spirits. She said that she would stop the music to first respond to the demands of any possessing spirit. For a malevolent spirit, she paid seven cents, struck the ground with a stick at the space just above the head of an entranced person, and also the space just below his/her legs, and the person would rise and walk.

But *ngui* never ministers to patients the way a *mganga* does, and would in fact also consult *mganga* if sick.[163] Firstly, to be *ngui*, an initiatory disease is diagnosed by a *mganga*, who also identifies the spirit that is the cause of sickness. Once a *mganga* identifies the spirit causing an initiatory disease of a new *ngui* or *mganga*, a *ngui* would compose and sing to the possessing spirit, and the sick would dance the spirit for the first time in *kilumi*. *Ngui* and *waganga* therefore depend on each other, and can be said to be healers of each other. They are both led through their duties by possessing spirits[164], and must appease these spirits regularly through music and dance. Entry into these professions is always marked by an initiatory disease and performance of *kilumi*. Because *ngui* require *mwase* drum, the skin of a goat or cow offered as sacrifice is used to make his/her new *mwase* drum as stated by Katulu (2e).

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[163] Friedson (*Dancing Prophets*, 1996 p. 122) says that *nchimi* of the Tumbuka people of Malawi do not perform music in divinatory trance. Instead, they need musicians to perform trance music. This shows a big difference because the *waganga* of Kamba usually sing and play *uta* to invoke the powers of their spirits at healing performances except in matters of urgency.

[164] Munalo (2f) said, however, that some *ngui* are not possessed; instead, they only compose songs and sing. She said that such *ngui* would not be sick even if they refused to host *kilumi*.

In the *kilumi* performances I attended, a number of observations clarify issues that were spoken by the interviewees. Both Katulu and Munalo appeared in the introductory rites in which Ndaa and Mbwika poured libations while making special statements to the spirits at Mulundi and Kisasi respectively. In these introductory rites, names of spirits for whom the performances had been organized were mentioned as libations were poured. The parents of Mbwika, rather than himself, performed this part of the ritual. Then, in both places, *ngui* walked out immediately after this step to warm *mwase* drums by a fire at the dance place, which was in all cases just adjacent to the entrance to a healer's house. Once the *mwase* drums were tuned, *ngui* started a song to invite the host to the dance. Only after the host danced, would *ngui* be free to invite others to the dance floor (Katulu 4a).[165]

Ngui called one spirit after another throughout the night so that countless dancers came and left the dance floor.[166] This shows how many songs, and spirits are known to *ngui*,[167] as only one *ngui* led the singing and dancing throughout the night (Munalo 2c). That so many *waganga* as well as *ngui* assemble to dance their spirits a whole night shows not only how they valued this dance but notably how much they depended on *ngui*. *Ngui* decides which song to start (Mbwika 3a), thus determining also the time a dancer came to the floor, except for the host, who was always given first priority.[168]

In examining and analyzing the few music examples provided in this text, there is a variety of time patterns, rhythms, scales and melodies. This suggests that the skill of a *ngui* possibly rises beyond the composition of poems, as considerable musical variation is

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[165] Although Munalo did not refer to how she prioritizes for the dancers, it was noted that Mbwika, the dance host, was first to dance, and was given extra attention in the night.

[166] Usually in *kilumi*, like among the Tumbuka of Malawi (Friedson, *Dancing Prophets*, 1996, p. 122) dancing happens sequentially. Music and drumming is performed for one person at a time, and presence of many interested performers means several nights of *kilumi* performance.

[167] Both Munalo (1) and Katulu (1) said that they never went to school and could not read or write. All details of the dancers and their spirits are then preserved through memory.

[168] There was an incident at Kisasi in which a woman who for unknown reason had expected to dance next wore her dance dress, but Munalo begun a song inviting a different spirit. The woman, who had to wait though she had already been possessed by one of her spirits, complained soon afterwards and Munalo apologized to her spirit and immediately started her song.

evident in different performances.[169] *Ngui* were quite skilled in creation of new tunes, though Katulu (2c) and Munalo (4a) attribute this skill to their possessing spirits rather than themselves. Apart from these tunes that *ngui* compose, there seems to exist a repertoire of many well known songs to which new texts could be set for specific spirits. This is suggested by Munalo (2e) when she says that new *ngui* must begin by learning songs from an experienced *ngui*.

As *ngui* are needed in the treatment of initiatory disease, as well as in the invigorating of healing powers for *waganga*, it seems reasonable to state that the deeply valued healing of *waganga* would not be possible had there been no *ngui* and the *kilumi* function. The contribution of *ngui*, a possessed lead singer[170], to the healing practices of Akamba should thus by no means to be underestimated. *Ngui* enable *waganga* to replenish their dwindling healing powers for the good of the broader society in which they both live. *Ngui's* task is really to manage affairs of music and dance in *kilumi*, outside the actual act of healing which is done by a *mganga* independently either at their homes or elsewhere. Because *ngui* decides which spirit to call and at what time, there is order in *kilumi*, in which, because of the large number of dancers, even conflicts may emerge about who performs at what time.

2.4.2c   The Place of Music and Dance

In the healing traditions of Akamba nothing could possibly take the place of music. Both *ngui* and *waganga* need music and dance to appease their spirits once a benevolent spirit begins the initiatory problem. All interviewed *waganga* and *ngui* (Ndaa 2e, Katulu 2e, and Munalo 2e) said that they had to host *kilumi* and, for some, offer an animal sacrifices at what may be called a graduation ceremony. And once a *mganga* or *ngui*, one must host *kilumi* and dance his/her spirits regularly (Ndaa 4f; 4e, Katulu 2f, Munalo 2f). Further, a *mganga* performs music while invoking the spiritual powers (Ndaa 4e).[171]

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[169] See the section titled 'Kamba Healing Music' for further details.
[170] To term *ngui* for a spirit possessed lead singer and drummer is appropriate since they claim to be guided by a spirit when they compose, sing or drum.
[171] Ndaa said that though a *mganga* may work without having to sing in order to invoke spiritual powers, she always sang unless in cases that she saw as urgent. In such cases, she used *mbuu* and some objects, her powders and a special cloth material to quickly diagnose the problem and prescribe a solution.

Music is therefore necessary in the whole life history of a *mganga* or lead-singer *(ngui)* since: it fashions a *mganga* through the initiatory dance, it refreshes the connection between a *mganga* and his/her spirits sustaining a strong link between the two, and it calls a spirit to address a problem presented when it facilitates spirit invocation. Before looking at how music performs each of the above three functions to facilitate healing, a number of issues, about the music, must be clarified. Firstly, it must be remarked that dance and some physical and verbal gesture play a very important role, as does the special dance dresses required by each of the spirits.[172] Often writers in African musicology see music as a fusion of many elements.[173] While this study puts apart sound, I regard nonetheless, dance and certain physical gestures as well as required dresses as variables that equally affect healing, and as possible elements of their concept of music.

The second thing one needs to have in mind is that sound is itself in two forms which are often presented in a combined way namely: song and its instrumental accompaniment. This distinction is necessary as the role played by each seems different, and to isolate them, at least in such a discussion, helps to clarify these roles. In *kilumi* the song unambiguously[174] sends a message to a particular spirit, which is asked to come forward and dance. Through instrumental accompaniments, of mainly *mwase* drums, rhythms that often grow in intensity and have accelerating tempo create stimulating rhythms that provide for desired dance movements. A well known melody can be used with different dancers, because the meaning of any song lies in its textual message rather than its sonic attributes. Similar drum rhythms can also be applied in unlike melodies.

I now return to the three key roles of music in the healing of Akamba, focusing on each role separately. Firstly, when music is used to heal the new *mganga* or *ngui's* initiatory

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[172] Dance dresses in possession dances do not seem to be widespread requirement in African cultures. Diallo & Hall (*The Healing Drum*, 1989, p. 154) observe that there is necessity of particular dance dresses demanded by spirits among the Minianka of Mali, which is akin to that of Akamba.

[173] Ruth Stone (*African Music in a Constellation of Arts*, 1998, p. 7) is among many writers with whom I agree in the observation that there is lack of a term equivalent to the Western notion of 'music'. In our case, *kilumi* is song, drumming, dance, dance costumes, ritual, and spirit possession put together.

[174] If a melody sounds like one a *mganga* or *ngui* dances to, it would not necessarily mean that his/her spirit is being called to dance. The textual message is what counts.

disease, the person is presented at the dance event as being unwell. I already exemplified the infirmities associated with initiation into *mganga* or *ngui* roles. They may present themselves in symptoms of regular diseases, but resist any treatment by herbal or Western medicine. They may also appear as mental illnesses, where one behaves bizarrely or becomes insane.[175] Mina[176] suffered both stomach problems and insanity at different times, until her family organized *kilumi*.[177] Ndaa, on the other hand had the problem of barrenness,[178] while Mbwika often fell into a comma and later was 'revived'.[179] Katulu had the disturbing voices singing in her head day and night, 'calling' her to be *ngui*. A patient would thus be presented at the initiatory dance in this condition that we term as sickness, and s/he would be perfectly normal after dance.

It seems this initiatory performance, which was extensively reported,[180] differs slightly from other *kilumi* performances. I did not witness a case where a new *mganga* or *ngui* danced and/or made an animal sacrifice. This means I will be unable to present first hand information on the offering of animal sacrifice, and dancing in a case of initiatory disease. According to the interviewees, it does not seem that dance in the event of initiatory disease was different from that of *kilumi* performances that I observed. Asked to state whether there had been *kilumi* experiences in their lives that had had greater impact than those I witnessed, Munalo (3c), Mina (2b), and Mbwika (2b) implied that the initiatory dance did not strike them as a special experience.[181] They agreed that *kilumi* presented to them the same experience every time they participated in it. We may consequently assume that the *kilumi* performances I attended were similar to those that occurred at the initiatory ceremony, except of course, that an animal sacrifice would be

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[175] Diallo & Hall (*The Healing Drum*, 1989, p. 146) also describe bizarre or unpredictable behavior among the Minianka of Mali as illness. From the examples of Kamba people, spirit possession problems may seem a physical health problem. Bizarre behavior could easily be understood as a spiritual problem, but physical illnesses may be confused for natural problems, and herbs would be used inaptly.

[176] See her story at the introduction to this chapter.

[177] It was impossible for her to arrange anything by herself.

[178] As we saw earlier, her problem was first delayed menstruation, which later modified into miscarriages.

[179] In his own words, Mbwika termed this problem as 'to die and later resurrect'.

[180] Interviewees were asked to briefly tell how they got into the roles discussed.

[181] It is possible to justify such a conclusion, because they did not mention anything special about this experience, but instead, reiterate that *kilumi* is the same every time.

additionally offered; and, because the spirit speaks through the patient for the first time to make some special demands, there may possibly be much more drama.[182]

I will now turn to the second role of music, which demonstrates what transpires at the initiatory ceremony that I did not witness, namely, the use of music to regenerate the diminishing powers of the *mganga* or *ngui*. In these events, music was required to get the spirits dancing, after which the spirits would fortify a *mganga's* or *ngui's* powers. It is good, but not satisfactory, to only dance in *kilumi* without hosting it. It has been suggested above that *waganga* or *ngui* cannot possibly carry on the profession without dancing their spirits regularly. It is obvious that *waganga* in a given region compete for clients. The stronger the healing powers the more clients one attracts. Besides, the Ministry of Culture in Kenya now issues permits allowing *waganga* to practice if enough evidence is presented indicating that a *mganga's* practice cured certain specific illnesses.[183] As such, every *mganga* tries to appease his/her spirits more frequently in order to be more effective and famed than others. The only way to do this is to host and dance *kilumi* more frequently than others. Through this therefore, music can be supposed to provide an avenue to make one a more sought after *mganga*.

As already observed, *kilumi's* purpose is ultimately to get a spirit to dance through a possessed person. In order to call a specific spirit to dance, song is necessary (Katulu 4c, 4d, 4e; Munalo 4c, 4d, 4e). The texts of the songs exemplified directly infer this invocation of the past for the continuing presence of the spirits. Some songs referred to the experiences of spirits of persons before these people died. For example *Masikali ni Kivole* cites the things Ndaa's brother Malonza and his friend 'Askari' experienced when they were alive as solders in the troops of the British colonial government based in Garissa. Mention of dead persons and recounting their experiences while alive is believed

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[182] I say this because the possessed dancers seemed prepared with beer, cigarettes, water, food, etc, which are normally required every time they dance these spirits. A new possessee would make demands that no one expects, and the demands may have to be met before the dance can proceed.

[183] A government official in the Ministry of Culture offices in Kitui confirmed this, but said very few *waganga* met the requirements for the award of such a permit. Among the *waganga* interviewed, only Ndaa had the certificate. The required evidence included the numbers of patients healed of particular ailment after consulting a *mganga*. The list of illnesses handled by Ndaa included heartburn, kidney problems, gonorrhea, typhoid, epilepsy and joint pains.

not only to bring to the mind of the people the memories of a dead person, but, through possession, to practically bring the person momentarily back to the physical world.

There were ways of asking a spirit in a clear-cut way to possess a person, and dance to their satisfaction. In *Ndumaniwe Nzeli*, Katulu says she had been called to sing to Nzeli, a spirit healing through Ndaa, but she had not seen her walking around. This is request to 'Nzeli' to manifest herself in a visible form because Katulu could not see a spirit. She was asking Nzeli to get into Ndaa and dance, because it was for this reason that she had been called.

In some songs, the spirits were venerated for the healing that they conducted through their human representatives. In *Ndumaniwe Nzeli*, Nzeli was called a doctor – as in a medical doctor. This was a tremendous honor, as doctors are highly respected in this tradition and in the country. Similarly, in *Woria Nindi Wia*, a Somali spirit was implored to help Mina in *uganga*, by securing for her safety presumably against malevolent spirits. The spirits were in both of these cases esteemed for their provision of health and protection. It was also expected that because spirits were appreciated and sang to, 'they would come and dance' through their human agents.

In the song *Kayamba ya Wagiriama*, a Giriama spirit was reminded that *kayamba* was a Giriama dance and instrument, therefore Akamba wanted to see a Mgiriama dancing and playing it. Subsequently, a Mgiriama danced in a Mkamba. Mina, the possessed, not only danced but in fact also played *kayamba*, perhaps to show Akamba how Giriama people played it. It was assumed that a Giriama spirit would be excited about a Giriama dance and musical instrument. In such songs foreign spirits were enticed to dance through cultural artifacts and values by which they are associated and identified.

Ndelebe Ngali was expressed in metaphoric terms. Asumani was a great *kilumi* master drummer in Kisasi, well known to older members of the community. A master drummer is referred to as a 'driver' in *kilumi*. While Mbwika was equally a great master drummer, as I attested, it was believed that his grandfather, Asumani, was the one drumming

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through him. To 'take the car up to its destination', means to satisfy the spirits through dance. Besides these praise metaphors, Munalo, who knew Asumani well before he died, tells him 'I love you my sweetheart', a deep expression of admiration and affection. Praise and deep expression of love thus immediately actuated Asumani to dance. Mbwika said that sometimes this song was sung while he was in a comma, and he would 'resurrect'. While song was used to ask a spirit, in the various ways, to come forward and dance, *mwase* and other musical instruments provided the dance rhythms.[184] While it was clear that *mwase* played a critical role *vilingi* and *kayamba* were also widely used in many dances. The procedure was in all cases the same. The singer began the session and soon afterwards, *mwase* drums entered, often followed by other instruments, and finally the dancer emerged from wherever s/he was in the prescribed attire.

Let me illustrate the interaction of crucial components of *kilumi*. Suppose an entire ritual takes 19 time units and 12 is the highest degree of prominence of singing, drumming, or dancing, with an interruption in the middle. Figure 5 shows when music, drumming and dancing come in or predominate, relative to time. A ritual starts with song at a high prominence level, as it needs to be clear which spirit is being called. Then drumming prevails before dancing can commence. All the three come to an abrupt stop should the possessed stop dancing, to make certain demands midway in the ritual. The process would then be restarted, but this time drumming and dancing begin almost at the same time with the dance, since the dancer would be in the arena and is in the dance mood. So it is clear that once the dance stops, drumming and singing immediately stop as well. That way the dancer controlled a *kilumi* performance, even though *ngui* was the lead singer. *Ngui* followed the desires of the dancer by stopping when the dancer did during performance. Therefore the song was strictly performed just for a particular spirit to dance. If a particular spirit does not wish to dance, its song is never performed.

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[184] Katulu seemed to regard only *mwase* drums as necessary, while Munalo's list was much bigger. Among instruments she saw as important, Munalo mentioned *kayamba* (shaken idiophone) *vilingi* (whistle) and *nguli* (flute) not just mwase. Indeed at Kisasi *kayamba* was not used only to appease Giriama spirits as was the case in Mulundi. It featured in numerous performances featuring Kamba spirits. Although *nguli* is a name of a Kamba horn, *nguli* here is a flute similar to *chivoti* of the coastal Mijikenda tribes.

Figure 5: How Song, Drum and Dance Shared Time
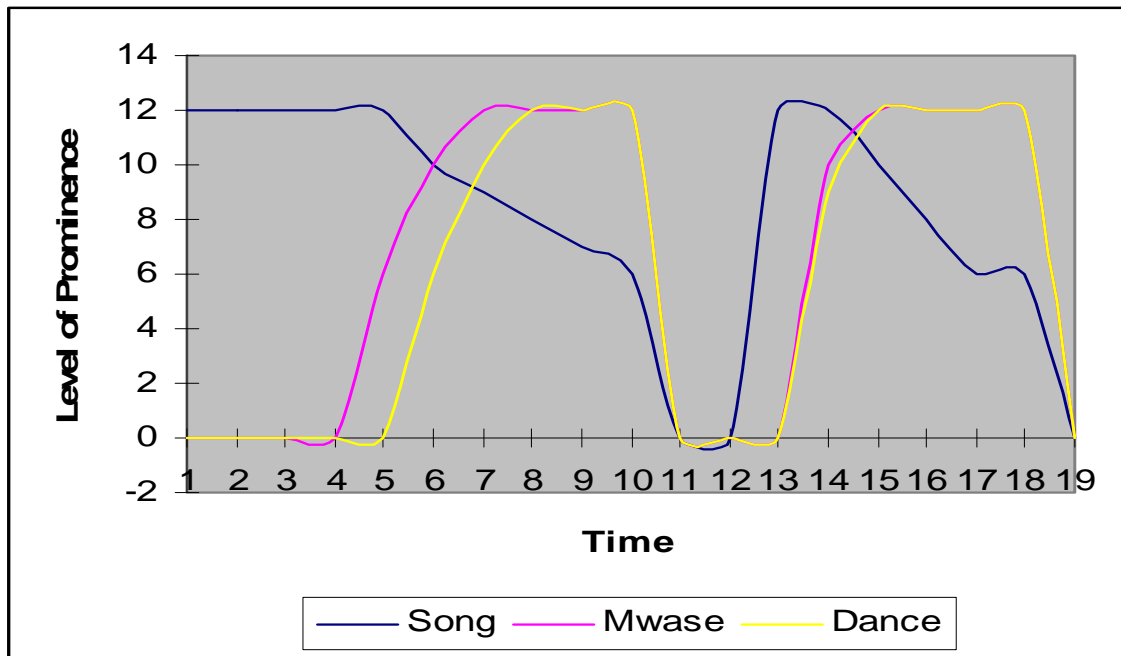
The music, particularly that by *mwase* drums, seemed to take the dancers into a different world. As dance intensified, most performers closed their eyes, some displaying an incredible level of concentration. While *mwase* rhythms were designed to satisfy spirits, their sounds were so impressive and evocative of a dancing mood that I was not surprised to find members of the audience dancing from far outside the dance arena. For an observer, drum rhythms appeared to be unified with the dancer's movements. In other words, with the way the body of the dancer and the *mwase* rhythms were coordinated, it seemed one could possibly visualize the dancer and music as a single entity. If music was stopped suddenly and dancing continued, it seemed one could mentally 'hear' it and vice versa. In this sensuous experience of an observer commingling the visual and the auditory, the body of a dancer evoked imagined sound. It would be difficult to make meaning of the event by merely analyzing its musical elements without seeing the whole performance. This is one reason why a structural analysis of sonic properties would be largely inappropriate if one hopes to understand what *kilumi* music really is.

Music in this context is remarkably linked to mystical powers. One cannot view *kilumi* music as Kamba entertainment music, even if it was quite pleasurable to observe the

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proceedings. Once in this context, one gets a feeling that drum sound is peculiarly potent. So meaningful were *mwase* drums that it would be easy to understand their having been mythologized. Indications of myths were evident in some interviews. Katulu (2d) said that each *mwase* is controlled by a spirit when she described the procedure of giving out *mwase*. She said that a spirit needs to be informed whenever the drum was being given out. The drum would be struck several times facing the entrance to the house in which it was kept, then the same number of times facing where it would go. Then the spirit would 'allow' for the drum to be taken away. Otherwise, this could affect the drum and it would not sound well, she believed.[185] I got the impression that the overwhelming power of drum sound here probably accounts for the presence of such mythical beliefs.

Sonic properties of *kilumi* music were earlier discussed, but let me briefly reexamine a few aspects. A *kilumi* piece would be highly repetitive in nature. However, different spirits danced to unlike rhythms, and two performances adjacent to each other, could have totally different rhythms and meter. When a song was performed to invite a dancer to the floor, the music often had a weak if any feeling of meter. Such was the case when Munalo began Mbwika's opening *Asumani* song. When drums joined, and because they were usually played by a group in a uniform rhythmic pattern [except for the master drummer], the meter became clear. As a performance developed, intensity and tempo increased in a gradual manner. *Accelerando crescendo*[186] can thus be used to sum up the manner in which each performance developed irrespective of its rhythm or meter.

Two features of the parts played by master drummers promoted climaxing: syncopation and varying timbre as drum heads were often rubbed with finger tips rather than struck. A drum could be struck at the side or middle of drum head. Besides, at Mulundi the striking was done with either a heavy stick [held by the right hand] or left hand. At Kisasi the drums were struck only with the hands often striking closer to the edge of the drum head rather than its middle. The variations in accentuation and timbre, along with gradual

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[185] Myths are often part of religious ritual healing practices. In this case it seems association of *mwase* with spirits [which means *mwase* is never played in any other place other than in *kilumi*] suggests that *kilumi* music is viewed as rather mystical, thus possibly setting it apart from the rest of Kamba music.
[186] Gilbert Rouget's suggestion that *accelerando crescendo* is universal in possession music from around the world then appears supported by these findings (*Music and Trance*, 1985, p. 91).

increase in intensity and tempo evoked an incredible feeling of a changed or changing world. This explains why abrupt stops were rather an unpleasant experience.

This brings me to another vital issue. Performing music for the satisfaction of spirit wants had its costs. A spirit could stop music at any point, and it in fact also determined the song and drum rhythm for a particular time. The stops often happened at the middle of a phrase or melody, and the effect could be rather bad as people had to stop at a point when it would have been rather gratifying to sing further. Such was the price they had to pay in gratifying spirits, whose help they would later seek. This possibly irritated those who sought pure entertainment. But we need to note that desires of the spirits were not always negative in the way they influenced sound. The climaxing arrangement was a requirement by spirits; though it reflects also the desires of most participants who appeared largely overwhelmed as the performances approached the climax.

One may thus be right to say that demands of spirits caused undesirable effects on the sound organization. Conversely *kilumi* influenced music positively. First without it music would altogether not have been performed. Notably, foreign spirits danced by Ndaa and Mina[187], for example, brought dance movements drawn from foreign cultures into Kamba culture. When Mina danced Giriama spirit, *kayamba* playing was emphasized. If not for the sake of a Giriama spirit that had to be appeased, such opportunity for *kayamba* would have lacked. Music then not only guided healing in this case, but also accounted for intra-Kenyan influences through which artifacts, instruments and possibly tunes from neighboring cultures have become assimilated into Kamba culture.

The third and last use of music is its application at spirit invocation, which happens when a *mganga* consults a spirit in the actual performance of healing. Unlike in *kilumi* where *ngui* asks the various spirits of a *mganga* to 'come', a *mganga* him/herself asks a spirit to possess him/her, in order to solve a problem. While a spirit could possess a *mganga* who does not perform music, Ndaa said that she always sang except in emergencies. It seems

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[187] Many other dancers danced foreign spirits. I give these two examples because they have been well accounted for in this text.

that the role of music at invocation of spirits was avoidable, though that would not be the best way. As every *mganga* wants to please his/her spirits better than anyone else, in order to be a more effective healer, there is indeed sufficient reason for a *mganga* to sing whenever invoking spirits. Apart from the song, whose meaning is clearly in the text, there was *uta* accompaniment.[188] When Ndaa played *uta,* she did not begin to sing until the accompaniment was relatively more stable.[189]

There are several ways through which this music differed from that of *kilumi*. Firstly it was only at invocation that *uta* accompaniment prevailed, while in *kilumi mwase* drums were mandatory. Secondly, while *ngui* was required to sing to a *mganga's* spirits asking them to dance at *kilumi*, at invocation, the *mganga* sings asking the spirits that they are needed, visited, greeted and so on; in which case the spirits would descend into her to meet the 'visitors', and in the process recognize any health problems and heal the sick. Thirdly, while *mwase* produces fitting rhythms for spirits to dance, the *mganga* plays *uta* seated, and tries to seek a musically constructed union with spirits without dancing at all.

2.4.3 The Experience of Possession

Whilst the behavior of a possessed individual varies depending on the circumstances and purpose of possession, it must be emphasized that in all cases, possession entails dualism of persona. Hence the behavior of the individual can only be understood with the awareness of his/her altered consciousness, which results from the presence of a foreign spiritual being in the person. It is in this tenured condition that a possessed dances a spirit, a *mganga* treats a patient, a *ngui* composes and leads in singing, and a master drummer performs his vital role. Thus, without possession *uganga* would be impossible. When asked to analyze the events, the respondents provided the following insights:

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[188] Martin West ("Music Therapy in Antiquity", 2000, p. 51) lists a number of "primitive" musical instruments which he says had potential to be used for conjuring spirits from the underworld in Europe and Asia. They include musical bows, drums, flutes and horns. Possession music of Akamba uses mainly the drums (*mwase*) and musical bow (*uta*).
[189] She began by playing several different rhythms for a very short time before getting into one that would support the melody that followed.

Mina (2c) stated that she could not remember anything about the dance she had performed saying "I did not see anything". She (2a) maintained that it was her late grandmother who had danced not herself. Therefore she (2e) declined to name the song/dance she most liked and thereafter disengaged herself from that vein of questions. Mbwika (2g) on the other hand remembered a time he would "die and later resurrect" before he mastered controlling of his spirits through music and dance. These two cases illustrate a change of consciousness that confines our potential as human beings in two ways: one gets into a state of being unable to sense the physical stimuli in the environment, and/or there is amnesia. In the normal consciousness state one would of course have functional sense organs and capacity to reason let alone remembering. This suggests an ephemeral disconnection between constituent systems that enable our perceptive and responsive behavior in this condition where personality is diversified.[190]

Music sometimes indicates this dual personality thus: in the song *kilinyaa*, Nzeli described arriving in Kamba land with bullets, while Ndaa, and not Nzeli or another of her spirits, sung the line that informs her brother about the visitors at home. The song shows that these two persons, namely Nzeli the spirit and Ndaa the host, were singing through Ndaa. Until she was fully possessed, she could be said to embody two personalities while singing. The two beings sung different lines of this song. Nzeli sung to tell Ndaa about her coming visit to Kamba land, while Ndaa informed all her spirits that they had many visitors. Notably songs in *kilumi* do not express dual personality, as the spirits in the host do not sing, but instead are sung to by *ngui* and other people.

While altered consciousness can show itself through that elimination or diminishing of basic sensitivity of a physical human being, it has also at other times the potential to rise above the normal. It is something of extraordinary nature to eat red hot embers and not be

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[190] Paul Stoller ("Sounds and Things", 1996, p. 171) describes a similar condition from among the mediums of the Songhay in Niger. His view is that when this happens, a medium's body becomes a deity as "the double is displaced". This is the same explanation Akamba have for *kilumi*; that the spirit has no flesh and must use the medium's body to materialize. One may wonder what happens with the spirit of the host. I think the spirit is not entirely displaced, but is dominated by the foreign one.

burnt (Katulu 3c).[191] Besides, and more importantly, only in the possession state would *waganga* be able to 'see' and do things which would otherwise be enigmatic.[192] What must be reiterated, however, is that the ability to 'see' in this case, does not become part of the *mganga's* personality, but is an attribute of that foreign spirit that works through him/her. Every time healing has to be conducted a *mganga* does whatever it takes to stimulate spirits of possession to materializing.

The notable activities of a possessed individual, which are believed to be activities of the spirit and not of the host, include the following: 1) to listen to music, 2) to make music, 3) to dance, 4) to eat, drink, smoke etc, and 5) to interact with people. How these activities are done demonstrates, however, that at possession, an individual may be in fact different. I now look at each of the activities separately.

Firstly a possessed individual listens to music, and does so well. Mbwika (2g) said that he could 'die' and when *Asumani* and other songs were sung, he would 'resurrect'. In the state of a comma, which is described by Mbwika as 'death', he heard the songs, and mysteriously 'resurrected'. One can therefore infer that when a possessed individual is unconscious, s/he is nonetheless a keen listener of music. Also, that a particular possessed individual only responded to a few songs in order to dance points to the fact that listening to music is an essential activity for the proper procedure in the whole function.[193] No possessed person hesitated before entering the arena once his/her song commenced.

Secondly, music making is an essential activity for a possessed individual. *Ngui* claim to be possessed when leading other performers, a status also associated with master

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[191] I did not witness this, but Katulu said she new a woman who always ate red hot charcoal whenever she was possessed.

[192] Spirit possession as a practice of enabling intuition is common in Africa. Friedson's words (*Dancing Prophets*, 1996) 'seeing' applies in describing knowing of the unknowable as practiced by the possessed healers in Kenyan traditional cultures too. Discussing healing among the Minianka, Diallo & hall (*The Healing Drum*, 1989, p. 145) also use the same words 'to see' for the same. It is worth noting that Christian faith healers now also use the same words commonly in Kenya while they attribute this ability to the Holy Spirit. This is underscored by the fact that there is a deep interest, in numerous African traditions, to predict the future's major events and explain misfortune as having spiritual causes.

[193] It was noted, however, that *ngui* dealt with all spirits of one individual before moving onto the next.

drummers of Mbwika's caliber.[194] Besides singers who invite a specific spirit to dance, the dancers sometimes played musical instruments. Typically, such instruments were either a whistle or a harmonica,[195] often blown to indicate changes in the movements of a dancer, while also reasonably adding to the soundscape. Apart from the whistle, some dancers also played *kayamba*. Among possessed music performers who showed extraordinary skills were Mbwika on the drum, Munalo as *ngui*, and one woman in Kisasi location who danced so gracefully while playing *kayamba*.[196]

Music making is also the preferred way to invoke the powers of the spirits during consultation. Here, the possessee performs music, and when the spirit 'comes' it sings in the him/her as evinced in Ndaa's performance of *kilinyaa*, in which different 'persons' sing. The person not only sings, but also plays *uta*, and does so in ways that suggest changing emotions as shown through changing facial musculature. It was said, for example, that while making music to invoke her spiritual powers, Ndaa's[197] mannerisms suggested that she was relaxed, very attentive, and tense at different times. Music making seems a much more valued activity in the sessions where spiritual powers are invoked, than in *kilumi* where the possessed would be more preoccupied with the dance.

The third and much cherished activity of a possessed person in *kilumi* was dancing. I need only to reiterate that the dancing of the possessed did not appear to be of the ordinary kind. It always heightened towards the ecstatic.[198] Among the variety of expressions on the faces were broad smiles,[199] and such deeply serious countenances that smiling would be impractical. Most seemed oblivious to the ululations of women

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[194] Asked to state why he liked to drum, Mbwika said his grandfather liked to drum. Because this grandfather was now his benevolent spirit, Mbwika appeased him giving his hands and body to be used for drumming. He argued that it was not him drumming, but his grandfather who controlled his body.
[195] The harmonica was normally used like a whistle, so that it produced the same sound, as it was not moved but simply left at the mouth as the hand would be busy. Ndaa used it while dancing 'Nzeli' in black Muslim *buibui* dress, see photo plate 2
[196] See photo plate (3b).
[197] See observation schedule 'Ndaa Invokes the Spirits'.
[198] See an example on photo plate (3a)
[199] See the examples of Mina dancing Woria, and Ndaa dancing Askari on photo plate (2)

overwhelmed by certain spectacular dancing displayed.[200] Dancing occurred even as the possessed drank, ate, smoked and so on. Just as the spirits possessing the dancers were dissimilar, so were their dance styles. Most shook their shoulders, others the hips, waist, limbs, and head, while they swung right to left and/or back and forth making calculated foot steps, and blowing the whistle to mark the changes.[201] There were occasions where more than one person danced, including some audience members who were simply so excited that they had to dance outside the arena; but very rarely, in my opinion, did anyone dance better than the possessed.

A common behavior of the possessed that could be disconcerting to an observer interested only in music and dance was that a possessed dancer could suddenly stop and make demands[202] for such things as *karubu*, *uji,* soda, and water, or, foods, cigarettes etc, to be consumed right there. Either the dance was temporarily halted,[203] or the person danced drinking, eating, smoking and so on. A woman at Mulundi[204], who danced a spirit of a person that had drowned in the Indian Ocean while visiting a friend in Mombasa, demanded several half calabashes of water that she repeatedly poured over her body.[205] She danced moving the hands as if she were swimming in water. Not only was this dance movement very unique, but, because she poured much of the water on herself[206], she danced almost entirely wet.

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[200] With this it is plausible to reflect on what Ruth Stone (*Music in West Africa*, 2005, p 89) calls inner time. She describes what appears to also happen in *kilumi* saying: "Volume, intensity of the beat and the tempo all increase as they move to the end of the verse. People are entering an experience of inner time".

[201] Often the observers joined in dancing to accompany the possessed dancer, and these were the times the whistle would be so useful in managing uniformity in the dance.

[202] This happened mostly when the dance was beginning to build up, and it could be seen as interruption.

[203] An example is shown in photo plate (2), where Mina smoked after her *Woria* dance was momentarily stopped. See also Mbwika being served *karubu* by his father on photo plate (3a). Until he interrupted a dance where a number of women and men were dancing together, he was the master drummer.

[204] The observation schedule of *kilumi* at Mulundi does not include her story, only because she was not interviewed.

[205] Often the behavior of a possessed individual is believed to match that of the dead person possessing a dancer. In this case, the person died struggling to swim and survive, but unfortunately died.

[206] Most dancers ate the things that they demanded when possessed. Katulu later explained to me why she danced as if swimming under water. This also is an indicator that *ngui* have much knowledge of the dead persons who possess their dancers in *kilumi*.

Finally, a possessed dancer has interactive behavior, and usually does this in a friendly manner with those around. Mina[207] did try to converse with a man though she spoke a language I believe the man could not understand.[208] Ndaa stopped dancing to greet the people around saying among other things "in this place we are fine too"[209], before she asked that a new song be started as she dashed off the dance floor to change dress. In the invocation session, Ndaa was much more interactive. She laughed, asked and responded to questions.[210] At invocation of spiritual powers for healing purposes, such interaction was necessary because the problem causes must be stated alongside solutions to a patient. The remarkable variation in the interactivity of the possessed is they could speak unknown languages not understood by the audience, as Mina did. In the illustration above, the behavior of the possessed may be summed up by saying that they do act as anyone else would, but often do certain things in extraordinary ways.

Figure 6: Behavior of the Possessed Persons

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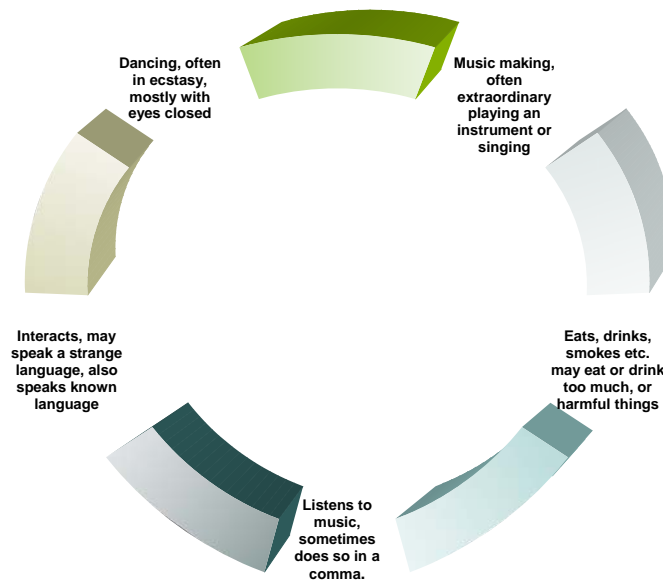
[207] See photo plate (2)

[208] Speaking in a strange language, or glossolalia, is also a common thing in Christian ritual healing performances such as those described in the chapter that follows. While Christians believe that the Holy Spirit enables them to speak in the so-called tongues, traditional healers suggest they are under total control of their possessing spirits, and are unable to comment on the behavior thereafter.

[209] Note that she was reporting about life in the spiritual world, which means the foreign spirit was the one speaking.

[210] See observation titled 'Ndaa Invokes the Spirits'

2.5   Summary

To understand how healing takes place in Kamba contexts, we need first to understand that their concept of health is not simply the conventional one. Although disease is understood as biological in most cases, unusual behavior is one of the things – and not just pain or discomfort in the body – that could suggest that one is under attack from spirits that demand sacrifices. If it takes too long before such sacrifices are offered, the person would suffer more serious problems. This is especially so for *waganga* and *ngui*, or any other spirit possessed individual, whose health status changes depending on how long s/he takes before organizing *kilumi*. Health is not simply an either/or condition but a constantly changing status affected by biological and spiritual forces.

Healing for Akamba depends on the kind of problem at hand. Herbs may be administered to solve a problem that is biological. For the possessed only singing, dancing, and sometimes offers of animal sacrifices to appease spirits, leads to a complete cure. For problems caused by evil magic, witchcraft, or curses, *waganga* perform ritual practices to provide redress from the spiritual realm. It is the role of *waganga* as doctors, and their need to organize *kilumi* before they are sick, that makes Kamba concepts of healing through song and music necessary. A *mganga* or *ngui* must be in good health for the society to be safe. Song and dance ensures the safety of *mganga* from the wrath of angry benevolent spirits. As a *mganga's* spirits affect him/her long after they have stopped facilitating healing, an ailing *mganga* adversely impacts the kind of health services provided to his/her community.

Figure 7, shows the four causes of disease and the three ways of dealing with them. The dotted line shows how a *mganga* acts, while *ngui* mediates the path of each *mganga*. Double arrows indicate where an illness finds its solution. Only through *ngui* controlled *kilumi* does a *mganga* reinvigorate his/her diminishing healing powers.

Music is applied in the manner of medicine when a potential *mganga* or *ngui* suffers initiatory disease for the first time. Only through song and dancing is there provided a definite solution. Once one becomes a *mganga* or *ngui*, regular dancing is required to counter the potential wrath of respective spirits. This makes music indispensable in the healing traditions of Akamba, and *ngui,* the possessed lead singer and drummer is imperative as well. Not only do *waganga* perform these *kilumi* dances regularly for fear of repercussions sourced from the benevolent spirits, but they prefer to make music while inviting the spirits to perform a specific task.

This discussion points toward a concept of music as a fusion of arts including song, instrumental accompaniments, dance and ritual drama. *Kilumi* does not only refer to song, but also to the dance, pouring of libations, wearing of certain dance dresses and so on. However, there are instances, such as when a *mganga* performs music to invite a healing spirit, where sound is clearly separated from dance – its otherwise most closely interconnected art. Music as a sonic configuration is seen in two forms namely: song and instrumental accompaniment. Songs communicate to spirits, while instruments are used predominantly to create favorable dance rhythms.

Figure 7: Kamba – Disease Causes and Solutions
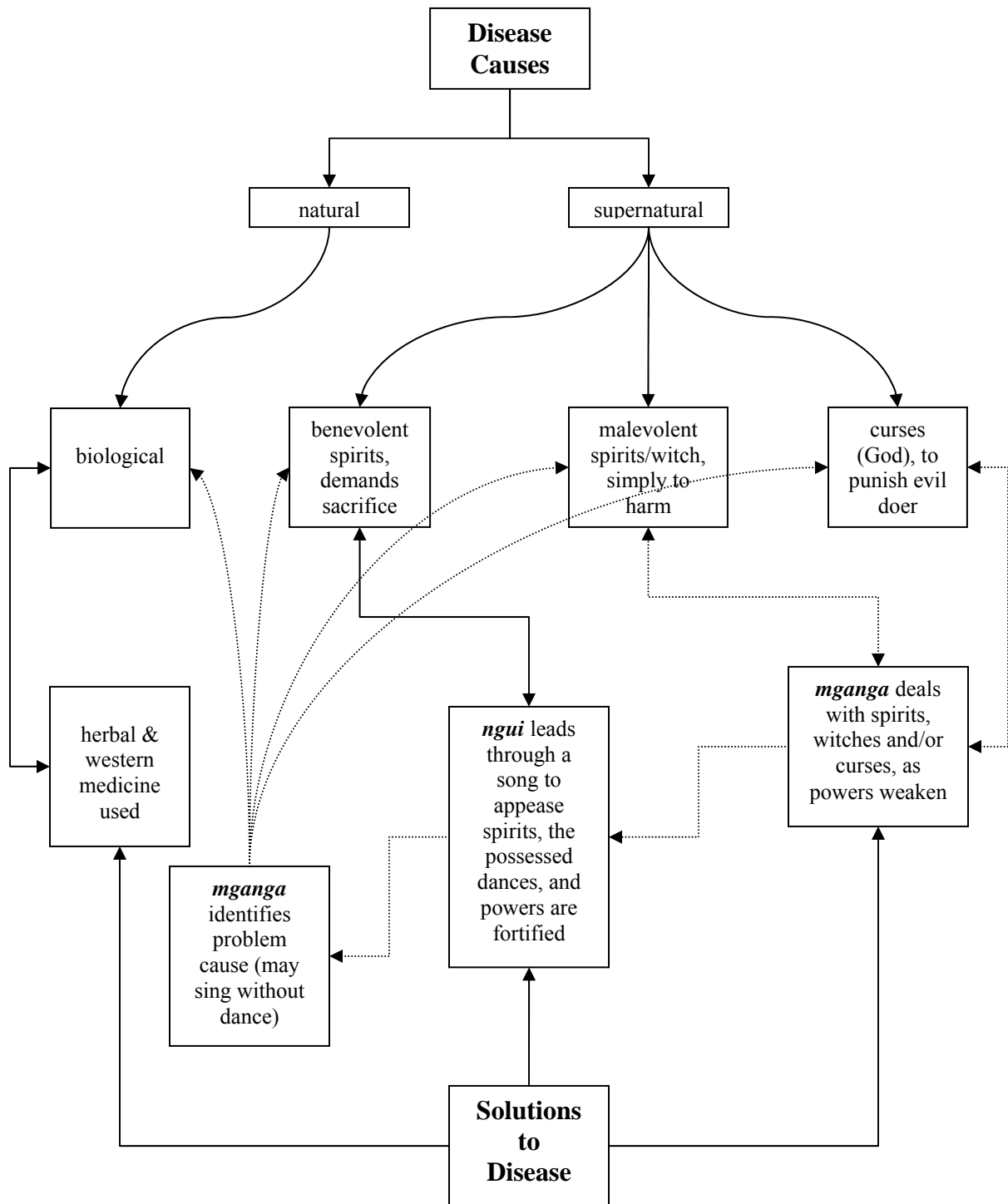
The interests of the spirits come before the composer or performer's expressive talent. S/he composes and performs to appease specific spirits, and consequently the spirit determines how a song is performed. *Ngui* can discontinue the song if the spirit so wished. Besides increasing and decreasing the tempo and intensity of drumming for the spirit to dance more or less vigorously was always evident.

Conversely, while the music is performed in a 'spirit controlled' manner in *kilumi,* music has its own benefits. Performances even used foreign instruments to appease a spirit believed to be foreign, thereby expanding instrumental resources. And so we find music making being influenced by activities aimed at improving health, in the same way as health is influenced by music making. But utter mysticism indubitably encircles relations between music and health in this context.

Ultimately it can be said, in essence, that Kamba healing is all or any of the following occurrences: 1) creation of connections between spirits and humans by *waganga* when there is a need to heal; 2) performing of supernatural acts by spirits, which demand offerings from *waganga* who benefit materially from the occurrence; 3) appeasing spirits in *kilumi* whereby *ngui* lead in singing and drumming while *waganga* give their bodies for spirits to dance in*.* These vital components of the phenomenon are shown through an illustration below (figure 7). For biological problems herbal medicine is administered. For problems caused by a benevolent spirit *kilumi* is required, and the particular disease causing spirit(s) are identified so that *ngui* composes the song(s) to appease them. For problems sourced from malevolent spirits, witches, or curses, *waganga* perform certain rituals to neutralize the harmful supernatural powers.

MUSIC AND HEALING OF CATHOLIC CHARISMATICS

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter I explore relations between music and healing amongst catholic charismatics. Members of catholic charismatic renewal (CCR) regard music and prayer as the means of invoking the power of God in order to heal. It seems, however, that healing does not solely result from supernatural powers but from catharsis resulting from a multiple of factors, of which music and sound are crucial. Such would be my inference having attended numerous functions to make observations, of which some accounts will follow shortly. After teaching and evangelism have been conducted, and the faithful have been urged to repent of their sins and forgive other people, music and prayer invoke the healing power of God. Healing then takes place in a space filled with music, prayer and noise. Here, it is alright to cry or even scream loudly if that helps to discharge repressed emotions consciously retrieved from one's past experiences. In the presence of music and other sounds, people who make noises consciously or unconsciously do not attract much attention. More importantly the crying, which happens against soft soothing music performed by music minister(s), appears to resolve some people's problems.

To briefly characterize ill-health and show how it is dealt with according to the views of interviewed catholic charismatic ministers, I will share some accounts by the ministers themselves. During the lessons they had stories about problems in their own lives that had been resolved through prior CCR ministries. Ceril[211] was teaching about inner healing at Isiolo when she told her story. She recounted numerous tribulations resulting from a bed wetting disorder. She insinuated that the problem had its roots in the experience of her mother just before Ceril was born. Ceril's mother was pregnant when her brother-in-law bewitched her husband. Ceril's father did not survive the ordeal. Ceril's widowed mother feared the man would eliminate her in order to possess the land and property of his late brother. Whenever she saw him, and this was frequent since they were neighbors, she virtually wet herself from fear.

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[211] That is not her real name.

Ceril was born soon afterwards. Her face resembled that of the uncle so deeply feared by her mother. Ceril of course became her mother's constant reminder of the uncle and this affected their mother-daughter relationship. Later as Ceril grew up, she was found to have a problem: bed wetting. She was delivered from this twenty-eight old problem at a CCR inner healing prayer session. Rightly or wrongly she attributed the problem to her mother's experiences during pregnancy. Because she wet her bed, she had been rejected by a catholic sisters' convent when she offered herself as a novice. Furthermore, she recounted having been ridiculed by other girls while a student at a boarding secondary school. Everyone appeared to despise her at school, home, and worst of all at the sisters' convent, so that she pitied and detested herself as well.

Although one's childhood could effect physical disorders like in Ceril's case, problems of upbringing more regularly affect interpersonal relationships and influence one's self image. Bahati demonstrated the importance of inner healing when dealing with other disorders resulting from one's upbringing during a teaching on the love of God. Bahati was born and raised by her mother for sometime and did not know her father. After a while her mother married a different man who refused to have Bahati in his home. Since she could no longer live with her mother, she was brought up by her ageing grandmother. She said that in her childhood she felt sad and wondered why she was so unfortunate to have no parent with whom to share love and other things. After receiving inner healing in CCR, she no longer suffered from the desire to have the parents as she "found a father who loved more than any father could!" Even though she lives on support from well wishers, she maintained that she had a "father", and would not lack anything.[212]

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[212] She was referring to God, the father to all mankind. Her beliefs did not sound different from those of street musicians discussed in the following chapter, in that they both denied that their lives were troubled even if they had no sources of income.

John, a minister who often led in healing prayers,[213] while giving a testimony about physical healing of his wife at a CCR function, indicated a conflict between charismatics and other Catholics in Kenya. John initially saw CCR to be too Pentecostal to be admissible as Catholic.[214] While testifying of the 'positive change' that occurred after he joined CCR, he ridiculed himself saying that he had been a catholic church chairman who found nothing wrong in consulting *waganga*! A *mganga* had helped him to protect his garage from frequent thieves, but he lost his customers soon afterwards. Given this outcome, he posited that *waganga* offered bogus solutions so as to be consulted ad infinitum. For a number of years, he and his wife could not have a child. She miscarried each time upon conception. Doctors said she had fibroids in her uterus. Then one day he chose to test the 'miracle workers'. To his surprise, his wife, who was expectant, did not miscarry, and in fact the fibroids were later found to have disappeared. At the time he gave his testimony, the child was more than five years old. That is why he arduously evangelizes and proclaims miracles of Jesus across the country. He used his experience to caution people against *waganga* and persuade them to increase faith in Jesus.

The story of John indicates that some CCR practices could be hotly discussed within the Catholic Church. CCR movement desires to see certain changes in a church with a list of varied and historic spiritualities.[215] Often charismatics argue that all Catholics need to renew the nature of their relationship with God. Perhaps, moreover, the high degree of

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[213] John's voice is the second in the Isiolo healing session available in accompanying audio CD track 8. His voice was powerful and he often said prayers in a musical way. His prayer, while the rest of the group said uniform prayers at Kapsabet, sounded like a musical improvisation in which John performs a recitative-like part (You may listen to accompanying audio CD track 10).

[214] Like in other new religious movements to which it bears resemblance, CCR emphasizes the baptism of the Holy Spirit as well as healing from sin, and tends to esteem glossolalia and miracles to some extent. According to Shorter & Njiru (*New Religious Movements in Africa*, 2001, p. 67) the movement offers much to Catholics of what is common among the neo-pentecostal movements. But they warn that care must be taken to integrate the movement to the church as a whole respecting the various other spiritualities already there.

[215] Shorter & Njiru (*New Religious Movements in Africa,* 2001, p. 66) believe that the greatest danger in CCR movement is illuminism - the apparent belief that because they have spiritual gifts, they are more perfect than other Catholics or have a monopoly of the Holy Spirit.

emphasis on charisms of healing, evangelism, teaching, intercession, hospitality and so on distinguishes CCR spirituality from that of many Catholics.[216]

CCR seems to consider the influences of "evil spirits/powers" in the lives of Christians so important that deliverance and exorcism are frequent in their rites.[217] And Satan here is not seen as an embodiment of evil, but as a real although invisible enemy who leads other spirits in a kingdom that opposes God. Evil spirits encourage people to do evil and show hatred. From the various lessons I attended in CCR functions, it can be inferred that the person controlled by such spirits hates and takes revenge instead of being forgiving and caring for others. Rather than being emotionally stable, such people are hot tempered, abusive, anxious, and so on. They delight in making enemies rather than friends. There is a belief that Satan seeks to control humans all the time, which is why believers see themselves in a spiritual warfare, with God as their source of courage or power.

Among the elements of Satanism cited by CCR ministers, it seems *uganga* and evil spirit possession, witchcraft, and *majini*, are most prevalent in Kenya. Unlike the themes of evil spirits and witches, I only saw ministers deal with *majini* at the Isiolo retreat. There, Cosmas, a minister who had first hand experience of *majini* as he came from a family of Muslims in Tanzania, spoke at length about the spirits of genies. As opposed to usual evil spirits that are invisible, Cosmas described *majini* as beings that, though spiritual, would assume a physical form at will. They could enrich and protect a person who owns them, but demand animal and sometimes human sacrifices in return. But he said *majini* would be unable to affect a person who prayed constantly and lived righteously.

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[216] The Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (CDF) acknowledges existence of such charisms, particularly that of the charism of healing attributable to a person through whom others may receive the graces of healing (CDF, *Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p. 9-13).
[217] According to media reports (see for example the BBC News Report by Mark Duff, "Rome Priests Get Exorcism Lessons", 2005), the Vatican opened a school for exorcists in the year 2005, which enrolled about 120 priests. It was reported that there was rising levels of involvement of youth in occult practices, and the Catholic Church was getting concerned. Exorcism has been practiced throughout the history of the church, but there appears to have rising interest prompted by an allegedly rising interest in occult practices.

3.2   Observations

The Isiolo Retreat

The Function

This was a week-long [13th – 18th December 2004] function that had been advertised as a healing retreat organized by the Archangel Raphael Catholic Healing Ministry in conjunction with officials of the catholic diocese of Isiolo. Participants arrived on Sunday evening, and were housed at the diocese owned St. Mary's secretarial college dormitories. The retreat began on Monday morning, when participants were requested not to leave the compound. Instead, they were encouraged to pray and reflect on their lives whenever freed from the regular teaching and prayer sessions that dominated the function. That was the reason why they needed to be boarders. The function was intended to help participants be healed from various issues that ranged from spirit possession, curses, obsession and addiction, physical illnesses, and psychological problems. The many teachings based on the bible covering the causes of all these diseases intimated that faith in God was the ultimate solution to all problems.

The Participants

The participants may be grouped into two categories: there were those ministered to, and the ministers. Those ministered to had various health issues they wanted to deal with, while the ministers guided the flock through the experience of healing believed to be possible through God. The full time participants to be ministered to were over two hundred. Otherwise other people attended the day sessions and missed the night ones. There were many physically sick people that could not walk, sit or eat. The majority, however, seemed well physically, even though some had emotional and spiritual dilemmas worthy of attention. Among the sick was Doreen Gaiciumia, a young girl who had not been able to walk for a whole year, and from whom an evil spirit was cast out during the retreat. Others included Wanza, a married young woman who had earlier been healed of kidney problems after being prayed for by the ministers at a retreat in Nairobi. Mburung'a, an old man in his fifties, had expelled his son from his home for being an irresponsible boy. Women and young people were generally more in numbers.

There were seven regular ministers. A Polish missionary priest availed himself in the last few days for the Sacrament of Penance, adoration of Blessed Sacrament, and blessing of sacramentals like water, salt, olive oil, and handkerchiefs with healing prayers printed on them. An Italian bishop, then in charge of Isiolo Catholic Diocese, graced the occasion when he briefly appeared one of the afternoons.

Proceedings

Routine

The schedule for all days' activities was the same. Participants were always in the hall between 0600 - 0700 hours for praise and worship. It was a gathering for song and dance followed by brief prayers involving everyone. After breakfast, around 0840 hours, a short time for praise and worship followed by prayers for the teacher followed.[218] Any teaching and evangelism was preceded by praise and worship. Lessons began between 0900-0930 hours. They were interrupted by a lunch break between 1300-1400 hours. Singing could also happen anytime during the lessons. Teaching and evangelism were conducted in the mornings and early afternoons while late afternoons were reserved for prayers of healing and deliverance.

Just before healing prayers, people were asked to symbolically present their issues. For example, on the day of prayer for forgiveness, participants wrote down all the sins they had committed, and on a separate page names of all the people who had offended them. Each of them then affixed the paper onto a huge crucifix that had been prepared for this purpose, while slow soothing music was performed. On the day of teaching on curses, participants wrote names of all their fore parents up to four generation, and collected flowers to represent those who either had died or were unknown to them. Using the written record and flowers, they presented their fore parents' sins and/or curses to the cross [of Jesus]. So each day, as they reflected on the problems to present to God, they had also something physical to do – something symbolizing the people or issues. Prayers

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[218] There is a belief that teachers deliver only what God has planned, even though the abilities of teachers to give summons were different. This is a pointer to their popular belief that one can be at all times controlled by the Holy Spirit if s/he willfully and regularly prays for that.

for healing were conducted before participants attended the Holy Mass in the evening just before they had supper. Praise and worship session after supper preceded the people's testimonies before retiring to bed after 2200 hours.

The teachings

Teachings apparently greatly supported the process of healing. It is impossible to describe everything that was taught in much detail, but a brief report will serve our purpose. Ceril and Bahati were the teachers on the first day of retreat, talking about the love of God and inner healing. Giving examples of their own experiences, and many others, they talked about how various life issues lead to disorders that need inner healing. It was in this lesson that Ceril gave her story about how she wet her bed until she was twenty eight. Until when she did CCR's Life in the Spirit course, she was unaware that this problem resulted from the anxiety suffered by the mother before Ceril's birth. This struck her as truth, when she astonishingly stopped wetting her bed after that remarkable healing experience at a CCR retreat. It was during then that Bahati also talked about how she had been abandoned by both of her parents, and was brought up by her grandmother. People were asked to examine themselves, to determine whether there were problems in their lives that needed such healing. Inner healing prayers followed on this first day.

The second day Philip taught regarding sin, repentance, and forgiveness.[219] According to his teaching, one's own sin, as well as offences committed by others to a person, could cause disease and suffering. He encouraged people to forgive others and repent of their sins in order to receive healing. He also asserted that all people sin, while God forgives and heals only the person who is willing to forgive others as well. He gave numerous examples of people he had met who suffered for their sins, and for refusing to forgive others.

On the third day, the lessons were centered on evil spirits, witchcraft and *majini* [genies] as causes of disease. Muchiri and John, who taught on these themes, maintained that

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[219] The accompanying audio CD (track 8) has a recording of important parts of this day's healing session. The ministers emphasize forgiveness during the prayers, and probably some of the participants' cries had to do with difficulty in forgiving.

spirits could possess and control one's life in such a way that one becomes unable to make logical decisions. Spirits cause disease, addiction and obsession about things. Witchcraft was portrayed as the work of evil people who operate with spirits similar to those 'evil spirits' of *waganga*, and magical objects in order to harm others. John made a passionate appeal to participants never to consult *waganga*, but instead to have strong faith in Jesus Christ, who would solve their problems. This was the time he told of his having consulted a *mganga* before he was in CCR as earlier mentioned.

In what sounded to me a departure from what is commonly taught in CCR Cosmas taught about *majini*.[220] Having converted from Islam, and living with many relatives who were Muslims he knew the names of various genies, and how they helped people who possessed them, and also how they affected the same people. Cosmas had a very detailed lesson on *majini*, from which the details mentioned in the introduction were drawn. Prayers of deliverance from the powers of spirits and witches followed later on this day.

On Thursday Catherine dealt with the subject of curses and diseases that are passed on from father to son as a result of sins committed by one's parents, grandparents, great grandparents and even to great great grandparents. Prayers for deliverance from all bondages of curses followed.

Friday was the last day in which participants had to remain within the compound. The teaching was on the meaning of sacramentals like blessed water, salt, candles, handkerchiefs and olive oil. Polish missionary priest Fr. Bougouslaw encouraged the congregants to keep the sacramentals in their homes, but "not to look at them as magical charms". He stated that sacramentals had meaning only if one had faith in God. Prayers for blessing sacramentals and their distribution dominated the afternoon. On Saturday both the ministers and participants prepared for a crusade that took place at Isiolo stadium. This was more an evangelistic affair than a healing function, even though prayers for healing also featured a little at the very end.

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[220] *Majini* is the Kiswahili word for genies. This was my first time to find such a lesson in CCR teachings.

Praise and Worship

Praise and worship was a music and prayer session made up of the following distinct sections: a lively part in which people not only sang together led by a soloist but also danced, a solemn part in which people engaged in private prayers and eventually stopped singing, and a final lively often animated section in which participants danced, clapped, played and shouted. Praise and worship punctuated major activities in CCR functions that I attended. There was praise and worship before breakfast, just before teaching and evangelization, before and after prayers for healing, and just before people retired to bed.

Praise and worship was accompanied by improvised background music played on an electronic keyboard. The keyboard was programmed to also play stylistic rhythms, although there was a problem at transitions since the inevitable changes in tempo prevailed against the regular keyboard set pulse. In such cases rhythm part had to be switched off. This problem occurred every time music changed from lively dance style at the beginning to solemn prayer slow music. The tempo would later be accelerated to revive dance and play-like music[221] towards the very end of a healing performance.

Healing Session

For each day a healing session was conducted in the late afternoon just before people left for evening Holy Mass in the Church. A music minister started singing slow and soft music as a healing minister gradually led the adherents into a prayer session first by issuing instructions.[222] They were told to close their eyes, stand, raise their hands, pray, breath in and out and other such directives. Then the ministers typically led prayers in increasing levels of intensity and changing pitches creating a conducive climate that enabled participants to pray loudly, cry, scream, speak in tongues, sing etc without attracting much attention from those around. The music would, at the peak of it all, appear silenced by the loud prayers and noises. At other times the music ministers seemed to compete with the noise so that the music as well as the noises was audible.

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[221] You may listen to an example in the accompanying audio CD track 7.
[222] Track 8 of the accompanying audio CD opens with Bahati singing the piece *Wewe ni Mungu* while Philip asked the people to stand, close their eyes and get ready for prayers.

Many people would consciously or unconsciously scream, cry and wail, fall into sleep-like trance, shake, dance ecstatically, vomit and foam, move around aimlessly etc.[223]

For the entranced, but also even others, ministers moved close, touched, and seemed to console, talk to, pray for, and/or sometimes give commands. I was later told that while the ministers commanded evil spirits to leave some people who cried or made noises, other people cried because of memories of certain life experiences and they needed to share it with a minister, who offered advice on how they would get over it. Ministers cleaned the floor if any participants had vomited or foamed, helped those who fell to rest comfortably of the ground, and such other more pragmatic than spiritual undertakings.

Ministry music featured at changing levels of prominence. The music was either muted when the noise was too much, or it competed with the noise and prayer. Otherwise it was the only audible sound. Eventually the music minister would not only lead in lively dance music, but ensured that it attracted everyone, so that people joined in singing and dancing at the closure of the healing prayers. Often the last song was very energetic and physically involving.

Testimonies

There were numerous testimonies to physical, psychological and spiritual healing. Doreen Gaiciumia, one of the participants, was overjoyed when she suddenly noticed that she could rise, eat, sit, stand and walk to the hall, all by herself.[224] When healing and deliverance prayers were conducted, nothing appeared to have happened to her. The following day some women who had slept in her dormitory announced her miraculous cure. When she was helped to rise to the top of a table, so that everyone could see her walk from any part of the hall, I saw people shed tears in absolute amazement and shock. She could not talk much, but her grandmother testified: "I thank God. I have gone with

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[223] Art 5 of the CDF's disciplinary norms warns against anything resembling hysteria, artificiality, theatricality or sensationalism (CDF, *Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p.15). It looks like it would not be easy to differentiate between the hysterical or theatrical from those overpowered by emotions.

[224] James Byrne (*Living in the Spirit*, 1975, p. 137) may be justified to say that there is merit in letting time pass and consulting a doctor before talking about a miraculous healing in CCR healing. After Gaiciumia was miraculously healed and testified, she later fell sick again. But after the second time prayers by the ministers, she remained well until the retreat ended.

her to many places and hospitals beginning at Meru general hospital. Her problem worsened even as my son took her from Kenyatta National (referral) hospital where they tried several ways of dealing with her problem. My son lost hope and also spent too much money at this hospital, so that he advised that we find some people of God to pray for her. From last December, it is today that she has been able to rise and walk."

Wanza gave her testimony amid sobs and with freely flowing tears. She had suffered a kidney problem that required dialysis fortnightly, and she was from a poor family, so the doctors warned that she would not live for more than a month. Though her prayers were done before the Isiolo Retreat, she was among those who testified of miraculous healing resulting from Archangel Raphael Healing Ministry.[225] And a man from Embu district said he had stopped using spectacles, and could perfectly read his bible as he testified. He had earlier also stopped alcohol abuse, a thing he had desired but failed to achieve for many years. Mburung'a, whose interview with me is transcribed in the appendix 3 also testified as did many others. Certain people who appeared to give ministers a difficult time, for instance a girl who had had sexual involvement with a *mganga*, did not testify of any healing. Such people did not look unwell physically while at the retreat, except at the time demons were being commanded to leave in the ministry. Then, they would make a lot of noise or cry.

Some healed and excited participants engaged other participants in song and dance immediately after they gave testimonies. For example, the man who stopped using glasses at Isiolo after his eyes were healed, excitedly began the song *Anaweza Yesu Anaweza Aleluya*, which means 'He's able, Jesus is able Alleluia'. However many physically sick people were not healed.

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[225] See interview with Muchiri for more details about Wanza's miraculous cure.

Kapsabet Seminars

The Function

This two-day long [29th-30th December 2004] event was organized to introduce Life in the Spirit course to Catholics in the Baraton region of Kapsabet district. Life in the Spirit is a beginner's course for CCR members. Seminars differ from retreats in that retreats are aimed at healing, while seminars aim at increasing people's awareness about the works of the Holy Spirit in their lives. However, CCR teaching and evangelization always emphasizes healing and other miracles resulting from increased faith in God, repentance and forgiveness. The Kapsabet seminars seemed to have been badly advertised. Only few people were present on the first day of seminar, and church officials did not seem interested in CCR. There was only one junior church official in attendance, and a priest appeared briefly to celebrate the Holy Mass. He did not mention the CCR seminars that were going on.

Muchiri, who was the National CCR coordinator, informed me that such problems of participation were common where church leaders and priests did not support CCR movement. He said that the CCR movement had clergy and lay supporters and opponents within the Catholic Church in Kenya.[226] Where support lacks, bishops, priests and lay church leaders either discouraged participants from attending, or simply did not advertise CCR events at all. That seemed to have been the case in Kapsabet, and the ministers, in particular Muchiri and John, blamed Satan for preventing people from receiving God's grace and healing through their CCR functions.

The participants

The first ministry session was rather shocking. Ministers arrived at the church only to find no one there. As we waited for participants to arrive, Bahati found two drunken men who spoke her Luhya language. The two men, who were just from drinking beer and

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[226] Arts 4 & 8 of the CDF bestow much power to a diocesan bishop. The bishop has the right to issue norms of healing practices for his particular church - especially those regarding liturgical services of healing or exorcism (CDF, *Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p. 14-15). Usually the charismatics consider lack of support to be sourced from the devil. This is where there is danger of conflicts within the church, since like any other catholic movement CCR is not allowed to impose itself (Shorter & Njiru, *New Religious Movements in Africa*, 2001, p. 67).

were terribly addicted, somehow agreed to go to church so that God would help them heal from the addiction to alcohol. They wore dirty and torn clothes, and rubber sandals. One of them was a university graduate - a specialist in pathology. He admitted that something was wrong in his life, because he used all his money in what he saw as bad living. However, he could not stop it, and so he agreed to be prayed over together with his friend. I will later describe their experience.

In the afternoon of the first day, there were less than ten new participants. They all came only in the afternoon; so that Muchiri complained that people thought being healed needed only prayers. He said no healing could take place unless faith in God first was strengthened though biblical teachings to give way to inner conversion and faith.[227] The number of participants in the afternoon was almost the same as that of the ministers. One of them had an incapacitated hand, and another had pain in the back so she could not bend easily as I later learned.

The second day had better attendance with close to a total of fifty participants coming at different times. Perhaps the participants for the first day spread word that CCR evangelists were around. That is why it is possible for one to think there was little or no publicizing of this function. There was only one ministry session in the late afternoon. None of the participants appeared critically ill.

Proceedings

Routine

The ministers, who normally lodged separate from the participants, conducted their own praise and worship, and prayed regarding the participants in the morning before leaving for the venue. This time I stayed with the ministers, since participants were non-boarders. By 0800 hours we gathered for "Morning Glory". Morning Glory was essentially praise and worship. It was intended for thanking God for a new day, and invoking blessings for the day. I noticed that the ministers routinely held their Morning Glory session separate

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[227] Muchiri's concerns are shared by Paul Cordes (*Call to Holiness*, 1997, p. 53) who asserts that healing is not meant to be viewed in isolation but as an integral part of evangelization.

from the other participants. They prayed for issues that seemed important for the day's ministry. After breakfast they then joined other participants for praise and worship before lessons. After each day, they once again had a brief praise and worship and prayer before retiring. Scripture reading and exhortation always preceded Morning Glory and evening prayers. In the evening, ministers also discussed the problems and successes they had witnessed during the day.

The Teachings

In the available time, participants were taught on the love of God, sin, repentance and forgiveness, and lastly evil spirits and witchcraft. The time taken to cover the topics was however not comparable to that taken at the Isiolo retreat. The content was very much the same.

Healing Sessions

No healing session that was the same as another. In the first healing session only two people were ministered to – the two drunken men. There was a brief scripture reading and some teaching before the ministry. Then as one minister led the others in singing *Haifai Tena*,[228] another one began praying. Prayers intensified with John the leader becoming increasingly louder while other ministers sang in chorus led by Bahati. After prolonged prayers, one man began to cry loudly. As prayers continued, the crying man fell into a sleep-like trance. The other man followed minutes afterwards. As they lay on the ground seeming unconscious, ministers surrounded and prayed over them, while Bahati and Catherine continued singing. The two men later became conscious, and one seemed either frightened or shocked at what he had experienced.[229]

In the afternoon close to ten women were ministered to. Like the drunken men, they did not sing, but were just silent as prayers were said. To engage people in music as had happened in Isiolo seemed impossible. They either did not know the songs, or they did

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[228] You may listen to the song in accompanying audio CD track 9.
[229] There might be charismatics who are theatrical, sensational, hysterical, or artificial. The case of these two suggests also another reality; there are people whose experience comes with much shock and disbelief.

not like singing them.[230] Moreover, there was so little time that they could not be taught new songs. A few people including one woman who said she had been healed of a back problem gave testimonies.

The last ministry session, with more than fifty attendees, had special kind of prayers. Music was completely stopped, but uniform statements chanted by all participants seemed musical.[231] The involvement of participants was apparently valued. The people had been so quiet and seemingly tense. So they were asked to repeatedly say either *Yesu sema neno moja tu na nitapona*[232] ('Jesus, only say word and I shall be healed'), or laying hands on one's neighbor's shoulders, they said *Yesu rafiki yako ni mgonjwa*[233] ('Jesus, your friend is sick'). In the first statement the prayer was for oneself, while in the second, one interceded for a neighbor. There was something musical about how these group choruses of prayer were done. As the people continuously said the words, a healing minister prayed in a rhythm that contrasted with that of the group, thus polyrhythm. Due to the changes in pitches, albeit between spoken and sang in kind, there was also polyphony of a kind, and the overall sound was for me aesthetically meaningful. Against the chorus, John behaved more or less like a rapper. A few people expressed emotional changes while this prayer was being conducted. It seemed this was a substitute for standard music, when people for some reasons cannot sing as they did at Isiolo.

Testimonies

Few participants testified about being healed physically. No one talked about forgiveness, and no one appeared to have been affected by evil spirits. A woman who had a back problem could bend forwards after the second ministry session with less than ten participants on the first day. The two drunken men could possibly have received inner healing; as they were not physically sick. But they did not return for ministry on the

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[230] Note that the music performed by these ministers is sung in many protestant Churches. CCR shares not just the music of the Pentecostals in Kenya, but also many other aspects of Pentecostal worship. The song *Haifai Tena* is indeed very popular in healing rituals of Pentecostal churches in Kenya.

[231] This is what Csordas describes as formulaic invocations of the name of Jesus (Thomas Csordas, *Language, Charisma & Creativity*, 2001, p. 175).

[232] You may listen to this on accompanying audio CD track 10.

[233] You may listen to this on accompanying audio CD track 10. (It comes after *Yesu sema neno moja tu na nitapona* in the same audio track).

following day. Only their verbal statements and facial expressions suggested that healing possibly took place. As they left the ministry, they seemed determined to fight drunkenness.[234] A lady, who had suffered Poliomyelitis, perhaps, had her hopes rise as Muchiri anointed her with blessed oil and all other ministers prayed while at the same time singing around her. It was the second ministry session on the first day. She was not cured. On the whole, the healing results in Kapsabet were not good, nor were they that passionately expressed by healed participants. The involvement of participants in the seminar was definitely poor. According to the ministers, different parts of the country have varied levels of interest, and this, according to Muchiri, the national CCR coordinator, often reflects on support of the bishops or priests of a certain place.

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[234] After prayers they said they were thirsty, so that some sodas were bought and prayed over before they took them. One of them was surprised he desired to drink soda, which was unusual since he always took beer instead.

3.2.1 Photographs

Photo Plate 4a: CCR healing Retreat – Isiolo

At the top left participants make notes during one of the teaching and evangelization sessions. Top (right) they brought the names of their living and deceased parents. For each deceased or unknown member of one's *mti wa jamii* [family tree] a flower was presented. Each person knelt and quietly repented the sins on behalf of the parents. Notice the cross was already loaded with papers on which they had written their own sins the previous day. Bottom, they sing and dance at a praise session, usually in a joyous mood, and participants seemed happy.

Photo Plate 4b: CCR healing retreat – Isiolo (Cont.)

Top, participants raised hands in what has been described in the observation schedule as prayerful or solemn mood. Often negative emotions were expressed by many at such times. Bottom left, they assumed varied postures that typified lengthy ministry sessions, and bottom (right) are Bahati and John at a music and healing ministry time.

Photo Plate 4c: CCR healing Retreat – Isiolo (Cont.)
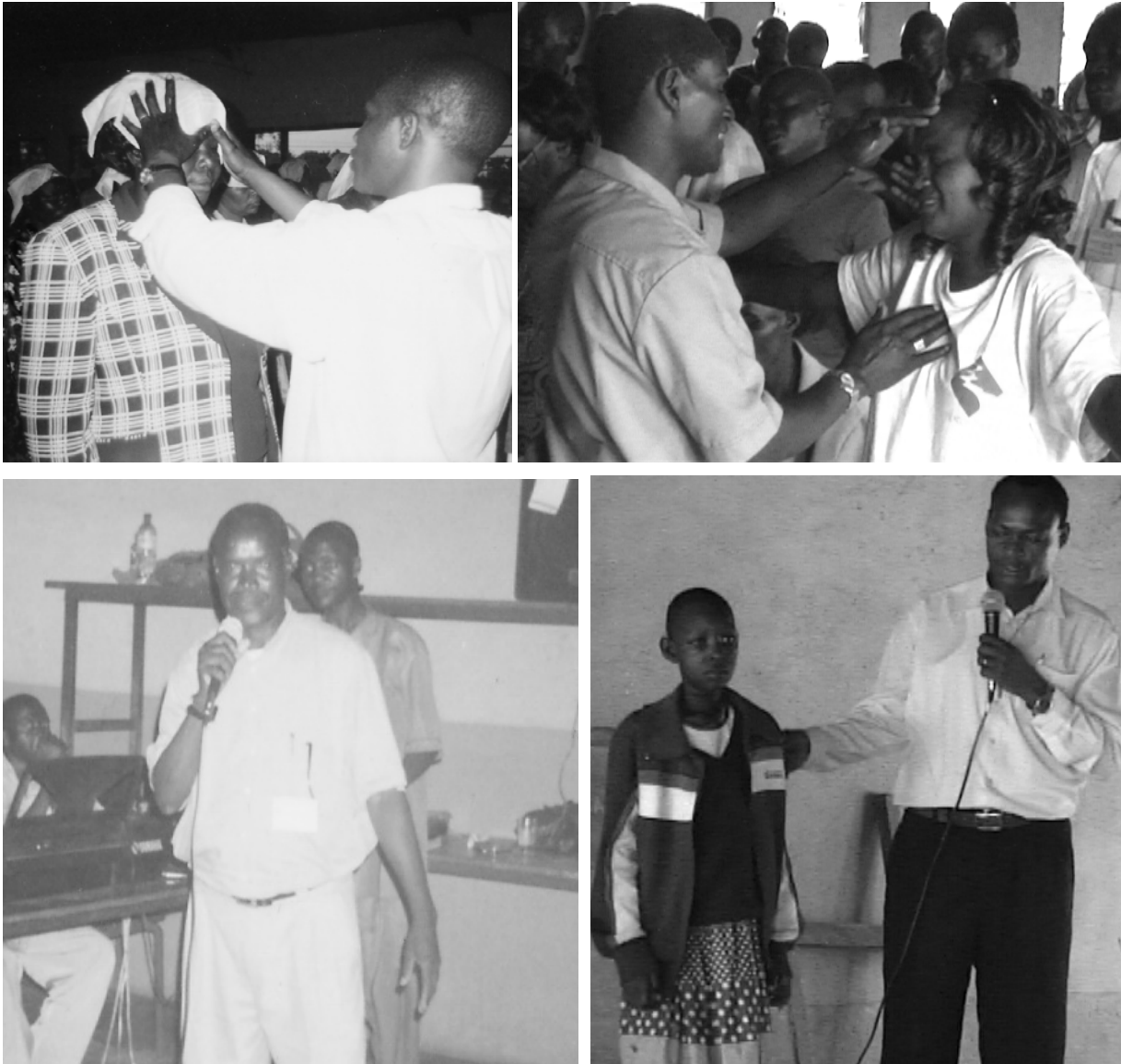
At the top (left) Philip is laying hands on a participant. And top (right) Muchiri helps a lady who later said she had forgiven a mother superior who had expelled her from a convent where she had offered herself as a novice. Bottom (right) is Doreen Gaiciumia as she walked first time in a year, after a miraculous healing. And bottom (left) Mburung'a said he had forgiven his son. He also said he had a shoulder problem that had been healed.

3.3   CCR Healing Ministry Music

3.3.1 General Features

In this section I will present music in two forms: sound and song texts. In the case of sound, there are notated song examples from a single healing session, used to demonstrate how sound changes through a performance, at appendix 4. There are also two more examples: *Haifai Tena* was very widely used though not in the chosen session, while *Mungu yu Mwema* [presented only in audio form] exemplifies lively and playful dance music widely mentioned in the analysis that will follow. This collection of songs contains all general features of CCR healing music which I characterize just below. Apart from the songs, prayer sound and noise was part of CCR healing sound fabric. It will be clearer as we examine later how these three are fused in performances. For now I examine features of the sound through the parameters one may see more as structural. These have to do with aspects such as form, scales, rhythm, harmony and texture.

It is clear from the songs provided that call and response ||:AB:|| form applied in most of the pieces. However the chorus was excluded when people were engaged in prayer, unless more than one music minister sang as other ministers attended to the participants.[235] There were pieces in which a soloist performed long phrases while choral response completed a melody, as in *Usinipite Mwokozi*. Other times the soloist performed the same melody with a different text, while the choral response remained the same, for example in *Haifai Tena*. However, in *Haifai Tena*, the soloist supported the chorus by filling up free time spaces between different phrases with ad libs *haifai* or *karibu*. In *Oh the Blood of Jesus* the soloist and chorus were only separated where a soloist had to introduce new text for the verse that would follow. Songs such as *Wewe ni Mungu* and *Show Your Power* had very brief soloist interjections. Such interjections did not amount to phrases that would balance the chorus part, but are brief musical material that seemed to have been for just a brief variation. In such cases the solo part used a higher or lower pitch register and often altered rhythm producing meaningful contrast albeit briefly.

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[235] Usually several music ministers sing during the ministry sessions. It seems Archangel Raphael Ministry group left one member singing because they were few and the people they ministered to were many.

Call and response was not an obligatory feature of CCR healing music, because there were times the singing was done even just by a single individual. In the more frequent cases where call and response form prevails, it seems more an expression of tradition than an obligatory feature for CCR healing music. Perhaps prayer and noise was seen consciously or otherwise as a valid substitute for the chorus, because there were times music ministers performed slow music against a backdrop of masses of prayer and noisy sounds, thus a conscious manipulation of the soundscape. In this case, since the music as well as other sounds prevailed simultaneously [thus looking as though they were competing though somehow united in some ways], the form cannot be described as ||:AB:|| but as through composed and possibly in the polyphonic texture.

Other than in the above prayerful times music was mostly in the monophonic texture. I never found any music minister teaching songs with parts such as soprano, alto, tenor and bass, while this usually happens in much of Kenyan music for the Holy Mass. But there were times the soloist's interjections in the performance created harmony. An example is the fifth bar of *Show Your Power*, where the soloist deviated from melody, rose to the perfect fifth from the root (in fast notes), as the chorus sustained the supertonic. The keyboard part also brought in harmony, of course, and there were participants who somehow went into part singing, some appearing to have done it consciously and for aesthetics' sake. An example is a female singer who harmonizes largely in parallel thirds in *Haifai Tena's* chorus part.[236] *The presence of some harmony indicates that the widely applied monophonic texture is not a necessary feature of CCR healing music.* It is either for simplicity's sake, or for an unconscious reflection of tradition, that it is the dominant texture in this context.

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[236] My experience in catholic choral music for the Holy Mass in Kenya tells me that such kind of harmonizing is common among choir members, especially when there is no skilled choir trainer to harmonize for the group. Often, in these cases, the bass tends to be essentially interchanges of the tonic, subdominant, and dominant. The other parts often contain parallels of third or sixth intervals. The female singer expresses this aspect in her harmony containing mostly parallel thirds above the melody.You listen to accompanying audio CD (track 9).

The music frequently used the diatonic scale. Examples using this scale included *Wewe ni Mungu, Oh the Blood of Jesus, Show Your Power,* and *That's Why I Praise You.* Pentatonic scales of different forms were found in *Haifai* and *Usinipite Mwokozi. Haifai Tena* avoids the major 6th and perfect 5th from the root, while *Usinipite Mwokozi* avoids the perfect 4th and the major 7th thus the primary form of pentatonic scale. Since Western hymns were often interchanged with Kenyan ones, and because western melodic instruments like keyboard and guitar were used, it can be speculated that the diatonic scale has become commonly used because of Western influences in church music. *The presence of diatonic as well as other scales shows that scale is a changeable factor in CCR healing music.* Other scales could be freely used to construct workable melodies.

The above features, pertaining to form, texture, scale, and harmony, merely express certain common tendencies without portraying the standard features in each of the parameters as mandatory, since there are exceptions which do not appear hazardous in healing procedures. Let me now turn to the aspects which appeared more decisive in the rituals. These features are not negotiated except with extreme caution. They relate to tonality, rhythmic (meter and tempo), intensity and density variations.

Key changes seem a very sensitive matter. Songs performed without a break, say *Usinipite Mwokozi, Oh the Blood of Jesus, Show Your Power,* and *That's Why I Praise You*, most often share keys. The performance of all songs for one session in the same key in fact typifies CCR praise and worship. There is a need to have songs following each other without a break, or being connected in a smooth way, so that key changes were possibly perceived as hazardous in the achievement of that objective. However, key changes occasionally happened, say when a soloist transposed his/her part consciously or unconsciously. The response would then be in a new key. This often happened when the starting key was either too low or high at the beginning, so that it seemed a whole session could not be sustained in that key. Very radical key changes in the middle of the ritual were viewed as detrimental to the objective of ensuring smooth connections between songs. *Because of the need to smoothly link separate songs, single key usage, as one of*

the unifying factors for songs in one session, was of the glamour definitely not afforded by things such as particular scales, textures, forms and harmonies.

Another major factor in the music is management of rhythm, tempo, and meter. Except where the soloist interjected with extra material that seemed not originally part of the melody, in which case the rhythm in the soloist's part could be altered to allow additional notes, the rhythm was generally precise and simple. In the provided example of healing session songs, healing prayers were conducted when songs were predominantly in crotchets and minims, as opposed to when the prayers had ended, when quaver notes became more regular to evoke a lively dance mood. This created the feeling of a changing tempo although in the provided examples the tempo itself did not change much considering that the range was between MM=113 and MM=124. There was a correspondence between the activity undertaken and the kind of rhythm in the music. Prayer time was marked by long notes [or slow tempo] such as those in the examples *Wewe ni Mungu, Usinipite Mwokozi, Oh the Blood of Jesus* or *Haifai Tena*. Praise and thanksgiving songs had more short notes [or faster tempo] designed to evoke a dance mood. As praise and thanksgiving songs came before and after prayers, tempo changes had a definite and obligatory fast-slow-fast formula. Alternatively, and this is the case with the given examples, the tempo remained only a little changed as songs featuring long notes prevailed in the middle of the ritual sandwiched between sessions containing songs with short notes. *Either way, it seems right to remark that largely from meter, rhythm and/or tempo exploitation is the ritual afforded lively dance, as well as solemn prayer moods within a single rather intricate ritual.*

The last significant feature of CCR music is the clearly patterned intensity and density changes. Lively dance music involved more people in singing, and the singing was itself louder than that designed to sustain a prayer mood. There was then higher intensity and denser sound at the time of dancing. Although music at prayer times was more regularly softer and less dense since only music ministers sang as others prayed, music ministers used higher intensity to counter noises when that was found to be important in preventing distraction of those in prayer by the entranced or those so emotionally overwhelmed that

they screamed or loudly cried. At this time such intensity variations were vital and their role cannot be assumed to be a weak factor in healing, since their careless application could adversely affect prayer and subsequently healing. *Thus, unlike in the case of form, harmony, scale, and texture, intensity changes have a role so uniquely linked to them that nothing else could possibly take up their place.* Neither could the ritual, in fact, avoid them without losing what it ostensibly is perceived to be.

In conclusion it can be said that form [call and response or ||:AB:||], scale [often diatonic but changeable], harmony [Western and supported by instruments such as keyboards], and texture [often monophonic but changeable], were not critical aspects of CCR healing music. Tonality [often major and rarely changed within one session], rhythmic features [rhythm and tempo in fast-slow-fast formula with clear meter], and intensity [loud-soft-loud but the middle (soft) part had further internal variations determined by the nature of prevailing prayer sound] and density [high-low-high signifying presence or absence of participants other than music ministers, or simply separating prayer/solemn and dance/lively parts] had a degree of control demanding no less than cautious manipulation. Notably intensity and density changes corresponded with temporal or rhythmic changes. When a fast rhythm prevails, a more intense and denser sound is evident – usually taking place as people sing and dance. Conversely, whenever the music was soft, the rhythm either had long notes or a slow tempo prevailed. *Accelerando* and *crescendo* as well as *rallentando* and *diminuendo* appeared unified in most of CCR healing music.

3.3.2 Song Texts and their Meanings

Wewe ni Mungu

Kiswahili	**English**
chorus	
wewe ni Mungu, waweza yote	you are God, able in everything
hakuna Mungu kama wewe	no god is like you
bwana wa mabwana	lord of lords
1. kimbilio letu	our refuge
2. alpha na omega	alpha and omega [beginning and end]
3. baba wa huruma	merciful father
4. wewe unatosha	you [alone] are enough

This song was performed as prayers were started. Just before the song was started, John said that the Holy Spirit revealed to him that three people including one man were getting peace in their hearts.[237] The Philip began prayers as Bahati gently reduced her intensity to a level that was too soft to be clearly heard, as prayers got louder and louder. In the prayers, Philip shouted *njoo Yesu, njoo Yesu…* [come Jesus, come Jesus] while people were asked to say their own prayers, and breath in and out "the air that Jesus had been mixed with his spirit." It is clear that the song was a praise song to God, calling Him the Lord of lords, able, their refuge, merciful, and enough for all their needs.

Usinipite Mwokozi

usinipite mwokozi, usinipite	do not pass me savior, do not pass me
unapozuru wengine, usinipite	as you visit the others, do not pass me
Chorus	
(mwite Yesu) Yesu, Yesu	(call Jesus) Jesus, Jesus
usinipite (unisikie)	do not pass me (hear me)
unapozuru wengine, usinipite	as you visit the others, do not pass me
hufariji peke yako, sina mwingine	you minister alone, I have no other
bwana duniani pote	lord in the whole world
bwana ni wewe	the lord is you

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[237] This seemed true as Mburung'a's problem with his son was solved on this day. The theme of the day was forgiveness, and Mburung'a forgave his son and certain signs he described as great followed (see appendix 3 for my interview with Mburung'a).

After singing praises to God in the previous song, the minister's message in the new song was to implore the savior not to leave anyone unattended to. *Unapozuru wengine usinipite*, means, 'as you visit/see/attend to others, do not pass over me'. A lot of people were at this time making all sorts of unintelligible sounds and meaningless movements [I mean movements which seemed to have had no purpose]. Some cried, shouted/screamed, groaned, rolled on the ground and shook, while some others fell unconscious. The trance sounds [sounds made unconsciously by the entranced] appeared to compete with the song. The song called Jesus' name '*Yesu Yesu*' at the chorus.

Oh the Blood of Jesus

English   **Kiswahili (alternated)**

chorus
O the blood of Jesus x2   *damu ya Yesu x2*
it washes white than snow   *husafisha kabisha*

1. there is healing in the blood of Jesus
2. there is forgiveness in the blood of Jesus
3. there is power in the blood of Jesus

This song uses a common metaphor, where the blood of Jesus is equated to soap or detergent that would 'clean' people's souls whiter than snow. It is said that by committing sin, one makes him/herself dirty, and only the blood of Jesus would 'wash the souls'. The healing minister not only followed very closely what the music minister said through the song, he even appeared to conduct the song saying repeatedly and strongly "there is forgiveness! there is healing!" His articulations were themselves musical indeed.

Show Your Power

Chorus 1
show your power O lord our God (show your power)
show your power O lord our God, our God
Chorus 2
send your mercy O lord our God (send your mercy)
send your mercy O lord our God, our God
Chorus 3
send your healing O lord our God (send your healing)
send your healing O lord our God, our God

1. your gospel oh lord is the hope of our nation
2. he is the lord and he reigns on high
3. spoke unto darkness created the light

This song was performed towards the end of the healing prayers, and its rhythm suggests dance. The song was used to signal the ending of prayers. Participants would then wind down prayers and join in singing and gradually also in dancing. As clearly shown through the above verses, it describes God as all powerful, merciful creator and ruler of the universe. It suggests that because God was all powerful, healing was not a big challenge for Him. Through healing God shows his power, mercy, and love.

That's why I Praise You

Chorus:

that's why I praise you in the morning,
that's why I praise you in the noon time,
that's why I praise you in the ev'ning,
that's why I praise you all the time.

you are so faithful, so faithful, so faithful x2

This song is testimonial in the sense that it implies healing was evident when it says 'that's why I praise you Lord'. In other words Bahati believed healing had taken place, and participants were interested in praising God for what he had done. The testimonies for this day, which came up later in the evening, included Mburung'a's.

Haifai Tena

Kiswahili	**English (Translation)**
Chorus 1	
haifai tena mimi kunyanyaswa	it is not in order I being oppressed
na yule 'birisi maishani mwangu	by that devil, in by life
(haifai)	(it is not in order)
1. analeta magonjwa, analeta laana	he brings sicknesses, he brings curses
haifai tena mimi kunyanyaswa	it is not in order I being oppressed
haifai	it is not in order

2. analeta mashaka, analeta wasiwasi	he brings doubts, he brings anxiety
haifai tena mimi kunyanyaswa	it is not in order I being oppressed
haifai	it is not in order

Chorus 2	
karibu Yesu, moyoni mwangu	welcome Jesus, in my heart
karibu Yesu moyoni mwangu	welcome Jesus, in my heart
(karibu)	(welcome)

3. siwezi kitu, bila ewe Yesu	I can do nothing, without you Jesus
karibu mponya, moyoni mwangu	welcome healer, in my heart
karibu	welcome

4. unanijua Yesu, uhalibifu wangu	you know me Jesus, my destructiveness
unanijua Yesu, ugonjwa wangu	you know me Jesus, my sickness
karibu	welcome

5. nionyeshe Yesu, upendo wako	show me Jesus, your love
nionyeshe Yesu, furaha yako	show me Jesus, your happiness
karibu	welcome

This song was performed in Kapsabet during the ministry of two drunken men and also in other ministries performed there. The popular version uses chorus 2, but in the ministry of the drunken men I thought I understood why Bahati chose to start with chorus 1. The message looks 'tailored' for people in their circumstances. Perhaps the popularity of the song was another reason it was selected, assuming that the song was known to people in Kapsabet even if just from its being performed commonly in protestant churches. The people, nonetheless, did not sing it well. The song blames Satan for bringing such things as curses, anxiety and doubts, while also serving as a confession to personal weaknesses, and welcoming Jesus the healer to show them his happiness and love.

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Disease and its Causes

In CCR view to have a healthy body does not imply a healthy spirit and mind as well. There are people who seem healthy, or think of themselves as such, but are 'captives' of bad spiritual forces. To have a relationship problem, or defective self image, is also a health issue in CCR beliefs. And any sort of experience in one's life which resurfaces in the form of bad memories is considered a health problem. This is the same also for uncontrollable emotions like hot tempers that are usually seen as manifestations of controlling evil forces in the life of a person. People with all these problems are seen as sick, while for many people around the world ill-health is linked to bodily problems. Health problems have their roots either in an individual's upbringing, supernatural powers, or biological causes.

I will start by giving some examples and showing how people understood health problems. Firstly most ministers in CCR were at least fairly educated and understood that disease could have natural or biological causes.[238] John was describing a problem he saw as having roots in biology, when he testified about the healing of his wife of fibroids that had prevented them from having a child for years. Another example is Wanza's kidney problem that of course had a biological cause, seeing that regular kidney dialysis was able to prolong her life, except that it was getting unaffordable, and she feared that she would ultimately die (Muchiri 3c). Because biological problems are diagnosed and treated as long as there are known medical solutions, the important thing to note in this case is that in CCR beliefs, biological problems are not seen as special problems that are necessarily a reserve for biomedicine. [239]

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[238] In traditional Africa any problematic disease was understood as having a spiritual cause. I agree with Mbiti who writes "Disease is not just a physical condition, according to African interpretation and experience. It is also a religious matter." (Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religions*, 1992, p. 139)

[239] But CCR healing is seen as a complement not replacement of natural or scientific methods as Byrne (*Living in the Spirit*, 1975, p. 136) remarks. I did not find the ministers advising people to avoid natural or scientific methods of healing, even though they always taught that God could heal any disease.

Disorders and disease resulting from one's upbringing are numerous and have varied health effects. We saw that Bahati perceived missing the love of her parents as an illness from which she had needed to heal. But there are more serious health challenges that may develop as a result of bad upbringing or personal history, namely, those that create disorders that show physically and cannot be treated at hospitals. We had the good example of Ceril's bed wetting. As she asserted, it seemed her problem developed before she was born, due to terrible emotional experiences of her mother at pregnancy. Another example is Peninah (Bahati 3c), who developed goiter in what Bahati saw as failure to forgive her father.[240] Life experiences that could lead to problems necessitating inner healing include murder, abortion, rape/abuse, betrayal, separation from loved ones, experiences of a mother during pregnancy and numerous others.

Regarding problems with supernatural causes, some diseases may manifest themselves physically but originate from evil spirits/powers whose aim is to torture or kill. These evil powers affect a person when a jealous individual ritually activates magical objects to perform a specified task affecting a fellow human being. Such persons – referred to as witches or wizards – secretly perform rituals invoking the powers of evil spirits in order to kill or affect others. They install powers into objects that are then placed strategically where they are able to affect the targeted person(s). Doreen Gaiciumia[241] appears to have been a victim of such evil powers.

While a disease whose origin is a spirit may have physical manifestation, health practitioners are unable to diagnose or treat the patient. As biological diseases may not always respond well to medical treatment,[242] there is a tendency for bewitched and spirit affected people to see different doctors, unaware that a spirit or witch is behind the problem. Because there is no way to tell whether a disease is biological or supernatural, to start with, and because the common belief is that diseases are biological, people affected by evil spirits or witchcraft often take a long route to recovery. This is what had

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[240] She (3c) said that Peninah was healed instantly when she forgave her father at a retreat in Limuru.
[241] The idea that Doreen's problem was caused by a spirit, which I think is questionable, was Philip's (3c). I will later state why I thought it may also have been a problem of witchcraft.
[242] Note that medical facilities are not good in many parts of the country.

happened to Doreen, until when she attended the retreat unaware that a dreadful evil power needed to be dealt with (Philip 3c).

Some supernatural influences result from spirit possession, when 'evil spirits' enter the body of a person and control him/her from within. Although they may in this case cause physical or mental health problems, they more critically affect the spirit of an individual. One may wonder why spirits choose to enter the bodies of certain individuals and not others, since they are not 'sent' by envious human beings. At an exclusive lecture on spirits, Muchiri[243] elaborated on how spirits enter a person. He said that evil spirits have liberty to enter into a person who involves himself in certain types of sin. The sins include especially those: that have to do with one's body – like sexual involvement with a person who already has a possessing spirit; that have to do with fortune tellers and *waganga* - who make covenants with possessing spirits; that involve blood rituals and the like. All these may give spirits the right to enter the body of a person. And once a spirit gets into a person, it could fully possess the person, cause an obsession to something evil like drunkenness and immorality, cause a disease, or it may not act unless provoked as the person tries to worship God. Either way CCR would term such a person as gravely sick and in urgent need of help.

Another cause of disease that is neither biological nor of the spirits or witches, is curses. Curses affect only evildoers. Catherine (3c) [244] suggests that curses not only manifest themselves through diseases, but they may affect everything a person does. Catherine's grandfather once received dowry from a man who wanted to marry his daughter [who is Catherine's mother], but later refused to let her marry him or reimburse the funds. She said in her teaching that it is a terrible mistake to make contractual agreements especially those that involve payments and fail to honor them regardless of circumstances, as this would lead to curses. Catherine's grandfather, who had four wives and numerous daughters, never saw any of his other daughters married. In fact the problem had begun to

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[243] Muchiri gave the same teaching on evil spirits and witchcraft in Kapsabet and Isiolo events.
[244] Catherine often taught lessons on curses as she had experienced it in her family, and there was tendency in CCR ministries for people who have suffered particular problems to teach about the same when they became ministers. That way, most ministers gave examples from their own experiences, and showed how God had intervened.

affect his grandchildren as well, before Catherine learnt about curses, and advised the entire family to pray for the breaking of what she saw as a curse. Afterwards things began to change, and though Catherine [a single mother] was unmarried herself, she said some members of their extended family began to get married. Apart from failing to honor covenants, Catherine named other issues that could result into curses including: forgery and theft, corruption, unpaid church tithe, disobeying authorities and disobeying God. Signs of curses include madness, chronic diseases, barrenness, breaking of families, poverty, very low intelligence, recurrent accidents, joblessness, and suicide in some families. While these may be common problems, with curses, an entire family [or at least a sizeable part of it] is affected.

In close connection with curses, a disease cause that is associated with a person's upbringing is sin. Some problems sourced from one's upbringing, as well as curses, may not be well known to the sufferer, as those sourced from sins committed in one's full awareness are. Sin in this case constitutes any act going contrary to what God has commanded, frequently also an offence against fellow humans. Philip asserted that the sins a person commits, as well as the wrongs others do to the person cause diseases. For persons to whom evil things are done, refusing to forgive could lead to sickness. I have earlier given the example of Peninah. Because she abhorred and could not forgive her brutal father, she suffered goiter [at least that is what Bahati (3c) thinks]. Because she felt so much resentment as a result of what her father did to them, she had difficulties to merely pronounce the words 'I forgive my father', unaware that in them lay the secret to her miraculous healing that at last took place.[245]

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[245] Bahati said that the moment Peninah pronounced 'I forgive my father', she was healed.

The figure below summarizes disease causes discussed above.

Figure 8: Disease Causes in CCR – Classified

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                        ┌──────────────┐
                        │   Disease    │
                        │   causes     │
                        └──────────────┘
        ┌───────────────────────┼───────────────────────┐
        ▼                       ▼                        ▼
┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐        ┌──────────────┐
│  Biological  │        │ Supernatural │        │  Upbringing  │
└──────────────┘        └──────────────┘        └──────────────┘
                   ┌───────────┼───────────┐
                   ▼           ▼           ▼
            ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐ ┌───────────┐
            │ Witchcraft│ │Evil Spirits│ │  Curses   │
            └───────────┘ └───────────┘ └───────────┘
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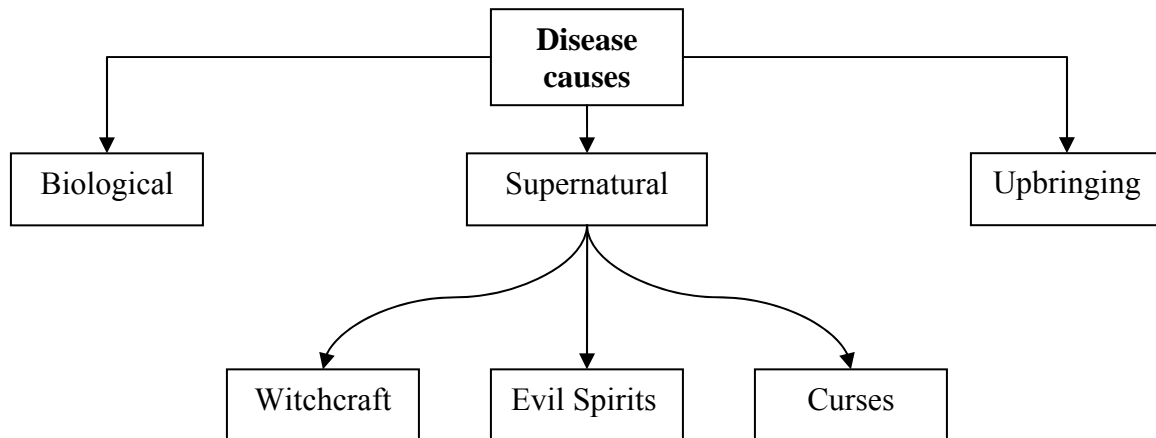
3.4.2 Dealing with Disease

In order to effectively conduct healing through CCR procedures, two key elements factored. Firstly, teachings merged with evangelization and testimonies of healing were used to encourage growth of faith, which seems to be a key ingredient in the whole performance of healing. Secondly, music, prayer and noise were worked out in such a way that they facilitated cathartic release, leading to the healing of spiritual, psychological and biological health issues. In the background of this sound, as I already said, one pressed by emotions was free to cry, wail, or even scream in order to let go any emotion consciously evoked through memories of unpleasant encounters. Moreover the entranced do not attract much attention if they make noises.

It is worth noting that majority of participants appeared physically well. They could have been feeling spiritually or psychologically unwell, as this alone could explain their participation in the healing functions. The explanation is clear because the functions were advertised as healing retreats and/or seminars, and it may be presumed that all participants felt some need for healing. For those involving themselves in these healing functions a subjective view of health is suggested. That is, there is the belief that to remain healthy one needs to engage in such activity, while there were those of course at the very extreme bad end of biological, psychological and spiritual wellbeing, whose healing was a matter of urgency as we have already found through given examples.

The illustration below shows the two key stages of the CCR healing procedure and the main activities in which participants are involved. One stage may be described as preparatory, when the other is the actual performance of healing.

Figure 9: Stages in CCR Healing
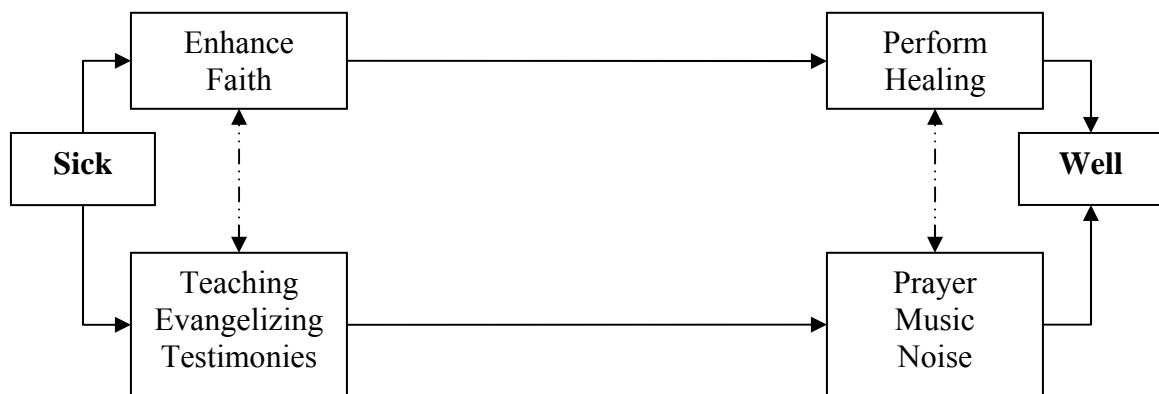
3.4.2a   Teaching, Evangelization and Testimonies

The meaningfulness of faith in CCR healing procedures is underscored by Philip's (3h) assertion that faith is necessary as God alone is healer, comforter and provider. Put differently, Muchiri (2d) purports that the gospel must be preached to "open people's hearts to the power of God", as less healing could result from shallow evangelization and teaching. While teaching and evangelization were performed simultaneously in CCR, teaching differs from evangelization. A teacher seeks to impart knowledge to a learner, when an evangelist seeks to persuade people to convert or be a stronger believer.[246] What Muchiri was referring to, above, was certainly evangelization not teaching. He further says (Muchiri 3f), that God's word must first 'sink' into one's heart, so that resultant inner transformation then manifests through healing. He insinuates that to have faith is a precondition for healing, even though we shall see that certain of their healing methods make psychological sense as well.

Most of the time went to teaching and evangelism, and the already discussed causes of disease and solutions dominated them. It seemed these dominating themes were not

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[246] Different ministers differentiated between evangelization and teaching at several leaders' seminars I attended in 2001.

taught outside the healing retreats or seminars. For this reason, or perhaps because of the way ministers delivered the teachings, many ideas seemed new even if they were biblically based. Only this would explain my observation of people making notes during the lessons. In a brief preview of the teachings it can be said that participants were taught that 1) problems could develop even before birth owing to the circumstances in which a mother finds herself; 2) problems could result from sins of oneself and of others, 3) problems could result from curses; 4) problems could result from evil spirits and witchcraft, and 5) problems could result from natural/biological causes. They are then shown possible solutions that were centered on faith in Jesus Christ.

The need for evangelization, on the other hand, is clear since in certain Kenyan cultures, it seems, things such as curses, evil spirits, *majini*, witchcraft, have been historically known as supernatural sources of trouble, and the solutions to them have been found through *waganga*. The Catholic Church in Kenya either dismissed the health and other concerns resulting from such causes as inconsequential in the lives of Christians or simply offered no alternatives.[247] This explains why John had previously believed *waganga* while he was a church leader in Limuru.[248] As suggested through the teachings of Archangel Raphael Ministry, CCR ministries refer to issues that are known to participants either from their traditions and/or everyday living. Starting from familiar problems experienced in life, and linking them to biblical passages, a minister ultimately demonstrated how faith in God countered any problem.[249] As some people seemed caught up in mixed ATRs and catholic beliefs, precisely because of supernatural causes of ill-health and other problems, evangelization in this context appeared quite convincing to many because healing experiences were witnessed by all those present.

It is logical that a catholic faith that ignores serious health problems that believers deal with would be pronounced as unbefitting, if these problems can be solved elsewhere. As

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[247] Although the Catholic Church has ways of dealing with such problems through liturgy (Art 3 of CDF, *Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p. 14), these are either not regularly done or they do not appear to satisfactorily resolve the many concerns people seem to have.

[248] John is only one among many Catholics I met who said they had consulted *waganga* for some problems.

[249] There is need to note here that CCR functions are not always about healing the sick or solving problems. At times Christians would be taught to endure suffering without giving up faith, because it may be God's will for a specified divine purpose.

CCR aims at addressing these realities, which in fact cause anxiety among Christians, it appears to encourage faith in the God worshipped by Catholics. This assertion is reiterated by Philip's (3c) statement that to visit *waganga* was "to look for help where there is none". He believes there is need for help in dealing with these problems, but held that real help was not obtainable from *waganga*. Yet, he seemed to contradict himself by suggesting that *waganga* may also have some solutions to these problems except they are guided by 'evil spirits' in determining the solutions. From the various examples of the sick, it can be noted that health problems pose challenges that have made people extremely desperate, so that like anyone else, a catholic adherent may be under pressure to seek health solutions from just about anywhere. Evangelization aims at convincing people that Jesus Christ heals at least better than *waganga* do; while this seemed, at least to some people, hard to believe.

Doubts, about whether or not healing takes place through the hands of these ministers, justify the need for testimonies.[250] Without the testimonies to miraculous cures, which greatly supported the teachings and gospel as an evangelistic tool, many people would perhaps find little use of such faith, or at least, they would not be convinced that they should give up traditional beliefs through which they would be helped. This is especially so, because Catholicism and ATRs now are adversaries, while *waganga's* work in the traditional Kenyan cultures seem too historic to be just discarded by many. After learning about disease causes and their solutions, people needed to confirm that what was taught was real – that Jesus Christ healed and solved problems; perhaps this would face an unspoken comparison with the healing performed by *waganga*. For this reason, any spectacular healing experiences in CCR were announced amid praises and clapping directed to Jesus Christ, as the healer, comforter and provider.

A healed individual stood and announced what problem s/he had, and what s/he felt after healing occurred. A person, who could previously not walk, would walk as people clapped or shouted praises to Jesus. Similarly those who had bitter feeling about spouses,

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[250] Byrne (*Living in the Spirit*, 1975, p.137) notes that 'unqualified' testimonies of healing could stir up skepticism among Christians, and claims of miraculous cures should be made when it has been fully confirmed through a medical doctor or after some time.

children, and employers among others, rose to say that they forgave them and felt relieved. Some testimonies seemed very emotional, so that I saw some people shed tears at hearing certain stories, or those testifying cried while telling stories. Good examples that I witnessed at the Isiolo retreat include Wanza, Gaiciumia and the man who had overcome alcohol addiction and stopped using spectacles. Wanza was describing the kidney problem she had had, when she said that doctors had stated that she would die in a month's time. Before she could proceed with the testimony she wept heavily amid sobs, so that numerous other people also wept. Gaiciumia had slept for several days close to the entrance to the hall, and many women who saw how she had agonized the previous days wept as they saw her walk indeed unsupported. Experiences of people therefore increased faith of participants in these healing performances, just like they encouraged the ministers themselves (Muchiri 2f; Philip 2f).

I will shortly turn to the second part of the healing procedure: the actual performance of healing, which was a combination of prayer, music and plausibly also noise. Before examining the sonic aspects of this performance, some tasks performed by ministers need to be clarified. CCR ministries are made up of groups of people who carry out specified tasks in the procedure of healing. For some, teaching and evangelization are their paramount task, while others seemed better at leading in prayers and casting out demons. There are still others whose major task is intercession and the musicians concerned primarily with music matters. All CCR members are usually encouraged to select one field in which they felt called to serve, rather than be passive participants, once they have adequate training. Below I will look at the role of two such categories of ministers namely: the healing and music ministers. Their roles seemed critical in healing.

3.4.2b The Role of a Healing Minister

The healing minister is the person(s) to whom the charism of healing through faith in Jesus Christ is attributed (Muchiri 2e).[251] One healing minister leads in prayers for healing, although one needs to note that this ministry commonly involves a group of ministers teaming up together. Particularly in the Archangel Raphael Ministry Team, all the ministers performed some tasks ascribed to healing ministers during prayers for healing except for the music ministers. When there was less need for their involvement, they sang together as one minister led in prayers. At any time of need, they could lay hands on participants or helped those unconsciously engaging in behaviors that would otherwise have distracted neighbors. Some ministers commanded evil spirits to leave the possessed, as others swept the floor if any participants had vomited or foamed.

To see how the healing minister works, it is good to envisage the performance in an analogy of a group journey. Participants 'leave' together loaded with numerous issues heading towards the presence of a powerful healer and deliverer. They would return after being relieved of the burdens that are their various problems in life, with each participant finding a solution to his/her particular problem. The healing minister is the experienced helper 'journeying' with the participants. S/he identifies issues affecting individuals and offers advice and assistance to participants when particular problems arise.[252] The

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[251] It is not being suggested here that only such ministers can pray for healing. Lawfully every member of the catholic faithful is allowed to pray for healing (see Art 1 of CDF guidelines, *Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p. 14.)). In fact the reason faith is required is so that anyone including participants pray for themselves and for others, even if a healing minister leads. But it seems the person to whom a charism of healing is attributed affects healing. CDF (*Instruction on Prayers for Healing*, 2001, p. 10) acknowledges existence of a spiritual gift through which other people could obtain graces of healing.

[252] With this one may compare CCR healing with Guided Imagery and Music (GIM), one of the internationally recognized approaches of receptive music therapy. The therapist helps the client through a 'journey' with music. Actually GIM has been described as "music travel" (Wigram et al, *A Comprehensive Guide to Music Therapy*, 2002, p. 118), and the images encountered do well resemble problems CCR members encounter in healing. Thomas Csordas (*Language, Charisma, & Creativity*, 2001, p. 100-101) notes that CCR participants experience "revelatory" and "therapeutic" images. This may happen spontaneously or through the guidance of a minister. The music & healing ministers and GIM therapist both help a person to discover and resolve problems in their lives using music and imagery.

minister acts as a guide to the participants, who being unfamiliar with the 'route', are expected to ask for direction whenever the 'road branches'[253].

This 'branching of the road' is what we see in the experience of Peninah. Her 'road branched' when bitter memories suggested a 'road' other than that of forgiveness. But Bahati (3c) and other healing ministers were there to guide her. "I forgive my father" is what she had to say willfully to be back on track. This shows how helpful the healing ministers could be. They knew that saying the words have her back to the right path. The ministers help people to forgive themselves and others during this tricky 'healing journey'. Forgiveness is a prerequisite for healing (Philip 2b), and many people have problems forgiving certain people who hurt them strongly. Mburung'a (2a) was one such case, until when he at last forgave his son while making one of these 'journeys' at Isiolo.

Other than problems of forgiveness, the 'journeying' group more likely has some people who are bound by spirits that are said to be enemies of God. It seems problems caused by evil spirits are a major issue. How would it be for a *mganga* or witch who joins this 'journeying' group whose final destination is the presence of God? The spirits with which these people have covenants certainly cannot allow this. They would cause trouble for this participant so that s/he may not make the complete 'journey'; at least not without causing significant drama.[254] The healing minister(s), who must not leave any participant behind, commands the spirit to leave this person in the name of Jesus.[255] This is what Philip (3c) is saying of the girl in Isiolo, who had involved herself sexually with a *mganga*. It took hours to get her out of trouble caused by a binding spirit, and it took just as long for the ministers to be free [they missed the evening Holy Mass]. The healing minister in that case necessarily is an exorcist, and this often is a challenging task.

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[253] By 'road branches' I mean two or more contrasted ideas prevail in the mind of a person. CCR only guides in one direction, for example one must repent when there is need for repentance, as other alternatives cannot triumph in the 'journey' without affecting healing.

[254] That evil spirits possessing people make noises as they are exorcised is clear in the bible. See for example *Holy Bible*, Acts 8: 7.

[255] To exorcise is an act only few people are allowed to do in Catholic Church and authority to do so must be given by a Bishop. It is said spirits may not just refuse to leave but could enter into the body of a person commanding them to leave. I observed that when Cosmas led in prayers, he asked Jesus to cover the whole group with 'his blood'. He later explained saying that a spirit could leave one person and enter the body of another if this were not properly done.

Apart from the problems of possessing spirits and forgiveness, some people in the 'journeying' group have other challenges like addiction to drugs and/or alcohol, physical illnesses, anxieties and so on. A presiding minister mentions all likely issues and asks God to intervene. That way, s/he guides or directs people into seeing issues in their lives that need to be resolved. As this happens some people get overwhelmed by emotions over whatever issues that are mentioned, thus crying loudly or weeping intensely. A healing minister gets to him/her and determines what the problem is. Then s/he advises the person what to do or simply touches and prays with him/her. Most problems do not cause much drama as those caused by evil spirits do. Some issues cannot just be resolved through an experience of catharsis described above. For some much more would follow.

After the 'journey' is completed, many people seek counseling. Muchiri (2b) says that some life issues could discourage people from sustaining faith in Jesus and forgiving at all times, which is needed for complete and sustainable healing. Often, people who offend CCR participants are those with whom they have to live or work after the CCR healing event. After healing, thus, participants raise issues about how to cope with difficult spouses, children, superiors, employers and so on, with healing ministers at counseling sessions. To assist these people, a healing minister needs to be a counselor, or a person in whom participants could confide in a friendly and relieving atmosphere.[256] Participants are encouraged to show love and kindness to people such as difficult children, spouses, employers or neighbors. Any retaliation worsens rather than helps

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[256] I often saw people queuing to see a healing minister for counseling. This represents a major difference between CCR and Kamba rituals, because psychological counseling brings a new dimension of healing that is new to Kamba healing methods.

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them to coexist with non-believers.[257] Besides, they are asked to pray for these people so that God would change them at his own chosen time.

In a nut shell when a minister leads in prayers for healing, he directs and guides participants through the path of healing. When s/he performs this role, s/he mentions numerous issues that participants may need to remember at that time, so that they pray over them and are healed. Some exorcise, while others intercede for participants, or even join music ministers in singing. A healing minister is also a counselor. In short, as shown in the figure 10 below, the healing minister surrounds the participants in this sound filled space as a guide/director, exorcist, intercessor, musician, and counselor. A participant finds whatever help s/he needs through the ministers.

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[257] In a teaching, Philip gave the following story which parallels several that I heard in CCR teachings. A brutal man who frequently ill-treated his wife forced her out of their house late at night. The man also wanted to beat her as he always did, but she quickly ran out of the house only carrying a torch. The man ran after her. They found a barbed wire fence, but the woman managed to cross the fence safely before her husband could catch up with her. From the other side of the fence, she saw that her husband would be hurt while crossing the fence as it was dark. She decided to let him to cross the fence with the light from her torch instead of running away. The man was immediately so transformed by her illustration of love that he begged her to return back with him to the house. To show such people love, and let their own consciences guide them towards desirable change, is the CCR approach to dealing with such social problems.

Figure 10: The Healing Minister in a Sound-filled Space[258]
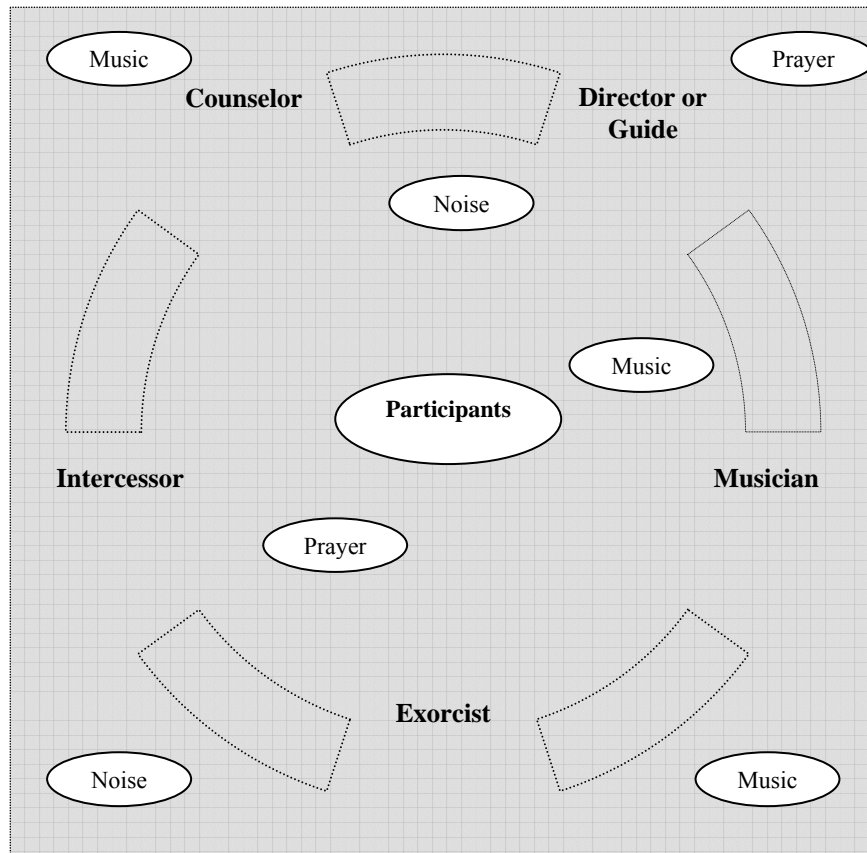
3.4.2c   The Role of a Music Minister

It is clear that a healing minister often engages in music making and praying alternately, while a music minister is much more involved in the music making task. The task of the music minister in the actual performance of healing will be clarified after a discussion on prayer, music and noise. Here I will highlight the tasks that are generally ascribed to music minister, whose major task is more clearly seen in the performance of healing itself. A role similar to that of a music minister in the performance of healing is of a leader in praise and worship sessions, whereby the music minister does not only lead in singing, but also in prayers. Praise and worship is always conducted whenever CCR

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[258] What I am calling sound-filled space compares very well with what Kenny calls a "musical space". For her the music therapist and client share a "contained space", safe and secure as a home. She says "Trauma necessitates the recovery of such a space for growth and change" (Carolyn Kenny, *The Field of Play: A Guide for the Theory and Practice of Music Therapy*, 1989, p. 79). In our case the healing and music ministers share a similar "sound space". The difference may be that there is trance behavior in this case, considering that the ministers were like therapists in many ways.

members meet for prayers. Often the prayers take a much shorter time during praise and worship compared to those of healing sessions.

A music minister performs the following functions to support CCR healing ministry. As is the case with Bahati (2b) s/he could be a composer. Here, the person creates new tunes and fits them into texts of praise, adoration, worship and so on, which may be used in CCR ministries. Many songs used in CCR ministries have idioms of Kenyan music, which implies that they are locally composed, although most of the examples given in this text are hymns of Western origin. The person best placed to compose suitable music for a CCR healing ministry is indeed the music minister, since there are many considerations one has to make when composing ministry songs. For example there is the problem of whether the song can be used along with other known songs in a ministry session rather than in isolation, as I will clarify below.

Many of the songs one needs to use in the ministry are already popular gospel songs, and one's new compositions have to jive well with these known ones. Well known songs draw either from western hymn books often performed in English or translated into Kiswahili without changing the melody, or are well known Kenyan compositions that have been popularized through the media. There is indeed a big repertoire of such songs, which are known even in different parts of the country, and are heard in many other churches as well. One such a song is *Haifai Tena,* provided in this text because of its countrywide popularity in many churches where it features in praise and worship. Catherine (2e) therefore posits that a young music minister must identify and learn many songs that are widely known across the country, because some ministries operate in different provinces of Kenya, and songs are always required.

A composer must take into consideration how his/her song is performed alongside these other known songs rather than in isolation.[259] According to the repertoire of songs I heard

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[259] This makes CCR healing very different from *kilumi* performances. As we saw in chapter two, *kilumi* songs are single pieces even if they have changing intensity, density or tempo. This is primarily because each spirit desires to dance to a certain special melody and rhythm, and so many spirits are features in any *kilumi* event. In CCR the Spirit is one, and there appears to be some need to mentally prepare people to

performed, choral parts are simple even if the soloist's section may be elaborate, making it easy to teach a new song. Harmony is avoided, perhaps because simple styled music is the norm, and there is encouragement for everyone to participate. Probably complicated music might lead to poor performance and perhaps also ineffective ministry. A CCR music minister can therefore be expected to compose differently from a composer whose aim is to have pieces performed in the Holy mass, while the two compose music for use within the same Catholic Church.

A music minister also takes the role of teaching new songs (Bahati 2b; Catherine 2b). This role is separate from composition even though many composers also teach their own songs. The leading music minister finds time to teach new songs in the first few days of the retreat, and same songs are performed frequently during praise and worship, and healing sessions. Because the songs are very simple, a short time is required to teach them. In most cases, people are only expected to sing a simple part, while the minister sings the verses. Eventually some participants also join the soloist in the verses as well. Through performing this task, a music minister enables the participants to join in singing new pieces.

Apart from composing and teaching new songs, music ministers normally lead the others in singing. In this case they are soloists, while other participants respond in the call and response exchanges. To effectively perform this role, the music minister must amplify his/her voice so that it effectively balances that of the chorus. It is then no wonder that except in small ministries such as the one that took place at Kapsabet, music ministers use microphones. To lead in singing does not only require one to know many songs, from which songs are selected according to the messages they have (Catherine 2c; Bahati 4a; Muchiri 4a; Philip 4a; 4b), but it requires a skill to connect different songs with each other well, so that effectiveness depends also on the minister's expertise. This is what Catherine (4a; 4b) implies by advocating for an up and down 'flow' [she could not use

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meet the people through slower and softer music without dance, as opposed to the rhythmic music that precedes or follows ministry time.

musical language as she was untrained in music] (see illustration in figure 4). This 'flow' refers in fact not only to textual messages, but notably to musical properties as well.

As no song can be used in isolation, and its ability to fit into a set determines whether it has a chance of being performed. I often heard songs being dragged twice as slow as they would normally be, in order to more or less directly take up the tempo set by a preceding one. Bahati (4b) says that a song must fit into the role it is assigned. This 'role' is thus not only influenced by its lyrical content, but also by sonic aspects. It is not surprising that all the songs used in the session from which my song samples were drawn shared the key, and had minimal temporal changes [but for the last songs that were designed to lead the congregation out of prayers there is an impression of faster tempo in my transcription shown through fast notes rather than a significant change in the tempo itself]. Even if one may argue that the music minister's role, in this case, was to perform, it is possible to see the music minister here also as a composer going by the kind of changes s/he spontaneously forced onto a song.

Lastly, a music minister must ensure that the participants involve themselves to their very best in music making. Bahati (2c) urged people to sing "with their whole hearts", or more clearly, the best way they could. Seeing song as prayer, she contends that songs carry messages that need to be personalized by a singer, similar to what happens with individual private prayers. Because this pleased God very much, He would attend to the singer's needs. Catherine (2d) affirmed Bahati's statement by stating that for the ministry to have bigger impact, one needed to encourage people to sing better every time. How music is performed in CCR healing performances is therefore quite seriously dependent on the minister's ability to influence other participants.

In the following discussion on music, prayer and noise, the music minister is the master of sound. Depending on the kind of prayer sound, s/he performs music in such a way that noise is countered, participants are soothed, and a prayer mood is sustained. A music minister[260] had indeed termed it catastrophic for music to be led by an inexperienced or

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[260] This minister is from a different healing ministry group, and my interview with him dates back to 2001.

untalented singer. He said it would cause a 'spiritual accident' for music to dramatically change intensity, pitch or rhythm when people are praying. This would be disturbing and people may be unable to pray.

3.4.2d   Music, Prayer and Noise

An environment filled with music, prayer and noise prevails in the second stage of healing: the actual performance of healing. Because of the way the three are used in this context, music cannot be easily separated from prayer and noise. The three components have constantly changing levels of aesthetic meaningfulness and prominence. When merged, as was typically the case, each seemed to have a share in the overall beauty of resultant sound form. Music dominates the beginning and ending of each session. There may be more than one session in the whole performance of healing. Prayer and noise appear gradually at the middle of the session, with prayer entering and leaving before trance noises. Music gets to its lowest level of prominence when the other two predominate. Unlike prayer that stops completely before the conclusion of a session, noise at times continues beyond the end as some of the entranced become conscious long after the end of the healing performance. Suppose a ritual takes 9 time units, and music prayer and noise compete for a prominence whose pick level is 12. Figure 11 illustrates how they interact and/or share prominence as time progresses.

Figure 11: Interaction of Music, Prayer and Noise
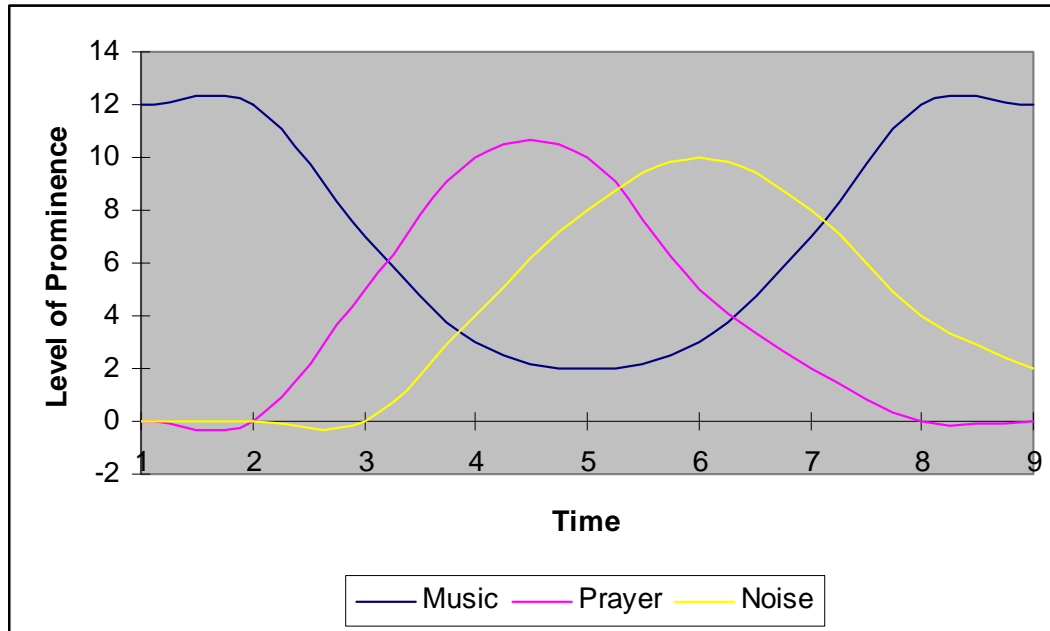
It is possible to liken the complete sound form to a baroque concerto grosso,[261] going by the way the ministry music was worked out against prayer and trance sounds. The more subtle and soothing melodies of music ministers contrasted with the prayer and noise in such as way that one may see the noise as a valuable sound variation that counters the monotony of repetitive ministry music. In such cases changing levels of prominence between 'chaotic' and more musical sounds add value to the less musical sounds, so that they 'felt' more musical in that context. That way one would see that prayer often took a musical form, since the healing minister not only prayed in varying pitches, intensities and rhythms, but s/he did so in such a way that an aesthetic experience attributable to prayer could be evoked. Even trance noises themselves do not 'sound' disturbing as one may expect. Below, I specifically examine each of the three sound forms.

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[261] Roger Kamien (*Music: An Appreciation*, 2000, p. 145) is describing a baroque concerto grosso when he says "In a concerto grosso, a small group of soloists is pitted against a larger group of players called tutti…A concerto grosso presents a contrast of texture between tutti and the soloists, who assert their individuality and appeal for attention through brilliant and fanciful melodic lines".

Of the Music

Catherine (4d) uses the biblical story of Paul and Silas[262] to show the importance of music in CCR healing ministry, terming music as the main weapon of victory. Her point was that music evokes the power of God better than anything else could. Bahati (4d) also emphasizes that music is a great resource, when singing is equivalent to praying twice. Explaining why she encourages participants to sing to their very best, she asserts that music catches God's attention better than anything else, and with it, God is quicker in attending to one's needs. Philip (4d) has the opinion that absence or bad performance of music affects the healing ministry, so that less healing may be the end result.

Looking at music as applied generally in CCR healing, a number of its uses may be highlighted. The uses of music range from entertainment, teaching and evangelizing, prayer as any form of communication with God, countering trance noise and testifying. I shall ultimately pay more regard to the use of music during the actual performance of healing, though I begin by generally commenting upon its use in a broader sense.

When music is used as an entertainment in CCR functions, it incorporates dance and various playful activities. The purpose of such music is described differently by ministers as to bring a joyful/dance mood (Catherine 4e), entertain (Philip 4f), and to make people cheerful (Bahati 4e). It is the music people make as they dance, laugh, clap, play, shout and do such other things. The music example titled *That's Why I Praise You* is one such a song, except that it was performed just after a very solemn prayer session, and its effectiveness as an entertainment piece was not that good that time. The purpose of such music is not only to praise or thank God, but also for enjoyment and fun. The songs here are in fast rhythm, suitable for dance and play.

Another use of music is that of supporting teaching and evangelization. An evangelistic minister or teacher may begin a song related to the ongoing teaching during the lessons. This is very common in CCR healing functions. The minister is then joined by

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[262] The Bible records show that the two men were singing hymns while in prison when their fetters were miraculously unfastened and prison doors opened even though they did not choose to escape (see *Holy Bible*, Acts 16: 25-26)

participants in singing, and sometimes in dancing also, in what creates also good breaks from lengthy teachings and proclamation of gospel. While the songs may be seen also as entertainment, they are linked to the lesson in such a way that their primary role rests more strongly on teaching or evangelizing than on entertaining. This use of music in teaching is mentioned by Philip (4b) alongside other uses of music. Songs used for this purpose may be fast or slow, as the textual value is more paramount.

The most important use of music is as communication to God just like in prayer. This, I suppose, is what Catherine (4d) must be referring to as the best way to invoke the power of God. Bahati (4d) sees this function as having twice the value of prayer. Here, God is praised, worshiped and adored through music. People revere, glorify, venerate and say all they believe God to be – as a creator and sustainer of the universe let alone individuals. Apart from praising, worshipping and adoring, songs are used to implore God to heal the sick, or they may be songs of thanksgiving (Bahati 4a). Some of these songs are lively and danceable, while others are slow and solemn. Either way, the songs serve as prayer would, because their primary aim is to communicate with God rather than to entertain or teach. This is the function of music that prevails during the actual performance of healing.

The fourth use of music is to counter noise. Noise prevails once the spirit begins to 'manifest' as Bahati (4e) puts it. Her implication is that trance noises and behaviors indicate that the Holy Spirit is present and working among participants. For her, music is used to counter distraction of participants due to the behaviors of entranced neighbors. It helps the people focus on prayer. This rather pragmatic purpose ensures that others are not disturbed by the expected trance noises. Here music is performed in such a way that it fairly well competes with noise, except when noise making gets to be a widespread experience rather than one centered on a few individuals. It should be noted that songs performed for this purpose are nonetheless praise, adoration or worship songs. That means that their sonic properties rather than textual messages are of greater value.

Finally music is also used as a testifying tool (Bahati 4a). Immediately after healing occurs, healed people come forward to proclaim the change experienced, and often burst into song noted, say, by the man at the Isiolo Retreat. Songs are used in this case to create awareness that Jesus is able to heal, and healed better than anyone else could.

In summary, one may say that in CCR music teaches, evangelizes, entertains, communicates to God in praise, adoration, worship, petition and thanksgiving, counters noises, and testifies of healing and miracles of God. In the illustration below, I have only shown the uses that are common in the actual performance of healing. Teaching and evangelizing have been left out, as the others are shown against relative times when they are often featured. It should be noted that there is usually a high level of flexibility, so that to find a praise song where a thanksgiving one should have been is not uncommon. Also, rather than appear in clear-cut sections as suggested, praise, worship and adoration, and petition songs could be alternated, and either of them could be used to counter trance noises. Songs at the same level along the y-axis often share musical characteristics of key, tempo and intensity. While those at the lower two levels [praises, thanksgiving, entertainments and testimonials] are lively and danceable, the ones from y-axis level 3 are often performed in solemn and prayerful mood in a slow tempo.

Figure 12: Functions of Music in CCR Healing
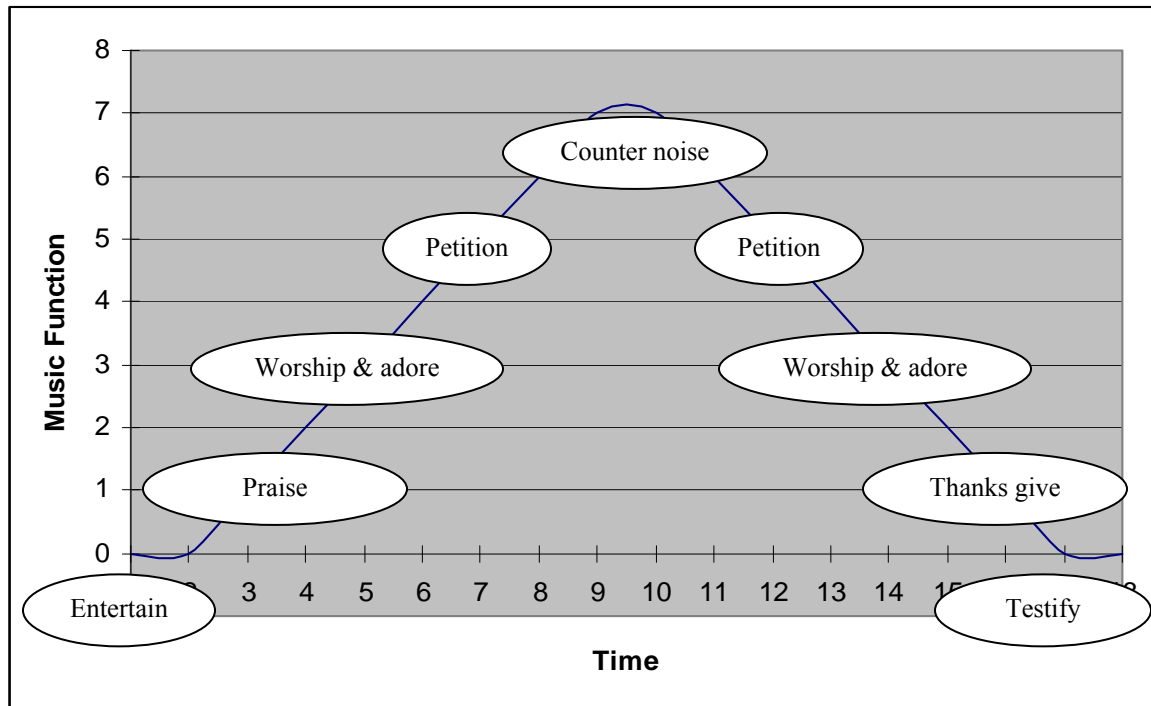
Along the x-axis, it is suggested that midway, at level 9, there may be a need to use music for countering noise.[263] Most of the noise appears midway between the start and end of a session, but some participants would make noise even long after the end of the performance of healing. Songs are not used to entertain in the middle of a healing session. Entertainment songs are performed either just before a session, at the time of teaching and evangelization or even after the session where testimonial songs would be expected. Testimonial songs are mostly performed after the performance of healing, while thanksgiving songs closed the healing session with lively music and dance. The testimonial and thanksgiving songs can be replaced with praise songs especially because praise songs are equally lively and danceable.

Before concluding this section, I shall briefly refer to the music examples given in this text. Bahati the lead singer, who most of the time sang alone, says that she skipped some songs depending on what she saw to be necessary at a particular healing session. She says

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[263] Judith Becker ("Anthropological Perspectives on Music and Emotion", 2001, p. 150) appears to be describing this point with the words "high on the trajectory of the musical arc", when she says that such is the point when worshippers pray, dance or trance.

(Bahati 4a) that she might skip praise and go straight to adoration if the people appear to be already in a mood of prayer. This is what she did in the session from which the song examples given in this text were drawn. The songs *Wewe ni Mungu*, *Usinipite Mwokozi*, *Oh the Blood of Jesus, Show Your Power,* and *That's Why I praise You*, followed each other in that order in one of the many healing sessions in which I saw Bahati doing music ministry. *Wewe ni Mungu* was the only song that was in a different key, and it was performed just before prayers began, so that there was a break as the healing minister made some announcements. The other songs followed each other without a break, even if at times the minister sang so softly that one may have difficulties hearing the music in the midst of loud prayer and noise.

It is clear that there is a need to link the songs smoothly to each other, thus the use of the same key and almost same tempo and rhythm of the songs until the ministry session is about to end. The last two songs *Show Your Power* and *That's Why I Praise You,* which feature faster notes, are clearly different from the others frequented by long minims and semibreves. This could be understood differently as a change of tempo. While long notes support a prayerful mood, faster notes always evoke a lively mood, so that in this particular session, people danced as they sang *That's Why I Praise You,* but they were led into it through *Show Your Power's* mixed slow and fast notes. This illustrates what Catherine (4a) terms 'flow' refering to the need for a song to link appropriately with others since several songs were strung together. Musical elements such as tone, rhythm, tempo and dynamics were considered for smooth rather than abrupt transitions.

It should also be noted that in this session a praise song was performed instead of a thanksgiving one, while worship and adoration songs *Wewe ni Mungu* and *Oh the Blood of Jesus*, were alternated with petition songs *Usinipite Mwokozi* and *Show Your Power*. While the first two are about the greatness/power of God, the later appeal for God's intervention in the lives of participants. *Usinipite Mwokozi* was also used to counter noise, which was rising from a combination of loud prayers and trance noises.[264] The song *That's Why I Praise You* may be seen as a testimonial song because its message

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[264] For details about the song text messages, see the 'Song Texts and their Meanings'.

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suggests that an experience of healing is evident. It is no wonder therefore that it was performed last and at a time when a testimonial song would be expected.

Of the Prayers

Prayer can be defined as communication with God. It may happen through a song as outlined above. I will now examine prayer as speech rather than song. First I will describe the close nexus between speech and song that I observed during performances. Most of the time, prayer was performed by a minister whose voice together with that of the music minister was amplified above that of the other participants prayers and trance noises. The music minister would be singing calm and quite melodious tunes, while the healing minister's performance constantly changed thus, s/he: sang along with the music minister, performed like a well timed rapper with background music, repeatedly 'exploded' in sounds of changing pitch and intensity whose effect was felt as well as heard, modified speech into more melodious forms that seemed to counter/vary the already existing ministry music, and also made very soft soothing murmurs which would have been inaudible had they not been amplified.

Meanwhile, the participants would be saying private prayers that sound more like murmurs because of the dominating voices of the two ministers.[265] However, interjections by some participants wailing, screaming, crying and shouting, loud enough to be heard, surface occasionally to balance the ministers' voices. The music at times was inaudible as the prayers and trance noises took over. Later as the prayer subsided, the music gently rose to claim its ultimate dominance. Sometimes several such sessions occurred within a single performance of healing, so that different 'parts' dominated at different times in the ritual.

A special performance observed in Kapsabet, was group recitation of prayers, where participants said in uniform rhythm: *"Yesu sema neno moja tu na nitapona"* ('Jesus say only one word and I shall be healed'). Laying hands on the shoulders of one's neighbor,

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[265] An observation by Csordas (*Language, Charisma, & Creativity*, 2001, p. 175) that spontaneous prayer is highly regarded in CCR is important; and what he terms formulaic invocations of the name of Jesus were found in Kenya.

they also said: *"Yesu rafiki yako ni mgonjwa"* ('Jesus your friend is sick'). As they repeatedly said these words, the healing minister uttered his prayers in changing rhythms against this background, so that he indeed sounded like a rapper. This prayer certainly had a musical character that seemed to compensate for singing that was absent. Consciously or otherwise, the healing minister took on the role of a musician and more precisely a rapper in an unusual context.

To look at CCR prayer only as such would be wanting in a musicological work, unless one's aim is to purely discuss what people regard as music. Prayer is a significant element in the overall sound form as illustrated in figure 7. To conduct healing prayers demanded that the minister be rather creative in sound manipulation besides being a good listener. However, the ministers distinguished between prayer, music and noise. Catherine (4e), Muchiri (4e) and Philip (4d) stated that music is used to sustain a prayer mood. That is, they see these two as separate not as one, and prayer is accordingly more important in that case as far as they are concerned. But from my viewpoint, to see prayer as playing a musical role is justifiable as well.

Of the Noise

Noise may be defined as loud sound that would be judged as unpleasant or disturbing. If the prayer sound and trance were to be placed outside of this context, they could be disturbing and unpleasant. But looking at them in context brings a different picture altogether. I have already discussed how music, prayer and noise fused to construct an overall sound form – all as unified rather than separate entities. Trance noise was seen as a manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit, and was therefore by no means discouraged. One of the reasons music and loud prayer were performed was to prevent "manifestation of the Holy Spirit" from distracting those who needed to pray.

Owing to creative reactions of music and healing ministers, whose voices were amplified, the noise turned out not as unpleasant or disturbing after all. Instead, this noise arguably served musical interests. This is not to say that the noise does not impact negatively on the ministry music when seen from a narrow perspective. My argument is that a

momentary disorganization of sound makes the remotest musical qualities of the sound palpable as music, if they are not perceived as ordinary noise but, instead, evoke aesthetic feeling. Noise affects how music and healing ministers creatively perform their parts, so that the overall performance sounds like a musical improvisation. While the participants did not care what kind of sounds they produce, music and healing ministers apparently considered the prevailing sound context before deciding how to perform their own.

3.4.3 The Experience of Healing

In this section I will expound on healing experiences in the three genres, previewing and adding to already mentioned healing occurrences. The three genres of healing include inner healing, deliverance and exorcism, and miraculous healing.[266] While inner healing appears to result partly from forgiveness and repentance, deliverance and exorcism is purely an act of God that is believed to stop evil supernatural powers from inflicting suffering on people. Some physical illnesses are miraculously healed, even if they have no roots in sin or evil supernatural powers, to express God's favor and power over nature.

Inner Healing

Inner healing is an experience that stops ill-health problems sourced from one's reprehensible background. We earlier noted that in CCR beliefs, life experiences, even those experienced by a mother before bearing a child, could affect bodily, emotional, spiritual and social wellbeing of an individual or child born to an affected mother. The experiences may affect one in very profound ways so that they manifestly bespeak of ill-health, but their effects could also be so subtle that they hardly are perceivable as ill-health. The experiences could create special sensitivity to certain things to which the affected reacts inappropriately. These problems need healing because they ultimately affect one's quality of life and ability to make sound decisions. One's decisions or

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[266] Like in my case, Csordas ("Imaginal Performance and Memory in Ritual Healing", 1996, p. 96) identified the same three genres of CCR healing. I have subsumed what he terms as 'healing of memories' under inner healing.

judgment become determinable, say, through things such as uncontrollable emotions or memories rather than reasoning. As these problems occur in a social environment, they often are linked to unforgiveness. Thus, one of the foremost causes of inner healing is indeed forgiveness. Forgiveness takes two forms: it could either be a requirement for the person offended by another, or an act of God performed on those who recognize and repent their sins. Either way there is a shift in the object of cognitive appraisal taking place in the mind of the person. The figure below shows a common formula of relationships that emotionally and sometimes physically affect a person.

Figure 13: Negative Relationship between X and Y
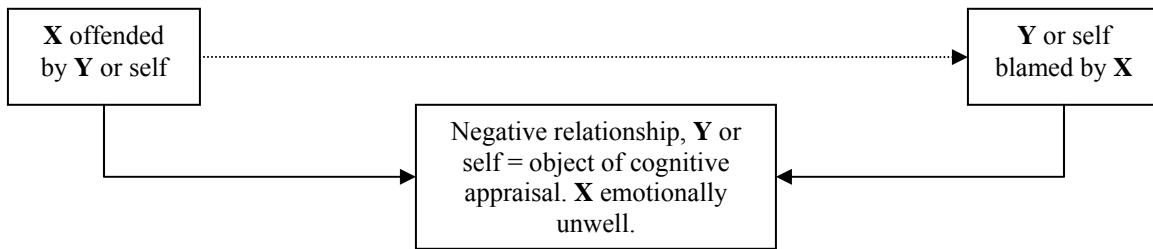
In the illustration, a certain person Y, who may actually be oneself, is blamed for a problem encountered by X. CCR seeks to change one's view, so that rather than blame the offender, one believes Satan [a third party] acted through Y in order to offend him/her. That way, Y would be seen as innocent and worthy of love by X. Indeed, it becomes the duty of X to pray constantly so that Y would change, and 'Satan would be defeated'. In order to constantly act positively towards a person who regularly offends, CCR maintains that God would console the offended. In the figure 14 below, guilty Y or self is exonerated by X, as X blames Satan and is consoled by God. It is this consolation process that is often characterized by experience of negative emotions evinced by crying and/or shedding of tears, which are encouraged in the CCR process of healing.

Figure 14: Eased Relationship between X and Y.

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┌─────────────┐          ┌──────────────┐          ┌──────────────┐
│ X offended  │ ········>│ X blames Satan/│ ·······>│ Guilty Y or self│
│ by Y or self│          │ consoled by God│         │  is exonerated │
└─────────────┘          └──────────────┘          └──────────────┘
       │                  ┌──────────────┐                 │
       └─────────────────>│  Eased or good │<───────────────┘
                          │  relationship  │
                          └──────────────┘
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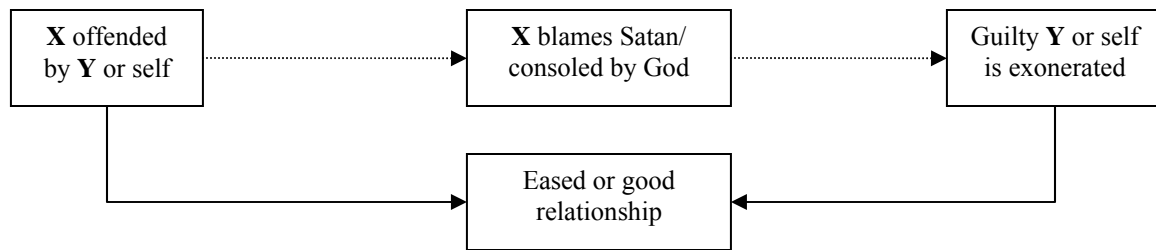
A change in the object of cognitive appraisal is seen even where the interaction between persons X and Y in the above illustrations is positive. If Y acts well towards X, X would suppose God prevailed on Y to fulfill a certain purpose through that act. X would interpret the happening as the will of God made to happen through Y, and so God would be glorified as X's relationship with God would strengthen. So it is clear why CCR needs to teach new members the Life in the Spirit course. The course content is repeatedly covered in various ways by different teachers and evangelists in CCR retreats and seminars, but the aim is to enable individuals to stop seeing occurrences, good or bad, as actions of free individuals, but as events mediated either by Satan and his kingdom of evil spirits, or conversely Holy Spirit. While bad actions are assumed to result from Satan's temptations, good things reflect favors from God. Humans are seen as neutral.[267]

That evil doers are at all times under the influence of Satan is a strong belief in CCR movement. When the movement is opposed by other Catholics, the ministers interpret that as an attempt by Satan to discourage them from evangelizing to people who need God's mercy and help. If one wills but cannot avoid evil doing, it is said that Satan and not the person is responsible for the problems the person finds him/herself in. That is what I read from the drunken men who were prayed over in Kapsabet. Alcohol addiction could have been a result of their mistakes, but that would not be the case in CCR thinking. That line of thinking often leads people into confessing their evil doings

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[267] Psychologist Abraham Maslow (*Toward a Psychology of Being*, 1968, p. 194) does not perceive human nature as influenced by evil supernatural powers when he appears to share a similar belief in saying "This inner nature, as much as we know of it so far, is definitely not primarily "evil", but is rather what we adults in our culture call "good", or else it is neutral". He deduces this from the fact that "uncovering therapy lessens malice, fear, greed, etc., and increases love, courage, creativeness, kindness, altruism, etc."

shamelessly at conversion, and they appear to feel innocent when they essentially are responsible for much of the suffering in their lives and the lives of others.[268]

Forgiveness and repentance have a curative effect in themselves. Psychic energy,[269] which finds expression through various types of negative or positive feelings or emotions, naturally builds up in any person as a result of overwhelming life experiences. Negative feelings are a cause of bad mental energies expected to cause disorders or sickness, and a way of dealing with such energy is necessary even outside CCR. CCR has two ways of dealing with it, although the two are different faces of the same thing. The first one is to direct that opposing energy towards Satan, by aggressively 'fighting back' spiritually through prayer, fasting, extraordinary expressions of love and so on. The second is to seek consolation from God, and if need be to complain to him, since 'everything happens with his express knowledge and permission'. Whether one's choice is to 'fight back Satan' or to complain to God, the battle being fought is spiritual.

Often people are healed after many encounters of bad life experiences. Some of these experiences could have had unnoticeable effects in the entire life of a person, and some need very deep reflection to be brought to mind, perhaps having happened in one's very remote past. To fully deal with these more emotional issues in the healing procedures, participants are first asked to go deep into their lives and search for any problems or issues that need resolution. Such problems are addressed by bringing them into one's clear awareness and then making a decision to pardon the offenders, and in the case of one's own mistakes, to do penance.

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[268] Catholic faith requires people to confess their sins through priests in the Sacrament of Penance. A priest is usually available for confessions at CCR retreats, and as one minister said at a retreat in Likoni, it is believable that participants describe their sins in such a clear language and/or detail that some priests wonder what exactly is taught in the retreats. It seems, a feeling of shame or guilt is unlikely to surface at confession with the kind of things taught in CCR healing functions.

[269] Psychic energy is defined by psychologist Carl G. Jung (see Salvatore Maddi, *Personality Theories*, 1996, p 92) as the energy involved in the psychological activities of thinking, feeling, and acting. Alan Sugarman & Claudia Law-Greenberg ("Transference Neurosis", 2000, p. 855) write that Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, believed psychic energy to be quantifiable mental energy that fueled the activity of the mind. Without trying to enter into the debate about the nature of this energy, I want to point out that forgiveness plays a role in neutralizing such bad mental energies with a potential to impact persons in unhealthy ways.

Examples of people who spoke fervently about results of their forgiving were many in the CCR retreats I attended. I even met people who said they were physically healed when they forgave at CCR retreats and seminars. At Isiolo Mburung'a was healed of shoulder pains after he forgave his son. His surmise, expressed rather delightedly, inferred that the son had instinctively known that his father had forgiven him. I told also of the story of a lady called Peninah, who was miraculously healed of goiter after she forgave her father.

There were many who did not experience any physical change, but spoke of having actualized inner peace [many of these people were physically well]. Such people asseverated that despite certain bad experiences they had had, that were caused by actions of particular people, they felt relieved to cast their burdens to Jesus, even as some asked for prayers for the conversion of spouses, children, employers and other people. It is clear that the participants indeed began to see abusive spouses and delinquent children as faultless, when Satan is presupposed to be responsible for all evil acts. It is logical that one may not perpetually aggrieve an ever compassionate partner, thus likelihood that offenders may alter their behavior if the offended always acts in a friendly way despite being incessantly ill-treated. But it seems there were people who also got astoundingly influenced when their partners held strong faith. Below are some few examples.

Andrew was a man who had been addicted to alcohol and cigarette smoking. He was a teacher but spend much of his salary on beer and cigarettes, even as his children could not be at school for lack of fees. His wife joined CCR movement and began to pray for his conversion. One day she arrived from a CCR retreat where she said she had 'given him to Jesus'. As usual, he arrived home very drank at night, and slept. Later in the night, he shockingly woke up and implored his wife to lay hands on him. He said that he had been given a warning that he would die after few days if he did not change his ways. His wife prayed for him, but she also secretly beseeched God not to take his life even if he could not change. The warning appeared to Andrew as legitimate even if he could not tell exactly who delivered the message. The over fifty year old man changed his life after this experience that took place in the year 2000. Andrew attended CCR retreats and now

speaks earnestly about the transformative power of God. We met last in the year 2005. These two are known to me as long term friends and members of my home church.

Twenty-four year old Kiogora, who was my dormitory neighbor at the Isiolo retreat, had the following encounter. He had just wedded, then they could not agree with his wife how to spend part of their money [the money was part of the many gifts they received]. He thought his wife was being difficult, but he did not want to annoy her, thus, preferring a spiritual recourse. That night when she had just gone to bed, he decided to spend some time 'talking to Jesus' about the problem they had. While praying, he had what he called a vision of a chameleon. But he could not tell what the "chameleon" meant, even though he prayed for God to make the message clear. After a long period of praying, he also went to bed, wondering whether the vision meant that his wife would be changing personality like the color of a chameleon. That night his wife suddenly woke up screaming and asking for help. He said he had first his lamp on because the wife was saying a chameleon was biting her feet. They did not find any, so Kiogora told her about his vision of chameleon. They tried to think out what it meant for them, and believed the experience had to do with their problems. Kiogora's wife became less problematic after that experience, he said, but she did not join CCR movement although he said he had been praying for her for a long time.

In the above stories an issue of coincidences, which seem common among CCR members, is clear. In Mburung'a's case, his son sought to reconcile with him on the same day he forgave him. And Kiogora had the chameleon vision just the same night his wife had a nightmare involving a chameleon, an occurrence that resolved the problem they had. Andrew's wife had just returned from a week-long retreat when he had the exemplary admonition at night. Such coincidences suggest that faith in Jesus Christ inexplicably influences the lives of CCR members, and the people that they pray for. The above particular coincidences seem to promote the Christian belief that God could change anyone, if someone devotedly prayed for the change.[270]

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[270] The biblical story of Paul was often used to show that God could change anyone. See *Holy Bible*, Acts 9: 1-30).

Deliverance and Exorcism

Deliverance and exorcism is the CCR answer to all forms of supernatural influences, whether they are the cause of physical, spiritual or mental illnesses. We saw that evil powers act through magical objects, obsession to things or ideas, and possessing spirits. Whether it is a case of one being involved as a witch or wizard, or of one affected by witches, CCR members pray for extirpation of evil powers and liberation of people. Similarly, evil powers believed to affect people's actions through obsession to evil things like emotions, wealth and behaviors are exterminated. When a spirit has entered the body of a person, this could be complicated as healing calls for exorcism rather than deliverance. Deliverance and exorcism therefore differ only in that exorcism deals with spiritual problems of greater magnitude.

Depending on one's personal and family history, CCR teaches that evil spirits lead people into bad habits and addiction to things that promote evil acts in such a way that affected persons become 'enslaved'. Even as one may be aware of the problem, s/he is unable to free him/herself from it if evil powers are involved. The practice of magic by witches or *waganga* is something CCR views as very serious 'enslavement by evil spirits', as people are dependent on 'evil powers'.[271] In other words CCR believers hold that if *waganga* and *ngui* were to have deliverance or exorcism, benevolent spirits would not trouble them through disease when they do not offer any *kilumi* sacrifices.

I met numerous people in CCR that permanently stopped drug or alcohol abuse and others that said that they controlled their emotions better after an event of deliverance. My most recent case was of the man who had not only earlier completely stopped drinking alcohol after deliverance, but was surprised he did not need his glasses to read his bible in the last days of our being at the Isiolo retreat. There were the two drunken men in Kapsabet, who seemed ready to battle drunkenness after their unexpected deliverance service. From facial expressions, the experience seemed to have profoundly

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[271] The Christians portray *waganga* as magicians working with evil powers. Magicians are mentioned in the bible (see for instance *Holy Bible*, Acts 8: 9-11) and their spirits are portrayed as competing God.

impacted them. But they did not return the following day. Nor was I in some other way able to establish whether the experience had lasting effects.

From my longer interaction with CCR members, I met both people, such as Andrew, who managed to stop alcohol and/or drug abuse completely, and some who only managed for a short time. A lady who confessed before participants to having been a prostitute said God had shown her light after deliverance. She later became a music minister in CCR. And a businessman, who said he had been involved in occultist rituals in Mombasa town, was dramatically delivered at a Retreat in Nairobi. This man said some people had advised him to do a rite in which incisions were made on his body, 'so as to be strong'. After the rite, he said he had developed unusual energy within his body, and became very hot tempered, so that his wife and children were constantly in the trouble of physical abuse. Martin, the half-caste born of Indian and African parents who was baptized as an infant and raised by Catholic parents, was prompted to confess his sins through a priest after he was troubled by a mysterious audible command from someone he could not see. After he ascertained that there was absolutely no one in the house and around it, and having heard a voice say two times "Martin go and confess your sins", he believed it was God's command. At a healing retreat that he later attended, he handed in three-page record of his sins as everyone else did, and immediately collapsed and did not get up until after six hours. He said when he testified: "but the Martin who fell down and the one who got up were two completely different persons". His hot temper utterly disappeared, and he now teaches and evangelizes in CCR ministries. I met Martin lastly in the year 2004.

I have already told the story of a girl who would not testify of any healing except privately to the ministers at the Isiolo retreat. Her case seemed to have been one of exorcism. It appears she was possessed by a spirit, but seemed perfectly normal for some days in the retreat. On the day spirits were exorcised, she could well have attracted everyone's attention by the way she screamed and cried while rolling on the dusty ground as the others left the hall after performance of healing. It took several hours to get the girl healthy. She later indicated how the problem could have developed to the ministers as she

asked for advice, saying that her mother had given her to a *mganga* for marriage.[272] Philip (3c) believed one would not sexually involve him/herself with a spirit possessed person and escape possession. He said that evil spirits look for opportunities to get into a person all the time, and by sexually involving oneself with a possessed individual, one gives evil spirits all the freedom to take control of him/her.

It is Philip (3c) who also suggests that Gaiciumia, a girl who walked first time in a year at the retreat, had suffered on account of a spirit. He definitely meant that spirits cause physical illnesses, and such a problem cannot find a medical solution. Spirits that cause these illnesses could be attributable to witches who use magical objects. It is difficult to say whether such spirits possess a person or just affect a person from outside. From Philip's view, it seems the spirit acted from the body of Gaiciumia, although it seems possible that magical power activated through spirits may also have caused the problem. Philip deduces this from the kind of prayers that were conducted when Gaiciumia was healed. He said "for her to rise up after deliverance and exorcism prayers, it means her problem was spiritual, only that we see only the physical manifestation and not the spiritual that must have preceded the physical one" On the day she was healed, however, I noted that prayers were centered both on evil spirits and witchcraft. Because possessing spirits may not always cause bodily diseases, it is sensible to conclude that deliverance and exorcism could, for some, lead to healing of bodily problems, while for others it enables only spiritual healing with no indications of physical change.

Miraculous Healing

Although one may describe all CCR healing as miraculous, I use the terms to specifically refer to healing that has nothing to do with evil spirits or witches, sin, or problems that call for inner healing. In CCR well known problems, with known or unknown medical solutions, are not seen as a category of problems necessarily reserved for biomedicine. CCR encourages people to have faith that God would heal all diseases. So I am

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[272] At a counseling session where she raised this issue, ministers advised her to reject the proposal, and this brought a disagreement in her family since the parents saw nothing wrong with her marrying a *mganga*. In fact, the parents were disappointed because the *mganga* had helped them occasionally without charges.

specifically focusing here on health problems that are biological in nature. They could be diagnosed at a hospital and treatment offered, but the sick could also be healed in CCR functions. I have already given the example of Wanza from the Isiolo retreat. Although this problem was physiological, faith in God provided a solution when she got healed after she was prayed for at a CCR retreat (Muchiri 3c).

In Kapsabet, an old lady who had a back problem bowed several times saying a change had taken place and stating that she suffered for several months. She said that with the paining back it had become hardly conceivable for her to work. Problems of backaches, stomachaches, headaches, joint pains, and numerous others of this sort seemed very common from among those who testified of healing. It seems these problems could be solved at hospitals, except that people were unable to afford treatment there.

Besides these less serious biological problems, there were people whose healing must be described as spectacular. Earlier in the year 2002, I met a lady who had survived the advanced stage of AIDS alongside Arthritis. Her HIV/AIDS problem had lasted several years, and her family had spent much money on anti-retroviral drugs. She said that her healing started when she called a priest to the hospital, confessed her sins, and had the Sacrament of Anointing of the Sick [she thought those were her last days]. When she did it, she said she felt a big change, and believed she had been healed of AIDS. Soon afterwards was able to rise and walk. She was later found to have changed her HIV status at the same hospital, before she told her story at a CCR evening service as she evangelized at Holy Family Basilica in Nairobi. At this point we could also look at the example of John's wife. As a result of fibroids in the uterus, they could not have a child for years. John said they were 'just trying CCR ministries' when the fibroids altogether vanished, and they had their first born son. There are therefore healing testimonies that appear to attest the belief that just about any disease could be healed through faith.

3.5   Summary

In CCR beliefs health is conceived as the ever-changing state of the body, mind or spirit. Bodily ill-health is often seen as given to biological forces, but problems of the mind and spirit are believed to also impact the body. A disease not sourced from biological causes either does not respond to medicine or is chronic. Life stressors cause numerous mental/psychological illnesses, but such illnesses often do not appear as health problems to many of the affected people. Spiritually, people that are controlled by "evil powers" may think of themselves as healthy, when according to CCR beliefs they definitely are unwell. Evil spirits/powers may affect one either from inside or outside the body. If they act from within the body, one acts according to the wishes of a controlling evil spirit. Evil spirits or powers act from outside the body by encouraging someone in difficult contexts to performing evil acts [sin]. As mental and spiritual ill-health could lead to physical ill-health, health or ill-health must be perceived generally as the consequence of interplay between spiritual, mental and physical wellbeing of a human being.

At all times healing is an act of God although gifted human ministers are used as instruments through which healing could take place. Through deep reflection, one finds issues that call for resolution. S/he forgives offenders and repents his/her sins, before praying to God for healing. Medicine is known and used by CCR members, who, also believe that God heals even that which medicine cannot heal, as long as one has sufficient faith [although in fact physical healing does not always happen]. Healing in CCR is desirable at all times even if one thinks of him/herself as healthy, because life experiences affect one's state of body, mind or spirit constantly, and there is a need to recover from minor 'injuries' before they grow to be more serious 'wounds'. Healing does not necessarily mean elimination of a painful physical condition. Often people are helped to cope with bodily problems that are not healed, and faith helps minimize the impact of unavoidable life stressors.

Music in CCR means a different thing at a different time. It may be song and dance and/or play, just song, or prayer. When music is performed with the intention of serving

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as an entertainment, it is combined with dance and playful activities. And when a song is performed to invoke a prayerful mood, it is by no means attributable to dance, and is itself seen as prayer. To find a spontaneous prayer that is musically composed and aesthetically meaningful is to find the ordinary in CCR prayer norms.

Regarding the place of music in CCR healing procedures, music serves as entertainment, a teaching/evangelistic means, a manipulator of moods and emotions, a means for countering noise and as the most potent form of prayer. The complete set is made up of different songs smoothly connected to each other in such a way that temporal, dynamic, rhythmic and tonal aspects seldom radically change. In a single performance of healing, however, music could quite significantly change. There are times for the whole group to sing and dance to lively and fast music, times for music ministers to sing slow soothing music as others pray, and times when all sing without dancing. Sonic and non-sonic elements that seem to share the CCR concept of music include song, prayer, noise as well as 'shouts of joy', dance, and play.

In figure 15 below, music and prayer are the means through which God's healing power is invoked, while teaching/evangelism guides participants to forgiveness and repentance. Additionally healing testimonies enhance faith. Prayer and music are the actual sound means of invoking the healing powers of God. Once the power of God is invoked, solutions to problems resulting from bad upbringing are tackled through a process that momentarily stirs up certain negative emotions, but finally produces a cathartic effect. The power of God drives out evil spirits and other powers that have bound participants in various ways. In such cases, a healing minister is required, through verbal and physical gestures, to command the demons to leave the affected person. Magical powers of witchcraft and curses are neutralized and one gets freed from the so-called evil bondages. The healing of the mind and spirit often leads automatically to the cure of physical illnesses that have their roots in the condition of one's mind and spirit.

In order to have music effectively doing its part in CCR healing, there are certain qualities it must have. These qualities may be musical or non-musical, as music is valued

because of its textual message, as well as its ability to link up with other selected songs that create an overall prayer supportive sound frame. While the textual messages obviously bring a non-sonic component into the scene, the connection between one song and the next is significantly determined by sonic attributes of the songs. It is to consider a non-sonic aspect to select a song merely because it carries a praise, adoration, petition, thanksgiving, or testimonial textual message, which may be needed at a certain point. Conversely, it is to regard musical qualities, to perform adjacent songs [of the prayer supportive set] in same or gently varying tempo, rhythm, intensity, and tonality. Both musical and textual considerations are helpful in CCR healing.

A song is performed in a particular key, even when it seems a higher or lower pitch would have been preferable, in order to ensure a smooth transition between two songs. Similarly, a song that normally is fast and lively could be performed in the much slower tempo predetermined by the much slower tempo of the preceding song. A song may be deprived of a fundamental musical character if it finds itself in CCR healing contexts. It could be so modified that it may sound different, and the lead music ministers seem equally used to the art of constantly varying the songs to suit this environment. Many of them contend that they are normally guided by the Holy Spirit, although it seems obvious that some musical considerations could guide one into being an effective music minister.

Figure 15: CCR – Disease Causes and Solutions
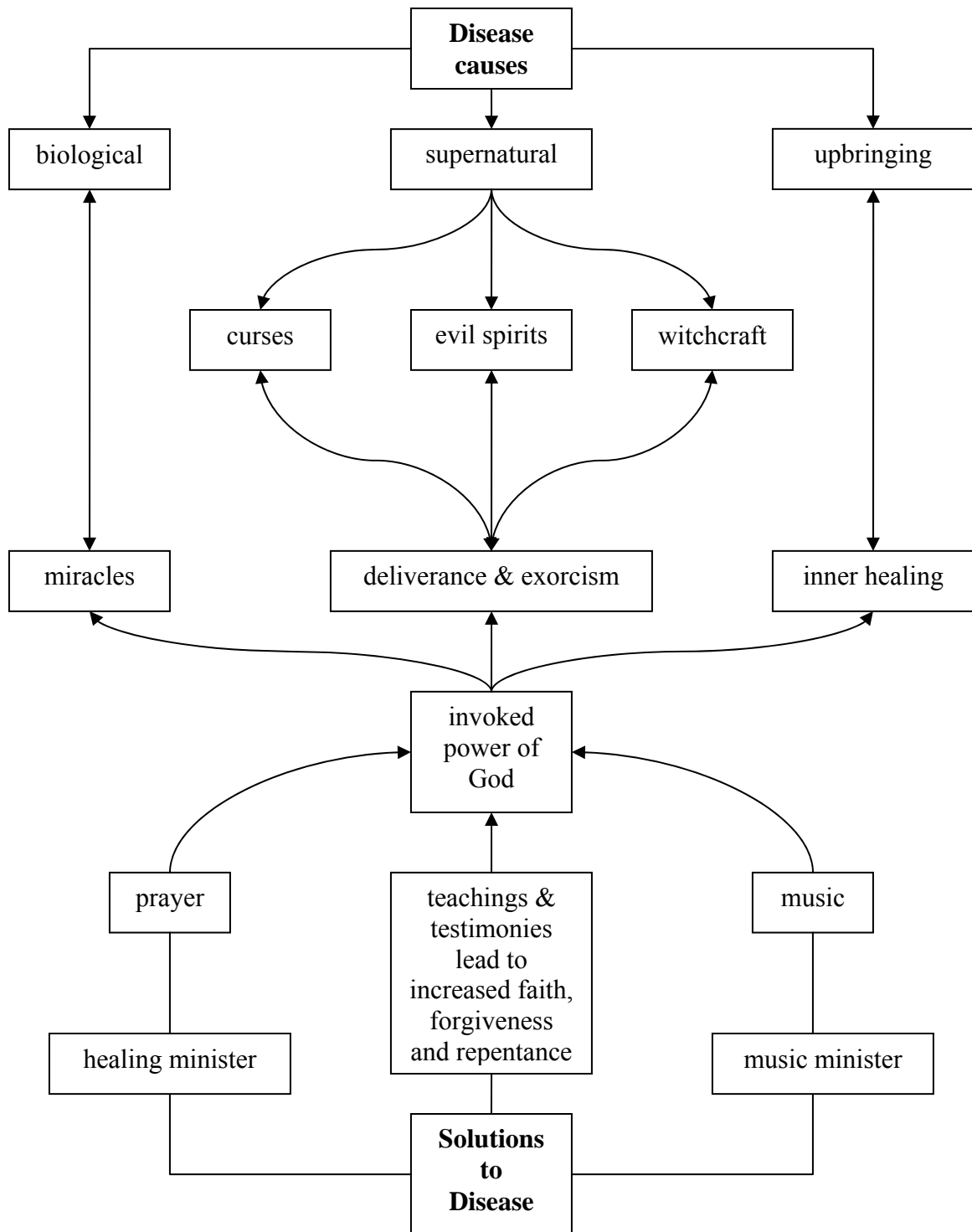
It can be inferred from figure 15 that CCR healing is one or all of the following occurrences: 1) growth of faith in God, forgiveness, and repentance, 2) expression of favor by God, and 3) invoking of God's power purposely for healing. The factors influencing healing therefore include: a) a spiritual authority variously referred to as God, Jesus, or Holy Spirit who is responsible for the actual healing; b) healing ministers, the humans believed to influence healing because it happens partly to reflect God's favor upon them; c) faith, repentance and forgiveness among participants which determines whether God heals or not, and it is the responsibility of the healing and/or evangelistic ministers to promote them through teaching and evangelization; 4) performance of sound and physical gestures as the actual means of invoking spiritual powers. Because sound is a major variable, its management is institutionalized through the music ministry.

MUSIC AND HEALING OF STREET MUSICIANS

4.1   Introduction

Street musicians respond in a conventional way, when they leave their rural homes in the belief that they would attain improved living standards in the cities. In Kenya, there has been a yearly influx of young people into industrial centers where many hope to find better employment opportunities. Populated with numerous unemployed even if well skilled young professionals, Nairobi offers extremely few, if any, jobs for dismally educated people like street musicians.[273] These musicians, at least those who come to Nairobi, enter the city with various music making skills, convinced that the city will support their careers better than their rural homes. Some collaborate with much less talented people to form bands while others perform alone.

Most street musicians that I encountered in Nairobi were blind. Their music making was partly an appeal for sympathy,[274] even though some made quite impressive music. Blindness, like other handicaps, limits the number of economic activities one could pursue. The problem is worsened by inappropriate educational programs for the handicapped in Kenya.[275] While some street musicians are rather skilled, they are essentially self-trained and find little support in their pursuit of music careers. The blind

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[273] Gerald Groemer has described music performed by blind musicians of a similar status in Japan. They developed a genre of music - Tsugaru-jamisen - for the three stringed lute (shamisen) eventually winning national and international popularity (Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru*, 1999). Unlike these apparently more creative Japanese street musicians, street musicians in Nairobi perform music that is common, and their style is unlikely to strike someone as different from that of music in churches.

[274] In a brief letter, Joy Milimo ("City Streets are Awash with Beggars", 2005) displays what could be the popular perception of street musicians by Nairobians in saying: "it's embarrassing to see groups of people scattered all over Nairobi streets as beggars. Some even sing gospel music to attract attention!"

[275] In a study conducted in two of Kenya's provinces, Jacqueline Muuya ("The Aims of Special Education Schools and Units in Kenya", 2002, p. 229-239) found out that most headteachers expected the pupils with mental and physical handicaps to stay at their homes rather than pursue employment, or further training/education. She concludes that the current ambitious special education policy can be implemented if the schools, among other things, "give more thought to the students' future employment and provide relevant vocational training". Unfortunately, after a new government made primary school education free and compulsory early in the year 2003, less attention was given to the disabled, since no special provisions for the children's special needs were made, according to a recent study, in the year 2006, by the Kenya National Union of Teachers, titled "Effects of Free Primary Education on the Quality of Education in Kenya". The report observes: "Given the teacher-student ratio, teachers hardly have any time to deal with special needs of pupils" (see Samuel Siringi, "Disabled losing out", 2007).

musicians struggle for financial freedom through music, since little or no assistance is possible from their relatives, friends or elsewhere. Financial autonomy is strongly desired due to the fact that dependency on others, for most of these musicians, means verbal [and/or other forms] abuses from those on whom they depend.

Within the city most street musicians opted to perform in bands such as those of Shombe and Raymond that I will describe shortly. The bands were reconstituted differently at various times, depending on availability of certain performers who controlled the bands. Surprisingly, these leaders were blind but well talented musicians like Raymond and Shombe, after whom I have named the bands for research purposes. Other performers asked the leaders to be allowed to join a group, because total earnings were shared at the end of a performance. Band leaders typically played guitars and often led the singing. Other members held choral responses and played shakers or drums. Apart from band groups, there were solo performers like Owuor and Gatune. While Gatune played harmonica, Owuor played keyboard singing.

I will provide brief accounts of performances on selected days by the two bands and two solo performers under observations. The musicians were all interviewed (see appendix 5). Though they performed many songs on the selected days, I have attached musical examples of only five of their performances (appendix 6). Here, songs were not sampled using criteria such as the one applied in other contexts. In CCR and *kilumi* events, songs were selected if they had to do with particular people, or if something significant relating to healing happened while they were being performed. Here there were no significant bodily changes viewed against developments in the music. I therefore used different criteria to select one or two songs from numerous performances of groups or individuals.

I selected at least one piece from each of the four performance locations. Two bands which did not have a strong leader of Shombe or Raymond's stature, disbanded before my inquiries ended. Observations about such groups were ignored because my enquiry process was disrupted, and only those that remained to the end of my investigation were considered. In the case of sampled two bands different performers appeared on different

days. I chose a day in which most of those present were regular street musicians. I did not sample days in which my stay with the group was for a limited time, perhaps one or two sessions, because my main objective, on these days, was to carry out interviews or just familiarize, rather than make observations guided by my preplanned schedule. In interview cases, I called aside and conversed with selected persons as others performed music. I met the performers many more times, but detailed day-long observations, such as those accounted for below, were done only three days for each group or solo performer.

I sampled pieces that had typical features of street music or that portrayed the styles evident in most of their music. Shombe band had an occasional bass guitarist in addition to Shombe, and this made these days exceptional. Absence of people like Raymond resulted in much poorer performances. Observations for such special days were not sampled, and in the case of Shombe selecting such a day was not possible because I was not allowed to record the music [they feared I could produce and sell the recorded music]. An observation in which audio recording was not allowed was thus not sampled. From Raymond band's music, where two pieces were selected, I selected one piece led by a male and another by a female soloist, from a collection of 13 songs from two sessions that I was allowed to audio record that day. In the case of solo musicians, I chose Owuor's *Afadhali Maskini* because it was the only song that was his own composition, from among 5 of his performances that I audio recorded that afternoon. Gatune played popular Western hymns; thus, my choice was randomly selected from 5 recorded pieces. Shombe band's *Mambo Sawa Sawa* was selected for being one of the most popular songs I heard on the streets. It was the 3rd in a set of 6 songs recorded that day.

Where applicable song texts have been translated and briefly discussed in this chapter. The interviews, observations, and music/song details form the basis of analysis that determined the significance of street music performance as a process through which these musicians enhance their psychological and spiritual health, besides providing basic needs of the performers. It will be clear after analysis that although music does not satisfactorily solve the numerous problems faced by the musicians, they are left feeling more psychologically secure, spiritually nourished and economically better off. The performers

did not express satisfaction living in these conditions, but they suggested that music making improved their life in the city. Even if they had to beg or borrow in order to supplement their low earnings, the street musicians appeared content that they had some level of financial independence owed to street music making.

4.2   Observations

Owuor Okumu - Moi Avenue

The Function

The afternoon of 14th January 2005 was a normal working time for Owuor Okumu, a blind solo street musician. As usual he had been helped by his younger brother to come to the performance venue in the afternoon carrying his keyboard. At Moi Avenue the brother helped him to find a stone on which he sat before starting to perform. He had earlier described this venue as "good" because many people passed by there and Nairobi city council officials did not bother him. Mornings were usually awful because the sun was too hot. In the afternoon, the shade of a fence just behind him offered shelter. The purpose of his performance was to 'get something small' from passers-by, who normally dropped whatever they could into his basket placed adjacent to his feet. At an interview I did with him (see appendix 5), Owuor stated that this was his only source of income. When he could not raise enough from the street, he became quite worried because that meant he had to borrow from friends in order to pay his house bills and survive.

The Performer

The thirty-four year old Owuor looked unwell though he did not mention anything suggestive of his suffering from any illness at that time. His skin, even his face, looked unhealthy, as if he suffered from a skin disease. His lips looked very dry and cracked. But from the ease with which he spoke, smiling and often making jokes, one could assume he was accustomed to this condition and did not concern himself with the skin problem. Apart from being totally blind, and having the skin problem, he appeared healthy. He neither ate nor drank anything at the venue. He was also absolutely sober.

The music performance

Owuor first prepared himself and the keyboard. Then, as was his habit, he began with an instrumental opening always played in the key of C. He struck the keys somewhat percussively, so that I was reminded of a similar rhythm resulting from a toe ring striking

regularly at a bar on a *nyatiti* to mark time.[276] On the keyboard, he played a melody that was at times harmonized with thirds. This ostinato tune also served as an interlude during the singing break. There was harmony essentially made up of mediant, dominant, and tonic interchanges. The songs, in stanza form, had a refrain after each sang verse.

His song texts were mainly Christian evangelistic, although some commented on social issues. The primary message was on hope in the life to come. In one song he castigated the rich people, who are careless in speech, stressing that a poor but wise man is better off that a rich fool.[277] In this song he repeatedly called such a person *mpumbavu wa kupotosha njia yake mwenyewe*, ('a fool that will mislead himself'). He added: *na moyo wake uzima juu ya tamaa kupotosha* ('because of greed, such a fool will miss everlasting life'). In another of his songs, Owuor reiterated: *mbinguni sote tutaenda tukiwa watenda wema* ('we shall all go to heaven if we are doers of good'). Yet another song contained this attractive phrase: *furaha tutaiona mioyoni tukikazana* ('we shall attain happiness if we persist). He asked his audience to believe and be baptized when he quoted Jesus' statement in the Bible as he sang: *Amini amini ninakwambia, usipozaliwa mara ya pili, hautauona ufalme wa Mungu* ('Truly Truly I say to you, unless you are born a second time, you will never see the kingdom of God'). Other songs contained messages similar to these.

Although Owuor did not appear to emotionally change as he performed, his songs had rather attractive poetry to possibly attract passersby.

As the only performer, Owuor played a keyboard prelude, and then sang against a simple accompaniment alternating with an instrumental ostinato. The keyboard was reasonably soft so that his voice could be heard clearly. Some of songs appeared designed for call and response, presenting Owuor with a hard time when he moved directly from a solo part into a response while at the same time playing the keyboard. In one song Owuor had a big problem connecting one section intended for a bass soloist, to another one possibly

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[276] *Nyatiti* is an eight stringed lyre of the Luo ethnic background. At the interview I had done earlier with Owuor (2b), he said he had played *nyatiti* in Siaya, his home district, before coming to Nairobi.
[277] This song is available in the accompanying audio CD track 11.

meant for a chorus or a higher voice.[278] However, most of his songs were suitable for a solo performer. His posture also seemed problematic. He sat so low that his instrument was positioned almost vertically rather than horizontally. At the close of the day, Owuor made US $ 1.42 from a performance that lasted roughly three hours. As Owuor took a break between numbers, his song endings were not particularly special. The final time he sang any last line, he slowed down and became softer to signify the end of a song.

Shombe Band - Tom Mboya Street

The Function

January 10th, 2005 was a usual day for the members of this band, since they performed at the same venue no less than three days a week. But the number of the performers varied from one day to another. The members present on this day were frequent at the place. They held a morning and afternoon session and used umbrellas as shelters from the hot afternoon sun. When interviewed, most of the participants said that they sang in order to evangelize through music, but also hoped to earn some money. As explained during my interview with selected musicians (see Appendix 5), money was essential since some participants' needs were as basic as housing, food and health services.

The Performers

On this day the band was made up of two men and three women. The members knew each other and had arranged to perform at this venue. While three were from Mombasa in Coast Province, one was a Tanzanian national, and Shombe was from Kuria district of Western Kenya. Two of the ladies, including Christina, were sisters. I have named the band after its leader, Shombe, as the performance seemed to revolve around him. He led the singing while playing guitar. Christina claimed she had chest problems. Two of them, including Shombe the leader, were blind. The rest appeared well and sober. Since it was clear that they were from different parts of the country and did not share the same cultural background, the members were probably brought together by the similar experiences of

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[278] In this song Owuor melodically progressed from major tonic, to major third above, to a perfect fifth above the tonic, and then to an octave above that fifth.

survival without a reliable source of income. The sisters partly depended on their mother for financial help.

The Music Performance

After they had set up the instruments and arranged themselves, Shombe opened the performance with a guitar introduction, as was customary before beginning to sing. The rest responded in a chorus as they played two drums and shakers. This was the procedure for every song in a set that was performed without a break or pause. There was a pause before the next set of songs. The performances were in the same key. The guitar fret board was shortened using a capo to enable Shombe to play the accompanying major chords (I, IV, and V), but with a high level of improvisational flexibility. Shombe signaled a change to a new song by playing a different melody on the guitar, after which he sang an opening verse before others joined in. His mastery of the guitar was impressive. He sometimes doubled parts of the melody that was being sung but also improvised numerous variations based on the melody. The drums and shakers played ostinato rhythms.

From their facial expressions, members displayed varying degrees of 'being touched' and/or general interest in music performance ranging from strong (Shombe) to uninvolved as portrayed by Christina and a blind woman who played the shakers. These two women appeared either unwell or simply not in the mood to perform or enjoy music. The time at which the performance occurred also seemed to affect the show. Firstly the morning performances were livelier that those in the afternoon. The gradual loss if interest in the afternoon may have been because the sun was very hot and the environment was rather uncomfortable. They may also have been very tired after having performed all morning long.

The sung repertoire consisted of only gospel songs. The pieces were always in the call and response pattern. The soloist sometimes sang the same melody as the chorus. However Shombe freely improvised some stanzas within a certain melodic contour.

There was no dance, visual art, or drama, and the main means of communication was the song text.

Song texts conveyed messages about Christian teachings construed variously. In one of them the performers repeatedly sang: *Nampenda Bwana Yesu nampenda Amen*, ('I love the Lord Jesus I love Him Amen'). In another song the main theme was *Mambo sawa sawa Yesu akiwa enzini mambo sawa sawa*[279], ('things are Ok when Jesus is on the throne'). Another chorus stated: *Silaani Yesu x2 maishani mwangu* ('I do not despise Jesus x2 in my life'). Yet another song reiterated the phrase: *Bwana angenipa mabawa ningeruka nikauone mji wa Zayuni* ('If the Lord were to give me wings, I would fly to see the city of Zion').

Shombe seemed overworked, as he alone played guitar and led the singing, while other members played minor roles. Because the performance lasted for hours with only short pauses, he may have been exhausted by the end of the day. Also, majority of the participants did not appear happy or emotionally involved in the performance. Often, some appeared distracted, looking elsewhere as they shook or struck an instrument. The singing sounded more or less 'mechanical'. It is feasible that the heat of the sun that made the environment uncomfortable, illness in the case of Christina, or the long duration of performance played a role in this outward show.

Raymond Band - Kenyatta Avenue

The Function

Anybody passing through the junction of Kenyatta Avenue and Koinange Street in Nairobi in January of 2005 must have noticed that a group of street performers regularly entertained passers-by each of the mornings. This was the 10th day of the month, and the group was what I have called the Raymond band. On this day, two members of Shombe band came, apparently because Shombe was unavailable at the Moi Avenue gig. They sat on the pavement of the street almost blocking the path for passers-by. Their one guitar

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[279] You may listen to accompanying audio CD track 13. The complete text with translation is available in "Song Texts and their Meanings" discussion.

was connected to an amplifier and speaker, so that it was loud enough to attract attention. Small drums and shakers were availed for the other band members. A basket was placed on the top of the big box speaker for people to easily drop their money into. Raymond said that this was their way to earn a living. He had relocated from Mombasa because he thought Nairobi would be better for him.[280]

This was one of the biggest bands that I observed, and their musical output was relatively good. However soloists' experience in song leading did not seem to match the creativity of the guitarist and power of the choral response. The many choral people's singing was too loud to balance that of the one soloist. The performance was also interrupted by frequent cries from the baby who was with one of female band members. The guitar connection to the speaker and amplifier was also problematic.

The Performers

Among the seven performers, two were male and five female. The men included Raymond, whom I name the band after from Mombasa, and Mwanguto from Iringa in Tanzania who sings the verses in *Masia Nitakutegemea.*[281] The ladies included two from Shombe's band (Christina and her sister, from Mombasa), a mother from Nakuru whose baby often cried and was suckled at the venue (she sang the verses in the song *Sodoma na Gomora*[282]), and two new members who declined to be interviewed saying that they were too new to comment about the street music experience. Only Raymond, the leader and guitarist was blind. The other participants, who were all jobless, young, and seemingly healthy, led the singing at different times. They neither ate nor drank at the event.

The Music Performance

After they arrived together just before 0900 hours from Kariobangi Estate where most of them lived, band members began by setting up the guitar, amplifier and speakers, and sharing the drums and shakers among themselves. Two of them, including the mother

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[280] My interview with Raymond is in appendix 5, but it focuses on his leadership of such groups rather than on his personal experiences with the music.
[281] The song is available in accompanying audio CD track 14.
[282] The song is available in accompanying audio CD track 12.

who had a baby, did not have any instrument. The procedure was predetermined. Raymond opened with the guitar playing a melody supported by primary chords (I, IV, V), with occasional minor chord (vi), to inform the soloists of the song. A soloist sang the stanzas, others the refrain. The guitar accompaniment varied, often deviating from the melody to play chords and other improvisations. Raymond seemed rather prolific on the guitar, and often sang a tenor part even though the others sang in unison. One of the songs they performed on this day was *Sodoma na Gomora.* Apart from the guitar, two drums and shakers, as well as a strong chorus, made the overall sound fabric impressive. Some of the ensemble variations included instruments alone, solo voice with instruments, and chorus with instrumental accompaniment. Raymond's 'fluid' guitar accompaniment was a special feature of variation that added to the aesthetic value to the performance.

The songs performed were all Christian religious. *Sodoma na Gomora* is a warning to "sinners" to repent and turn to Jesus Christ for salvation, or face the wrath of God like the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah. In *Masia Nitakutegemea,* the singers inform Jesus Christ their Messiah that they depend on him until the end of their lives. Other songs include *niko nyumbani mwa baba nala matunda*, ('I am in the house of the father eating fruits') *Yesu anameremeta siku zote alleluia asifiwe mkombozi* ('Jesus shines always, Alleluia, let Him be praised the savior'), *Maisha mema napewa na Bwana* ('I am given the good life by the Lord') and *Bwana wa mabwana Mungu wa miungu baba pokea sifa wewe unaweza hakuna kama wewe* ('Lord of lords, God of gods, father receive praise, you are able, none is like you') etc. Some songs were evangelistic, encouraged Christians to put their faith in God and shun worldly things, and also discouraged evil doings. Others were songs of praise, and hope in Jesus Christ who was portrayed as provider and savior.

Although the performers were many, most of them were not good musicians or perhaps were disinterested in performance. Raymond was the only guitarist, and despite his blindness, he had to reconnect his troublesome guitar, amplifier and speakers, as the six others who were not blind had no knowledge of what to do. The performance depended very much on Raymond, and would have been totally different in his absence.

Gatune – Kimathi Street

The Function

In the morning of 12th of January 2005 Gatune was at work at a congested part of Kimathi Street. He must have been fortunate not to have conflicted with city council officials at such a venue. He stood at a crowded veranda beside the entrance to a restaurant[283] and played harmonica several times a week. He was always alone with the harmonica and a plastic container held by the hand for passers-by to drop their coins into as he played standing. He entertained and got remuneration from the beneficiaries.

The Performer

Contrary to the self-perception of many other performers in the streets, thirty-nine year old blind Gatune did not see himself as a beggar. He saw himself as an entertainer who had a right to be paid by those he entertained. His performance was not an appeal for sympathy, nor was his music exclusively gospel – he played patriotic songs on national holidays.[284] Gatune said his talent emerged while he was in primary school, when people noticed his unique and great ability. They encouraged him to pursue music, and it eventually became his only economic activity. He appeared proud of his musical skill and reported delightedly that he had used the harmonica to take care of his wife who was jobless, and children some of whom were in school. Unlike many other street musicians, Gatune smiled often as we conversed. There was also no mention of blindness, and he could get to this venue without anybody's help in the city.

The Music Performance

Gatune arrived at the venue after 0900 hours with his harmonica in his pocket. He had a small bag containing a plastic container that he removed prior to starting performing. As the veranda was very busy, he positioned himself just next to the wall to avoid blocking the path for passers-by. City council officials had somehow permitted him to play at this

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[283] Those in the restaurant either enjoyed or were unhappy with his music because they obviously heard it.
[284] See a transcription of my interview with him at appendix 5.

point.[285] With the left hand supported by a stick he used to move around, he held the small plastic container high, and used his right hand to hold and move the harmonica.

Of all the performers I met on the streets, Gatune appeared to enjoy his music the most. Not only did his facial gestures suggest interest and enjoyment, but he often moved his entire upper half of the body up and down often to mark changes in intensity and pitch. His signaled the end of his song by becoming gradually slower and softer. On the days I met Gatune, he played well-known church hymns. His phrases were not always as regular as happens in a church performance venue. The example *Blessed Assurance*[286] demonstrates his playing style. His performances ranged from complete melodies of the hymns, to reduced phrases, to very short melodic motifs especially when he ended a song by repeating such a brief phrase at varied temporal and intensity levels.

Many people who passed along Kimathi Street seemed impressed by Gatune's music performance. The frequency with which people offered him their coins seemed relatively high, but I did not investigate whether the high number of people passing there, or their love for his music influenced his earnings. However, it is should be remarked that his body gestures seemed a significant element of attraction to many people who passed by.

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[285] One city council official I spoke to said he had allowed Gatune to play at this place, because, unlike the group bands, he occupied a small space as he played standing, and 'his music was impressive'.
[286] A transcription of the piece is in appendix 6. A recording is available in accompanying CD track 15.

4.2.1 Photographs

Photo plate 1: Street Musicians

At the top is Shombe's group. While Shombe often appeared joyful, most band members look neither sad nor joyful. Bottom is Owuor when he sang *Afadhali Maskini*. Although he sang in a lively manner, he rarely expressed fervor when singing.

4.3   Nairobi Street Music

4.3.1 General Features

Of all the contexts that I have discussed in this text, the street had the most diversified music forms though some commonalities were noted. I have attached transcriptions, in conventional Western notation, of 5 song examples, and where applicable accompanying drum rhythms in the time unit box system of notation, at appendix 6. Although songs were repeated in the same form over and over, guitar and keyboard improvisations constantly varied, which is why I omit them in notation. There were times, for example in most performances of Shombe band, where guitar chords were regularly repeated with just occasional deviations. In such cases I have shown the chords by letters, and they were only primary chords. The availability of musical instruments, varied skills of performers, their dissimilar degrees of interest in music making and challenging health and financial circumstances determined how music was made in this context. Unlike in the other contexts where particular aims were pursued through the management of certain sonic parameters, street music did not necessarily use texture, rhythm, harmony, intensity, density, melody and so on, in rigid ways. If it did, this was not for the production of particular effects on the performers. *No sonic property was invariable, therefore one can only think of a feature of street music as common, not obligatory.*

One street performance could differ considerably from another even though it took only a short time to walk from one venue of performance to the next within the city. One immediately noticed that just as the musical instruments in use are quite diverse, so are the skills and levels of expertise of the performers. *Timbre was therefore perhaps the feature that made street performance most noticeably varied between contexts*; for there were sounds ranging from that of harmonica, to voice accompanied by keyboard, to guitar, shakers, and drums accompanying call and response vocal parts. The drums produced two types of sounds, that of a membranophone when a drum head was struck, and another of an idiophone if the side was struck.

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Call and response, or ||:AB:|| form, was one of the salient features of street music. The form is also clear in all the examples given in this text. All bands had the call and response feature, with a guitarist or one of the members singing the verses as others sang the refrain. Some solo musicians performed pieces that seemed designed for a group but, of course, without call and response. Gatune played hymns with verses and refrains such as *Blessed Assurance*, thus, ||:AB:|| form. There were times the call and response parts were musically the same, although the text could change. Examples include *Mambo Sawa Sawa* and *Masia Nakutegemea*. In such cases some soloists performed their parts in modified ways if only to inject some syllabic ad-libs. Such modifications often occasioned alterations in the melodic contour or rhythm on the part of the soloist. *In other words while the* ||:AB:|| *form was prevalent, there were alterations in the musical material making the parts textually, rhythmically, harmonically and/or melodically different upon repeat.*

A remarkable cause of variation was that instrumental improvisations kept changing. In some cases the variation was not too much, say in Shombe's guitar accompaniment which was primarily interchanges between chords I, IV, and V in the shown key.[287] Owuor's keyboard variations were also not that dramatically varied, and this was the case with drummers. Drumming had a constant drum rhythm in which the drum was hit at the head, and another rhythmic line featuring notes produced when drums were struck at the side rather than the head. The latter rarely followed an invariable pattern, and was one of their elements bringing in constant rhythmic variations. This is clear in *Mambo Sawa Sawa* and *Masia Nakutegemea* of Shombe and Raymond bands respectively. On the guitar, Raymond had such countless variations on his guitar improvisations that one can only think of the ||:AB:|| form only in listening to the singers ignoring his guitar part. *Thus, polyrhythm was an important feature of street music, particularly in the bands.*

In the sense that most performers sang in unison, one may describe the texture of street music as being monophonic. But there were instruments such as guitars or keyboards,

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[287] Famed proponent of atonality in Western classical music, Arnold Schoenberg (*Structural Functions of Harmony*, 1969, p. 2), describes interchanges of tonic and dominant in popular music as primitive, but considers it similar to any other harmony that expresses a tonality.

which played accompanying chords. Other guitarists played sang melodies modified rhythmically or with altered melodic contours, and harmonized in constantly changing ways, rather than exchange only chords. In Gatune's case the harmonica automatically harmonized mostly in thirds as is clear in *Blessed Assurance*. In bands there were some singers who sang alto and/or tenor parts in addition to the soprano line, which most other participants sang in unison. An example is the tenor part in a section of *Mambo Sawa Sawa*. Owuor sang a melody against an ostinato comprised of melodic notes, at times harmonized in parallel thirds and alternated with arpeggiated root chord. This is clear in *Afadhali Maskini*, which he had composed himself. *The overall resulting textures could be heterophonic, homophonic or polyphonic at different times and places in street music performances*. One could say that street music has more features of Western harmony than that of CCR and Kamba performances earlier described.

The diatonic major scale was used in most of street music. All examples given in this text have melodies built on diatonic major scales, except *Mambo Sawa Sawa* which omits the major sixth from the root in the sang melody. *Major tonality was also a common factor in all street music*. Chordal progressions in much of street music suggested major tonalities, also implied through melodic endings often on the tonic or one of the pitches of the tonic chord. This applied to Gatune's harmonica, Owuor's solo keyboard and voice, and all bands alike. Musicians in bands, like catholic charismatics, performed several pieces in a set without a break and in the same key. Same key for all pieces in one set was apparently a way of facilitating smooth transitions from one song to another. But solo performers, such as Owuor and Gatune, had brief pauses after each performance. They however did not change the key but performed always in the key of C, and such a change was impossible in Gatune's case.

Street music had generally fast and lively tempi. Tempi in performances remained largely unchanged in each session or piece. In the bands, where sessions comprised of sets of mostly 3-7 songs performed without interruption were the norm, single session songs were in the same key, with minimal if any tempo changes. Solo performers stopped after each piece, which is why it is understandable that the end of each performance had

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rallentando. Even the very last piece in a session of band music had also *rallentando* in the last phrase, apparently just to mark the end.

Other aspects of street music that rarely had changes were intensity and density. Except when it was a feature signifying the end of a piece, in which case it had also slowed down tempo as described above, intensity remained just as largely unchanged. Density changes were occasioned by interchanges between the chorus and a soloist rather than, as was the case in CCR and Kamba contexts, the entry of additional musical instruments or voices.

In conclusion, street music had very significant timbre variations between contexts, utilized call and response or ||:AB:|| form, Western forms of harmony, diatonic scales, polyrhythm, changing textures, major keys, unchanging or little changing tempi except at the endings of phrases, and largely unchanging intensity and density except at the endings of phrases. Repetition was a common feature in all the music, even if there were rhythmic, melodic, harmonic and other changes that showed variations between repeated sections. None of these features is indispensable.

4.3.2 Song Texts and their Meanings

Afadhali Maskini

1. afadhali maskini aendaye	better the poor walking
katika unyofu wake	in his/her weakness
kuliko mpotovu wa midomo	than one whose mouth is lost
aliye mpumbavu	that is a fool

chorus	
mpumbavu wa kupotosha	a fool that would lose
njia yake mwenyewe	his way himself
na moyo wake huruma	his heart mercy
juu ya tamaa kutookoka	for greed not saved

2. tena si vizuri nafsi ya mtu	also it is not good for one
ikose maarifa	to lack wisdom
naye afanyaye haraka	and he who hurries
kwa miguu hutenda dhambi	on his feet commits sin

3. yeye apendaye hekima	one who loves wisdom
huipenda nafsi yake	loves him/herself
naye ashikaye ufahamu	one who upholds understanding
hakika atapata mema	surely will find good

4. yeye aifadhiye amri	one who keeps the law
huifadhi nafsi yake	saves his very self
yeye asiyejiangalia	s/he who does not watch over him/herself
njia zake atakufa	his/her ways will die

Owuor's *Afadhali Maskini* contains many Kiswahili language errors.[288] The song criticizes rich people who speak thoughtlessly, saying that a poor man, who keeps the law and is wise, is much better off. In the refrain, he informs the rich that they will lose their path because of greed and may subsequently not be saved.[289] In verse two,[290] he advises that one should not be in a hurry to act before thinking whether the decision s/he takes is wise.

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[288] That language problem does not make it hard for him to be understood by his audience.

[289] He assumes that everyone wants to be saved and to have everlasting life after death, which is a Christian belief.

[290] That verse may not be understood from direct translation. To be in a hurry on one's feet due to lack of wisdom, is his way of saying making hasty and unwise decisions.

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Mambo Sawa Sawa

1. mambo sawa sawa x2 e	things are fine x2 e
Yesu akiwa enzini	when Jesus is on the throne
mambo sawa sawa x3 e e e e	things are fine x3 e e e e

chorus
mambo sawa sawa x2	things are fine x2
Yesu akiwa enzini	when Jesus is on the throne
mambo sawa sawa x3	things are fine

2. mambo moto moto x2 e	things are hot hot x2 e
Yesu akiwa enzini	when Jesus is on the throne
mambo moto sana	things are very hot
mambo moto moto x 2 e e e e	things are hot hot x2 e e e e

3. mambo moto moto	things are hot hot
mambo poa sana e	things are very perfect e
Yesu akiwa enzini	when Jesus is on the throne
mambo moto sana	things are very hot
mambo moto moto x2 e e e e	things are hot hot.

This is a very famous gospel song but the text is customized. The message is that things are fine as long as 'Jesus is on the throne'. To describe things as hot, very hot, and so on, is a consolation in the face of difficult financial and health conditions. It is metaphoric to term things 'hot', when 'cold' here means bad or sad. He uses *sawa sawa, moto moto, moto sana, poa*[291] *sana*, to mean the same thing – that there is nothing to worry about, rather, there is much to be happy about, 'as long as one recognizes Jesus as Lord'.

Masia Nitakutegemea

Masia ii Masia mwana wa Mungu x2	Messiah ii Messiah son of God x2
hadi mwisho wa maisha	till the end of life
nitakutegemea	I'll depend on you
nitakutegemea baba	I'll depend on you father
nitakutegemea x2	I'll depend on you x2

Here the message is clear from translation. It could be a great consolation to the performers, who had no jobs or other reliable sources of income. Their only hope may be

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[291] 'Poa' is a Sheng [an emerging language combining English, Kiswahili and other words] word which means 'fine'. That language is commonly spoken by the youth in large cities especially in Nairobi.

to look to their Messiah for their needs. But it is also a message for everyone else, especially those who are anxious about life; since they lack the information that Messiah the Son of God can solve any of their problems.

Kumbuka Sodoma na Gomora

chorus

dunia ii dunia dunia ii mama x2	world ii world world ii *mama*
kumbuka Sodoma na Gomora	remember Sodom and Gomorrah
wote walikufa x2	all died
wachawi wa Gomora	witches of Gomorrah
wote walikufa x2	all died
kumbuka Sodoma na Gomora	remember Sodom and Gomorrah
wote walikufa x2	all died

This song is a call for listeners to convert and stop evil ways, because evil doers would be punished like biblical Sodom and Gomorrah. It is not clear why the soloist emphasized that witches will be destroyed.[292]

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[292] While witchcraft is strongly condemned by Christians, there are also other sins that she appeared to ignore when she repeats this verse over and over instead.

4.4   Data Analysis

4.4.1 Problems of Street Musicians

Without the threat of financial problems there could probably be no street music, since the performances were essentially economic activities even if they did not always meet needs. Paradoxically, these financial troubles account also for poor musical performance, besides affecting the self esteem of, and increasing anxiety in, many street musicians. As the most educated among them dropped after primary school, it is clear that the musicians do not have the education to compete in the job market in Nairobi.[293] Despite insufficient education or skills, they came into the city believing that the urban setting offered better income-generating opportunities than their rural homes. Based specifically at the interviews I conducted, I classify street musicians' problems broadly into four categories.

Figure 16: Problems of Street Musicians – Classified
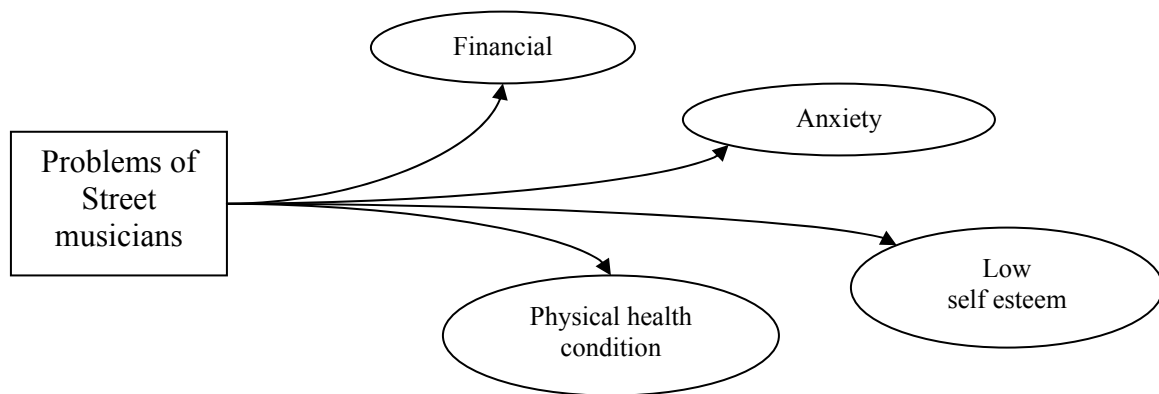
Financial problems underlie most of the other predicaments that street musicians face. Though categorized separately for purposes of our discussion, it is financial challenges that make it hard for these people to attend to physical health concerns which some of them subsequently neglect. Additionally, inadequate or lack of financial stability is the cause of anxiety and/or fear, and an obvious obstacle to development of self esteem.

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[293] I earlier mentioned that Nairobi is presently populated with large numbers of unemployed professionals. The numerous young professionals who cannot find jobs in the city are as financially challenged as the street musicians, even though I did not find any such people making street music. According to the 1999 census, from among the people of the working age in Nairobi, 168,663 were unemployed, 35,773 had family farms, 206,610 had family businesses, and only 663,970 worked for pay (Ministry of Finance, *Population and Housing Census*, 1999, Vol. 11).

Since all the musicians look at their craft as the only source of income for their living, it is clear that Christina had to perform even as she was in pain, because she needed money to buy medicine. It is surprising then that she (2b) described her performance as serving evangelistic purposes, somewhat putting evangelistic aims before her underlying financial issues. The financial problems of street musicians could be so pressing that they begged from friends when they could not raise enough for survival. Christina (4c) said she depended partly on her mother, while Owuor (4c) borrowed from his friends, because relatives did not care for him.

Street music performance is not seen by most of these people as a profession, even if it is their only source of income. Raymond (3h) underscores this by saying "you know most of us do not have any source of income…" He looks down on street music making as an economic activity, valuing it more as an evangelistic tool when he (2f) says: "…It helps us to get something…something small to live on… and also to spread the gospel." This suggests that even if street musicians earn some money from their activities, for the majority, monetary returns are too little to be termed an income. This apprehension is suggested differently in Owuor's statement: "…I sometimes must think how to get money to survive. My brothers and parents don't care for me anymore. It is hard for me to sing… without money for my house. These times I get quite distressed... I have to borrow from friends." Among other things, the statement shows Owuor's unfulfilled desire to be financially independent. Shombe (4c) also describes their financial challenges differently: "… No one chooses to be a beggar… we have no other way to get food… educate our children… and live like everyone else."

Difficult financial crises lead to other psychological problems for street musicians. In the distressful economic circumstances, they may be presumed to be living in anxiety and/or fear, as they could suffer from disease, starvation, lack of shelter, clothing etc., when the street fails to provide for these basic needs. This anxiety or fear creates an unhealthy condition capable of developing into stress or depression as is implied by Owuor's and Shombe's statements of resorting to begging or dependency without the street income.

With basic needs going unfulfilled, low self esteem is expected in their lives. Shombe's self esteem seemed to be rather low. He did not perceive music making as an activity from which he earned a living, but was an inescapable avenue for survival by begging on the street. Even though he sang and played guitar very well, he appeared to pity himself, and thought that, because of his financial problems, he had resorted to the worst means of generating an income. Given that disposition, he did not suppose that people appreciated his music. Nor did he think his street entertainment deserved monetary returns, which it of course does. Besides he refused to be interviewed as band leader which he was, maintaining that no one was a leader in his group. He was therefore interviewed only as a participant despite the fact that his absence meant no performance at that location.

Besides financial problems, anxiety and/or fear and low self-esteem, many street musicians did not appear to be physically healthy, even if not many of them seemed concerned about their health conditions. In what appeared to suggest that she helplessly watched as her physical health deteriorated, Christina said: "I have been ailing around the chest region… and when I feel pain it is not possible to sing well. Right now I need money to buy some drugs… I had an X-ray and the doctor said I have wounds in the chest region. I feel pain and that makes it hard to sing well." Christina should have been in hospital rather than on the street; but for lack of money to pay for medical services/drugs, she resorted to street music performance.

While Christina was the most outspoken regarding her physical illhealth, it appeared some other street musicians needed health care attention even if they did not refer to it. For instance Owuor had a skin problem which he did not mention at all. For some reason, perhaps related to challenges perceived as far more important to Owuor, the skin disease appeared to belong to the set of issues that were not essential. Other street musicians, who also seemed unwell, typically avoided referring to such challenges saying that God was taking care of them. Shombe said (2a) "God's grace has taken me far… doesn't matter how much I earn". Shombe soon afterwards contradicted himself in the same interview, when he stated he was begging because he had no other way to raise an income. Thus it mattered very much how much he earned from the street.

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Another health challenge faced by some of the street musicians is of physical handicaps, particularly blindness, which may be the root cause of the problems some of them encountered. Many street musicians were blind men and women[294], most of whom had to be helped to the performance venue. As the education facilities for the handicapped people have not been sufficiently developed in Kenya, most physically handicapped people do not acquire adequate skills for their survival. Physical handicaps therefore becomes a foundation for other life challenges which could have been avoided had there been ample care for these special needs. At the time of my fieldwork, all band leaders and key performers were blind, who had little if any education. Shombe said that he had never been to school, while Raymond, Owuor and Gatune had studied up to standard 8, the highest primary school level.

Blind musicians were unable to move around the city to the places where they performed unless they were directed by other people. Shombe and Raymond always had their fellow musicians with them, and were held by the hand in order to move around in the city. Owuor had to bring his younger brother to stay with him. The brother would not only help him get to Moi Avenue, but also find the stone he always sat on, as it was often removed from the street.

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[294] I did not find performers with other forms of physical handicaps during my fieldwork, even though I am aware, from past experience that people with malfunctional limbs appear in this context.

4.4.2 Dealing with the Problems

Contrary to Kamba and catholic charismatic contexts where supernatural powers invoked through music and/or prayer healed people suffering from various forms of physical, mental and spiritual illnesses, street musicians do not anticipate miraculous or extraordinary healing experiences when they perform music. Although all of them were Christians of the kind that expect miracles when in a church context, they did not seem to anticipate major changes as did CCR participants at a healing retreat. For example, Christina did not invoke God to heal her chest pains. Instead, she worried since she could not raise enough money for her medication, which seemed to be the only remedy for her situation.

Street performances were not characterized by observable changes that could be termed as indicators of intense emotional changes. Nor does it seem that their music performance results into experiences of catharsis. Their music encounter seemed of an absolutely different sort, hardly to be comparable to that of contexts discussed in the previous chapters. This is not to suggest that their music experience had no health related impact, since music does not heal only by evoking drama-filled emotions or spiritual powers. For the street musicians, music plays the role of comforter, constantly reminding the participants that there is a future to look forward to, even if that future has nothing to do with their troublous life on earth. Besides, even though song texts seemed to contradict their situation on the ground, performers encouraged themselves to look to God to fulfil their needs, and not to turn to easier illegitimate solutions. Music heals street musicians by raising self esteem, sustaining a spirit of hope, raising some income, and promoting moral values in their lives and that of others.

4.4.3 Enhancing Self Esteem

The street musicians operate in conditions in which developing self-esteem can be very difficult. Yet blind musicians enhanced their esteem through music performance. Gatune's situation clearly demonstrates that self-esteem can be developed from street

music making. He seemed very content that people in the city appreciated his music, and he earned reasonably well from playing harmonica for years. Recounting how he had began, Gatune had this to say (4b) "I discovered this talent while in primary school…sometimes people stand here to listen to my music. They like it!" Playing harmonica in primary school also appeared to engender good memories because it was the appreciation of his audience that led him to seek a music career with this simple instrument in Nairobi. Referring to some passers-by who stood at the venue to listen to him play harmonica, he appeared confident as an entertainer, and the thought of him as a beggar might have been inconceivable in his mind. He did not speak of challenges, but of achievements.

The person whose story appears in many ways to typify the contradictions of enhancing self esteem among street musicians is Owuor. Owuor (2b) compared his life at a village in Siaya district with that in Nairobi saying: "You know people are poor there… Even if they come looking for you… It is much better in Nairobi because people offer us what they can… I enjoyed playing *nyatiti* for entertainment… people liked my performance… though only with their mouths [he meant by merely talking well of it without paying]." It was important that Owuor's fellow villagers sought him out whenever they needed entertainment. The village experience was important because that was where he felt better appreciated. It is not surprising that he was nostalgic at the memory of those days. It was clear that no one looked for him for entertainment in Nairobi, but he chose to stay in the city as that was where he could raise an income from music performance.

Owuor's words point toward the dilemma faced by most street musicians in choosing between fulfilling basic needs, and raising self esteem through performances. Owuor might have continued in Siaya had the people been able to pay for his *nyatiti* performances that he appeared to greatly enjoy. That people sought his services when there was need for entertainment in the village, becomes more meaningful when we examine his other statement where he implies that being handicapped meant being despised. He said (2a) "…you know if a person is handicapped… no one bothers". Although he said "no one bothers" to mean 'no one would take care of him/her',

despising of the handicapped is implied as well. He had noticed that because he entertained very well, people did not despise him as they normally did the physically handicapped. Since they liked his music, it meant for him, they liked him too.

Owuor's history was different from that of other street musicians. He had worked as an entertainer in two different environments. That people in Siaya went to his home to request for him was exciting for him to remember. He was needed and respected as an entertainer but was not paid for the job. He said (3c): "It was very good to see people appreciate… The problem is that you would even lack soap because there you get no money." In Nairobi no one sought him out, but he was offered some money anytime he played in the city. Given that Owuor is blind and that this condition is an impediment in his personal development, it appears that his craft could have possibly enhanced his self esteem a lot more had it not been tied too strongly to an economic factor.

Moreover, Owuor's music changed depending on the place it was performed. In Siaya, he played *nyatiti* and sang Luo traditional songs.[295] In Nairobi he played the keyboard and sang Kiswahili songs so that his audience could understand. The change from *nyatiti* to keyboard might have affected the quality of performance and subsequent loss of self esteem. It seemed his mastery of keyboard, which he did not praise at any point, could not be compared to that of his mastery of *nyatiti*. Unfortunately, it seemed for him, *nyatiti* was unacceptable in Nairobi, and Luo songs would perhaps only attract few residents of who understood the language. In order to gratify the public and attract admirers in the Nairobi city, he learned to play Keyboard and sing in Kiswahili. But sadly this did not make him feel as much appreciated as he was in the village.

Another illustration of enhancement of self esteem among street musicians, noticeable only in the bands, pertains to leadership. All the bands were led by blind guitarists such as Raymond and Shombe. Although these leaders were blind, they played the most prominent role in the group and were greatly respected by the members. Raymond (2e)

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[295] Unlike the Japanese blind and peasant musicians who combined traditional and modern music idioms to create popular Tsugaru-jamisen (Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru,* 1999) Owuor and other street musicians in Nairobi appear to think their traditional music idioms would not be appreciated in the city.

accounting for the membership of his band said: "You know they come and request to join me in the music… and I agree. So then we simply arrange how to come… so that we are here together in the morning." Although he did not boast of being more important than the others, it was clear that he liked the fact that he did not look for anyone to accompany him. Instead, they asked if they could join him in the performances. Shombe was equally an indispensable member of his band. It was clear some participants did little more that respond to his lengthy solo parts, since they could neither play guitar nor lead well in singing.

Although handicapped people by and large feel despised as Owuor believes, in the street music bands of Nairobi the leaders [who were blind musicians] were the most respected members of the group. As many band members were healthy people who were unemployed and poor, the blind talented musicians felt wanted, important, and better socially integrated. In this regard, it seems commendable that the blind musicians performed with the others in a band. To be in a group helped Raymond's self esteem, which seemed higher than Owuor's. Because Owuor did not perform in a group, he did not enjoy the prestige of people requesting his skills in performance, which seemed to excite Raymond. For Raymond, it seemed his self-esteem was enhanced when healthy people requested to work with him, presumably because of his guitar skills. That people who were not blind depended on him appeared to invoke a sense of pride, as well as the feeling that his blindness was not such a problem after all. No wonder he did see his blindness as the problem but rather blamed the bad Kenyan economy for forcing them to the street. He said (3b): "You know the economy is not good… and we must survive".

Self esteem may or may not develop when one performs music on the streets of Nairobi. For the majority of the performers, self esteem was elusive because lack of basic things discouraged its growth. While Gatune had become financially independent through his music career, Shombe felt he was a beggar. Shombe's self esteem apparently failed to develop because his basic needs were not being met through his music. He had no other way to raise support of his family other than to beg. Not only did he imply that he begged for survival, but he actually saw his music as a means of soliciting public sympathy. This

attitude appeared to impede the development of self respect since his music skills were impressive and could have abetted his esteem especially in group performances.

For the other street musicians, not only were basic needs a major concern, but most were poorly skilled musicians. Some were indeed so unconvincing that they were unable to lead in songs. Apart from singing, their only other contribution was to feebly play the shakers with minimal indication of interest. Hence the skills of the leaders appeared critical in jelling the music in bands. In Shombe band, four people responded in a chorus while he sung long verses and accompanied the group on the guitar. The four played comparatively insignificant roles. In Raymond's band, a number of singers could lead in singing as Raymond accompanied them on the guitar. Outspoken Christina, one of those playing such minor roles, said nothing to suggest that her self esteem was enhanced through music. Instead, she spoke about how the grace of God had helped her to survive hardship, and so she sang to glorify God in return. For people like Christina, street music was not for the enhancement of self esteem. Not only did they have to request master musicians like Raymond if they could work with them, but their unfulfilled basic needs made self esteem too elusive or possibly even unthinkable.[296]

4.4.4 Aesthetic and communicative dimensions

A major cause of fulfilment in any music making activity is aesthetic experience. While street musicians see song texts as their main method of communication, they seek impressive musical qualities through which their texts can be delivered to their audience. This suggests that they see music as a fusion of song, poetry and instrumental accompaniment. I shall be examining some of the messages communicated through the song texts, as this may shed more light about their fears, hopes and aspirations. The musicians are not well outspoken, and my interviews were not reasonably fruitful, which

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[296] Humanistic psychologist Abraham Maslow is famed for a classification of human needs hierarchically starting with the most basic thus: physiological needs, safety needs, needs for belongingness and love, esteem needs, needs for self actualization, and need for cognitive understanding (Maddi, *Personality Theories*, 1996, 117). In this hierarchy, only after physiological and safety needs are satisfied, are needs for belongingness and esteem attended to. Street musicians have a problem of satisfying physiological needs. In fact esteem is rather highly ranked in that hierarchy, as safety and belongingness/love additionally come before it. The latter two categories are often also unsatisfied among many street musicians.

is why I turn to song poetry for further insights. Lyrics can be part of aesthetics, of course, but I have chosen to discuss them separately because of their special roles in this context.

4.4.4a   The Aesthetic Dimension

Aesthetics concern beauty of form or appreciation of it in art. Street musicians were interested in giving their performances the form that would appeal to as many people as possible. That they were interested in the aesthetic dimension of their performance is suggested when numerous complaints about the quality and number of musical instruments become evident. On the issue of music instruments, which seemed the main problem the musicians saw in connection with their quality of performances, they were discontent with the quality and variety of musical instruments available.

Despite the problematic conditions some participants displayed a high level of aesthetic sensitivity and skill in performance. Different standards are used in matters pertaining to aesthetics, and my opinion may differ from someone else's. Many musicians had limited music making skills. Though he had a low self esteem and negative impression of his music career, Shombe was probably the best singer I heard in the city. His manner of soloing often inspired the responses of the much less skilled musicians because he had a way of making a performance alive. His solo parts were marked with customized texts, syllabic interjections and ad libs such as *Mambo Sawa Sawa's* 'e…e…e…e' that made his soloing exciting. While many singers performed in care free voices, Shombe's voice was much more carefully cultivated and in agreement with his guitar accompaniment.

Raymond was an impressive guitarist. Most guitar accompaniments were little more than primary chord interchanges. Raymond's accompaniments not only included minor chords, but constantly resisted the practice of merely alternating any kind of chords, even though his 'improvised' accompaniments implied certain chord structures. His performance imitated song melody with varied harmonies, or was built on entirely different musical material with only metric regard to the melody, or it could else be

modified chords. It was interesting when he brought in new material comprised of fast runs against chord interchanges and their inversions to create fascinating variations. His use of free rhythms against very well metered song and drumming[297] displayed his mastery of the instrument as well as the process of improvisation.

Gatune was the only performer in the city who played the harmonica and also the only one who did not complain about his economic situation. Even though his sense of appreciation was the most remarkable among the street musicians in Nairobi, little can be said about his performances besides noting that he enjoyed his music very much. Often he played popular hymns, and as is usually the case the instrument often produced harmonies in parallel thirds, and a perfect fourth at the end of any phrase ending on the tonic. He often made bodily movements, often following certain dynamic, temporal and pitch changes, that appeared to attract some passers-by.

Despite the bad conditions, street musicians were thus not necessarily poor performers without any sense of musical aesthetic. Nor do the limitations encountered discourage those with aesthetic interests that they wish to pursue. The musicians used their instruments in the best ways they could. Guitarists, with box guitars, somehow connected the instrument to an amplifier and speakers. The drummers often struck the side rather than the head of a drum, to produce varied percussive sounds too. Even so, they were dissatisfied by their performances, specifically blaming on poor musical instruments.

In the interviews, even the less skilled performers had a sense of musical aesthetic and self imposed standards they wanted fulfilled. For example Christina (3d), despite the fact that she could not play guitar, complained about the absence of a bass guitarist: "we did not have a bass guitarist… The music is better with both guitars playing". Gatune implied that if he had an accordion and/or guitar he could vary his music more: "I make better music with accordion… and guitar. For now I do not have them…" Shombe, on the other hand, whose choice of words greatly appealled for sympathy, said (3d) "I prefer the

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[297] I mean, even though his improvisation applied free rhythm, whenever he had accents they would correspond to those of drums and singers.

electric guitar… with it I could record some of my music and sell. I believe I could be really far now… but for lack of resources I have continued to suffer". Part of my interview with Raymond (2d) was done as he tried to repair his defective guitar. "Today you can see the instruments are failing us… We need electric guitars …and better drums", he said. Owuor (3d) had an even bigger list of instruments he wanted to have including *nyatiti,* xylophones, *ngoma*/drums, accordion, and harmonica.

Although many of the interviewees did not talk about their own musical skills or levels of talent as problems, I can allude that many of them suffered from lack of skill, performance experience or interest in music.

4.4.4b   Communicative – Of Hope

Hope, puzzling as it may seem here, constitutes a key theme explored in many songs performed by street musicians. Before examining some of the texts on the subject, I reiterate that whereas performers deliver messages of hope through songs this does not mean they were necessarily designed to fulfill their psychological or emotional needs. Here, however, I propose that songs that encouraged and consoled had higher possibilities of being performed. Other songs were selected possibly because of their popularity or evangelistic text. My examination of the song texts is therefore based on an assumption that songs communicated experiences, fears, hopes and aspirations of the performers, and conceivably many passers-by also shared these same beliefs.

I will first begin by outlining how the musicians selected their songs. Shombe (3a) randomly selected songs from a large repertoire in such a manner: "…I just decide which song to begin…It just comes into my mind as I play guitar. Sometimes I even compose new songs as I play… without any particular song in mind." He is suggesting that songs came up spontaneously; or more importantly, he operated without a plan or prearranged list of songs. That a song would 'come' once a performance started is even more clearly stated by Raymond (2c) when he said, "I just begin playing the guitar and a song comes. Then after the song another one will automatically [spontaneously] follow." Such a

leader was absolutely free to decide on a song and when to start it. For this reason, let us discuss the factors that shaped his disposition for song selection.

One of the factors affecting one's disposition for song selection was the religious beliefs of the group. Raymond (4b) stated: "…we sing gospel because most of our group members are saved." Raymond chose gospel songs to uphold his group's religious values. Owuor's reasons were more personal. He said (2g): "… as I play different songs, some songs remind me of things some people have done to me that are bad. That can make me feel sad. Others remind me of good things of the past and even of the future. Depending on what the song reminds me… it can bring me happiness or sadness." Could song selection then be Owuor's way of regulating emotions like joy or sadness? Perhaps it is. Shombe (3c) cited the effect factor saying "… some songs turn out to be more satisfying at different times. There are times that songs are very touching." One may conclude that leaders and singers selected songs that encouraged and supported them besides evangelizing. This disposition is the basis upon which I presume that by looking at the songs, one could get a reasonable idea of their experiences, fears, hopes and aspirations.

In many of the songs, the street musicians expressed the hope that is based on absolute dependency on God. They believed that only supernatural intervention could deliver them from distressful quagmires. One would notice this through songs such as *Masia Nitakutegemea* in which the musicians petition God through song. Saying *hadi mwisho wa maisha nitakutegemea*, ('till the end of the life I shall depend on you'), they appear to have given up self struggle, so that God alone would be their source of hope [suggesting they can do nothing for themselves?]. Although this message can apply to any Christian, it seems more apt in providing solace to needy people such as the members of the Raymond band.

Apart from *Masia Nitakutegemea,* Raymond band also sang *maisha mema napewa na bwana,* ('It is the Lord who gives me a good life'), and *silaani Yesu maishani mwangu* ('I do not curse Jesus in my life'). In the first, they imply they have little or no role to play in improving their lives, as 'it is the Lord who gives a good life' [and the same Lord

is responsible if their lives were not so good?]. In the second song, they imply that things were not so good, but they 'do not curse Jesus'. This means that since God is believed able to do all, there is a possibility for his being 'cursed' by those who believe that they have been abandoned, except that these musicians were not doing that. Instead, they continued to hope that the Messiah would do something about their problems.

Certain song texts brought hope by invoking the wonder working power attributable to God, despite the fact that performers do not appear to anticipate any miracles. When Raymond band sings *Bwana wa mabwana, Mungu wa miungu pokea sifa wewe unaweza*, ('Lord of lords, God of gods receive praise, you are able'), they tell God, He is able to deliver them from the problems they are in. It always helps distressed persons to share their problems with someone else as is exemplified in the existence various types of counseling that have been professionalized. In this case, street musicians not only have a trusted 'person' in whom they would confide with their troubles, but this 'person' is believed able to do all [let alone solving these small problems].

Utopia or simplemindedness is perhaps portrayed when *Mambo Sawa Sawa's* message denies there are difficulties experienced by these performers, and when it is performed in such a way that hopelessness seems indeed not imaginable at the time of its performance. It was performed as Shombe, the soloist, looked rather excited. After every verse, he added '…e e e e', bringing the chorus also into an exciting responsive disposition. While Shombe's '…e e e e' is textually meaningless, it is an important expression of elation that perhaps removed his troubles from his consciousness, even if just that briefly. It seemed, at that point, he indeed felt that things were very fine [in his words, "hot" and "very hot"] even if this contrasted noticeably with some of his words spoken at an interview I had done before the day of performance. Probably, then, my interviews perilously brought to mind the despondency he had wanted to avoid by prepensely singing 'things are fine'. *Mambo Sawa Sawa* is only one of the many street songs that appeared to contradict challenges to hope that were expressed by performers at the interviews.

There was another song that put across an incredible message. Raymond band sang: *niko nyumbani mwa baba, nala matunda* ('I am in the house of the father, eating fruits'). Their music performance under a scorching sun definitely showed no relationship to that, and their experience could only be difficult to say the least. What one may ask is whether singing 'things are fine' or 'I am eating fruits' has any meaning in the lives of performers who are often deprived of basic needs. It should be noted that soon after their performances, they would of course realize that they had insufficient money for food, house rent, clothing, or even immediate needs like fare for their return home. This may lead us to the question, exactly how long would gratification through music in their circumstances last? By contradicting reality through the songs, these musicians of course seem rather fanatical. Yet some of them appeared to possess a reasonable sense of hope and ability to endure; conceivably, because of singing messages on hope.

There is another form of hope I want to mention here, which could explain the presence of incredible song messages referred to above; namely, the message of everlasting/eternal life. I have just discussed hope as the positive feeling of expectation or desire for good living. The hope I have so far discussed is about the lives of participants as living and dignified persons. A person with hope believes that things would be better in the future, while the one without hope sees no possibility for a positive change. We have seen that the street musicians either hope that one day things would change [they would find more happiness] or they deny that their current lives are troubled. In the latter case, where a big conflict emerges between what they said at our interviews and what they mean through their music, they naively appear to say that God is in control of their lives.

The belief in everlasting life, which has its base in biblical literature and Christian doctrines, provides a basis for hope because of the way it describes the happiness that righteous people would enjoy after their lives on earth. Indeed, those who are passionate about eternal life consider earthly life trifling, and its troubles not worthy of very keen regard. This appears to provide grounds for songs that contradict real life experiences such as those of street musicians. When referring to life everlasting, biblical literature often suggests that worldly riches/desires can be distracters to doing the will of God,

which is necessary for one to find this eternal/everlasting happiness. Such messages may be attractive to the poor, since they not only imply that the poor would find favor with God, but they have limited possibilities of distraction by the 'worldly things'. It does not therefore surprise me that Owuor musically says just that.

In the song *Afadhali Maskini* Owuor appears to say that he, as well as any other poor person, is much better placed to find everlasting life, than the "rich fool who will lose his own way". Owuor, who actually composed this song, maintains that desire for worldly things, which he appears to regard as greed, is the reason some hearts [souls] will not find mercy. He implies he does not desire to have worldly things, and finds this appropriate because he wants to win God's mercy in his pursuit of the life everlasting. Such could also be the thinking behind Shombe's *Mambo Sawa Sawa,* as well as Raymond's 'I am in the house of the father eating fruits'. Once one looks at earthly pleasure as the cause of distraction in the path towards eternal life, displeasure becomes desirable let alone being tolerable. Displeasure becomes the pleasure of 'eating fruits', as bearing with it would lead to everlasting joy. In that disposition Shombe could surely sing 'things are fine' when he is perfectly aware that he has to beg to live.

One may say that despite the difficult circumstances in which the street musicians find themselves, hope is evident in some of their statements as well as in song messages. It can then be said that the difficult life conditions have not destroyed their spirit of hope for a better future on earth and in the life everlasting. This hope has a meaningful role to play in these circumstances, not only because it encourages people's positive thinking about life, but because it discourages criminal and depraved acts that many have chosen to engage in within Nairobi. Not only do they discourage themselves from engaging in such criminal and depraved acts that often are pursued by people in their circumstances, but their music tries to encourage other people in the city to shun them as well. Just how well their messages affect their audience, thus influencing people's behavior in the city, may be interesting to discover but that falls outside the scope of the current study.

Music is the means through which street musicians express and sustain hope. It is the means through which they invigorate a spirit of hope and positive view of life each day, even though serious economic constrains reduce the meaningfulness of the courage they seem to create each day. Besides, the unpropitious weather and long durations of performance diminish the effectiveness of music in lessening their anguish or pain. The bad economic and performance conditions also weaken the level of gratification attainable through music making, ultimately reducing music's ability to influence their mental and spiritual health or wellbeing. However, on the whole, that they are healthier and better off making music on the streets than not doing so.

4.4.4c   Communicative – Of Moral Values

As a system of principles on which distinctions between right and wrong action/behavior are made, morality means different things to different people depending on cultural and personal convictions. The definition of morality in this case is based essentially on Christian beliefs and doctrines posited by street musicians. Few religious moral values contradict popular principles of morality expressed in many legal/judicial systems. Generally speaking, in moral systems, it is acceptable practice to acquire wealth and/or comfort through justifiable means such as hard work, and improper through such means as fraudulency. Some Christian moral values differ with popular ones, for example, some churches perceive abortion to be murder whilst legal/judicial systems in some countries rule it acceptable on grounds of respect for women's rights.

Street musicians could possibly have engaged in immoral and unlawful acts in the face of their problems had they not embraced moral and religious values. Raymond band, paradoxically, performed *Sodoma na Gomora* at a place where prostitutes were known to frequent in the night. Choosing to play music rather than engage in illegitimate or immoral acts for income generation indicates that these performers might truly be concerned about the moral values they promote in their lyrics. Christina (2b) reiterates

this position in her assertion that: "I do this so that someone else will hear the message…and may also be saved."[298]

When Raymond band performs *Sodoma na Gomora,* they invite those who have given in to immorality to change, because as another of their songs says 'a good life would be given by the father'.[299] They assume the position of Christian music ministers in promoting moral values by referring only to Christian values, faith in Jesus Christ, and hope for everlasting life. Likewise, when Owuor sings *mbinguni sote tutaenda tukiwa watenda mema* ('we shall all go to heaven if we are righteous'), he is encouraging the poor and rich alike to uphold faith and not turn to evil. A similar hope for the everlasting life is expressed by Shombe band's *Bwana angenipa mabawa, ningeruka nikautazame mji wa Zayoni* ('if the Lord were to give me wings, I would fly to see the city of Zion'). In this song, they express their ardent desire for the life after death, as they anticipate happiness in the city of Zion [heaven].

Owuor's *Afadhali Maskini* suggests that the poor are at a better disposition to have eternal life. Such a message is contravened by the presence of poor people in Nairobi who engage in criminal and immoral activities. His refrain castigates the rich and arrogant people: *Mpumbavu wa kupotosha njia yake mwenyewe, na moyo wake huruma juu ya tamaa kukosa* ('a fool who would lose his way, and his heart [soul] mercy for greed will miss'). For Owuor it seems being poor is preferable since the desire for riches leads to the greed and arrogance that makes one to lose the path to eternal life. With this kind of thinking, he is presumably unlikely to seek wealth through illegitimate ways.

That street musicians seek to promote moral values while many other unemployed people engage in crimes around the city could be one reason they attract sympathizers. Although people tend to respond to messages through songs, one wonders about the level of influence from the street music. The audience, made up of transient and busy passers-by might be paying little attention to the lyrics.

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[298] To be 'saved' is used here to mean upholding of religious values.
[299] You may see more of the song text under 'Song Texts and their Meanings'.

Since most of the songs I heard on the street were popular gospel songs, the performances evoke memories of already known songs.[300] That street music is heard for such a short time would then not imply that the impact of the songs is minimal in light of prior familiarity with the repertoire on radio or television, in churches, schools or some other place. It is possible that hearing a known tune/song, reminds or reiterates for the listeners of several issues or lessons subsequently influencing their thinking and possibly behavior. On the other hand, people who are desperate are encouraged by their lyrics on hope, or those contemplating immoral acts are discouraged from pursuing them.

It is clear that street music has rich and catchy poetry, and important phrases were usually sung repeatedly making it possible for passers-by to be exposed to the song parts considered important and relevant. In Raymond band, for example, the phrase *Sodoma na Gomora,* or 'Sodom and Gomorrah' was repeated many times as part of the refrain. For Christians familiar with the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, it may be enough to hear just that, since Sodom and Gomorrah is synonymous with immorality. Catchy words were placed strategically in the often repeated refrains, rather than in the stanzas to ensure that they were heard by most passers-by. In *Mambo sawa sawa*, the intention is to console the doubtful, anxious, and desperate listeners, by urging them to enthrone and have faith in Jesus Christ. The phrase *mambo sawa sawa*, which carries the main message, is basically sung throughout the performance.

4.4.5 A Source of Income

While music supports the psychological and spiritual wellbeing of street musicians in Nairobi, one of the most important outcomes was that performers earned some money. However, most musicians stated that their earnings from the street performances hardly

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[300] Radio and television have popularized numerous gospel songs across the country. Most of the songs heard on the street were from this popular repertoire. Kidula has observed (*Sing and Shine: Popular Religious Music in Kenya*, 1998, p. 71, 193) that currently gospel music has become a big market. In fact a former street musician/evangelist of Tanzanian origin, Faustin Munishi, is featured in her text as a gospel music icon.

met their basic needs.[301] Owuor (2a) in discussing music as his only source of income added "…if I cannot get enough for what I need, I ask for help from friends so as to survive". Even though the street had failed to yield the much money she needed for medication, Christina (4c) was not expecting money from anywhere else to cater for her treatment. She said: "Right now I need money to buy some drugs… I had an X-ray and the doctor says I have wounds in the chest region".

Raymond (2f) also expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of money he earned through performing on the street when he says "it helps us to get something…something small to live on…" He (3h) further said "you know most of us here do not have any source of income… we need food and shelter like everybody else." Raymond probably earned just enough for his basic supplies since he did not say that he borrowed from anyone to supplement his income; nor did he complain about unfulfilled needs like Christina did. His situation is closer to that of Owuor whose basic needs were covered by proceeds from street music. He stated that "if I cannot get enough for what I need", to describe the circumstances in which he would borrow.

Music is the means through which these people attempt to rid themselves of dependency on others. With their limited education and physical handicaps, they have very limited ways of raising an income. And there was also a strong desire, expressed by a number of them, to be financially independent. This desire is a product of the abuses by those depended on, as Owuor (2a) suggests. He had been living with his brother, but had to stay elsewhere when the brother began to abuse him. Since the cost of living in the city is high, many working people find it difficult supporting their friends or relatives who do not contribute to household expenses. Abuses, which may be vocal or physical, could then be ways of discouraging the unemployed such as street musicians from staying in the city. Meanwhile the village seems economically worse off for them.

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[301] Maslow (*Toward a Psychology of Being,* 1968, p. 22) characterizes a basic need thus: "its absence breeds illness, its presence prevents illness, its restoration cures illness, under certain free choice situations it is preferred by the deprived person over other satisfactions, it is found to be inactive or functionally absent in the healthy person. In this definition, things such as love can be categorized as basic needs since they may cause neurosis and other problems. I am, here, referring to things such as food, housing, clothing, medication and such rather basic things.

While most street musicians are dissatisfied with their earnings and appear to feel sad about their experiences on the streets, Gatune had a remarkably impressive experience in Nairobi city. The thirty nine year old man seems quite satisfied with what he earned from the streets where he performed harmonica regularly. Describing his experience as good, he (2c) says that music entertains and makes him financially independent. Not only did he appear unaffected by his total blindness, but he appeared to have a high self esteem as well. This is the desire that many street musicians have, even though they have not succeeded as much.

In brief, therefore, despite the low earnings of street musicians, they were gratified that they were able to raise some money, and had a level of independence. It is unfortunate, except for Gatune, that musicians indicate that they perform to merely raise enough for accommodation and other basic necessities. Because these needs are so primary, it is expected that they have no other investments, which could move them from the poverty trap that makes their struggle essentially one of mere survival rather than progress. While some of them were able to perform music to market in Nairobi's music industry, they are unable to record their music because of the cost implications, as Shombe (4c) observes.

4.5   SUMMARY

One of the cardinal distinctions between the street music milieu and other contexts discussed in the previous two chapters is that street music making is considered by the participants more an economic than a healing function. In the other inquiry contexts the primary aim of the functions was to somehow fabricate healing. There are significant indicators, however, that health concerns are naturally an invaluable part of street music performances. To begin with health is viewed subjectively when various street musicians indicate changing proportions of emotional devastation resulting from city life experiences. The health concerns to which music very clearly relates in this context pertains to troublous emotions, primarily anxiety, resulting from mercurial living conditions. Such anxiety emanates from financial problems, closely linked to the presence of physical handicaps and/or lack of education.

One can look at healing and street musicians in two ways. Physical/biological problems would be cured once medical/scientific treatment is applied, while physical handicaps, such as blindness do not find any phenomenal solutions.[302] Physical health is then left to the physician while musicians deal with anxieties/fears and spiritual issues. Street music making ultimately seeks to address psychological and spiritual health in difficult and unpredictable living conditions. In summary, healing is seen as either a medical/scientific process [when it comes to biological problems] or as a practice through which mental and spiritual suffering is reduced or eliminated [through things such as music].

The working of street music in the mitigation of anxiety and fear resulting from difficult and unpredictable living conditions owes much to lyrics about hope and eternal life. Through song texts, the musicians express their hope for change and happiness, even if this happiness occurs after their lives on earth. The hope for an eternal life discourages them from practicing the immoral [sinful] behavior in pursuit of earthly comfort or pleasure. This reduces probability of their engaging in criminal or depraved activities.

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[302] Healing of total blindness is recorded in the bible. For example in *Holy Bible* (Luke 9:25) Jesus healed a man born blind, but here there are no expectations of such cures by the blind street musicians.

In the following illustration, four problems that have been discussed find some solutions in street music making. All solutions stem from monetary returns, spirituality, and/or appreciation of music. Money enables economic independence, as well as consultation of physicians and payment for treatment whenever that becomes necessary. On the other hand, music appreciation raises self esteem for and appreciation of skilled blind musicians as band leaders. Spirituality encourages and develops hope and meaning now and in eternity because of the belief in an omnipotent God.

The concept of music among street musicians covers not only song but includes instrumental arrangements. Unlike the Kamba and Catholic healing contexts, notions of ritual and dance were absent. While song texts play a vital communicative role as far as street musicians are concerned, musical qualities were valued for their aesthetics.

Although street music draws from gospel songs known to the Nairobi public, performed repertoire was selected according to the hopes and aspirations of the musicians such as dependency on God, life after death, awesomeness of God, sin and repentance are personalized thus contributing to the psychological and spiritual support of the musicians. For most of the street performers, secular pieces had little chance of being heard on the streets. Hence, the hopes and aspirations of the street musicians precede aesthetics in song selection. Some musicians who were sick still came to the street to perform. Also, non skilled performers were involved because they had no other economic activity to undertake. A few performers ultimately influenced the performers since the majority played insignificant roles in the bands. Fatigue due to long performance with few breaks also influenced the quality of performance as did harsh weather conditions.

Figure 17: Street Musicians – Problems and Solutions.
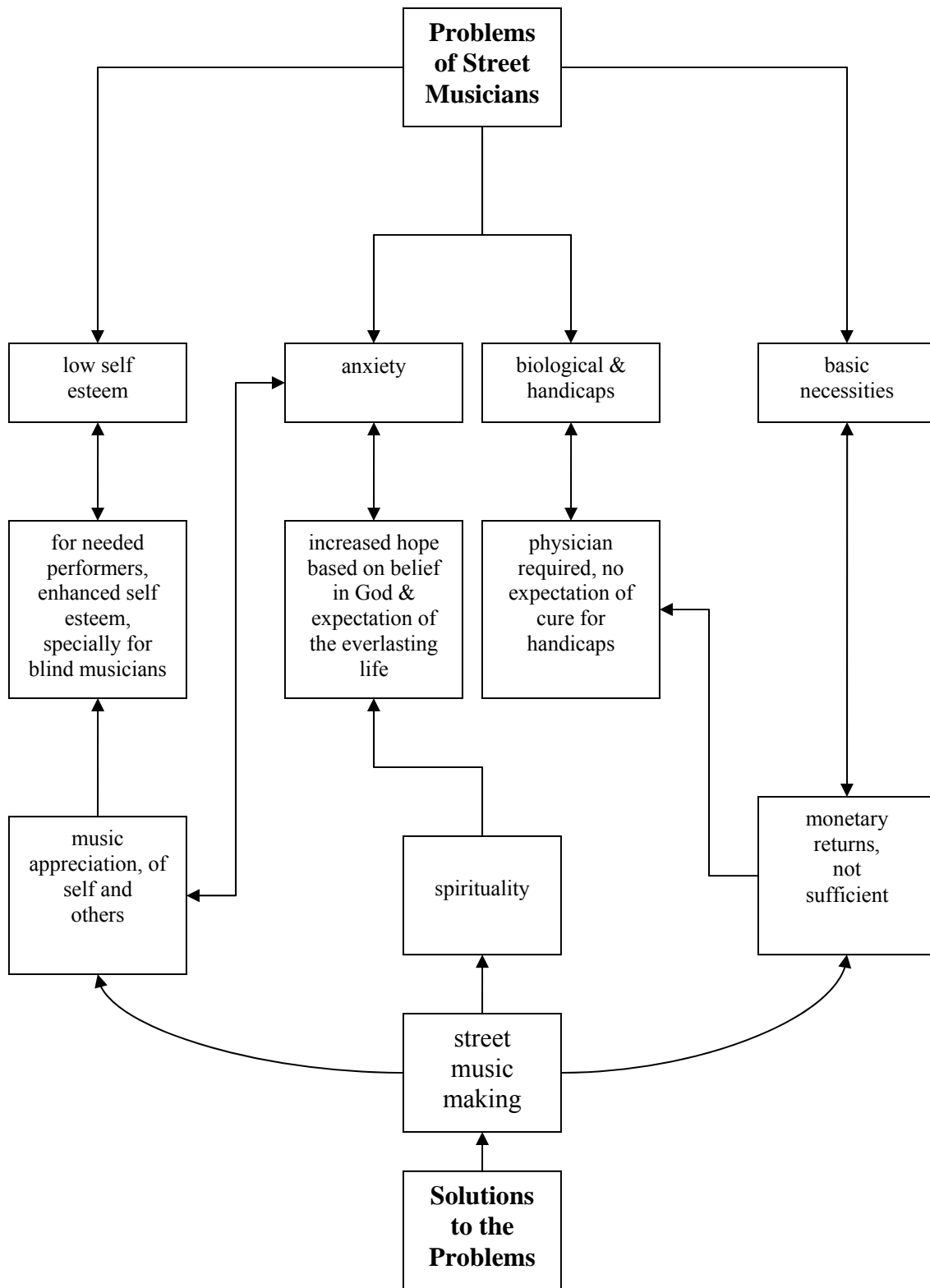
In the case of street musicians, healing in essence is any of the following: 1) belief in God who promises good life on earth and/or everlasting life, as a source of hope in very challenging circumstances; 2) experience of music whose effect prevents escalation of anxiety to horrendous levels through messages of hope and expectations of better future; 3) being socially appreciated due to good music performance skills; 4) income earning thus fulfilling of certain basic needs including healthcare, food and housing, minimizing their degree of dependency on others and reducing anxiety.

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1.0 DISCUSSIONS

The previous three chapters focused on relationships between music and health within functions mostly expressed through localized beliefs or concepts. The preponderance of the following elements is clear, although they applied contrastively between contexts: music or sound, spirituality, altered consciousness, and emotions. These will be our key themes in this chapter. It will be expounded that music and spirituality engender two paramount experiences, namely, altered states of consciousness (ASC) and emotions. Then these two construct healing in a variety of ways. A brief literature survey will show whether the elements are congruous with those characterizing music-health relations in other cultures from around the world. I will allude to some theoretical viewpoints from anthropology, musicology, psychology, and more importantly, music therapy.

Before discussing the primary elements, it is rewarding to first attempt to reconcile the concepts of ill-health and healing, in order to underscore all-encompassing views from the three specified contexts. We might call these Kenyan concepts of ill-health and healing, even though certainly the three contexts do not represent views from all Kenyans. I believe the notions of ill-health and healing must be clear before one can grapple appreciably with the question why/how music and spirituality factor in healing.

5.1.1 THE CONCEPT OF ILL-HEALTH

Conditions to be termed as ill-health in Kenya depend partly on religious beliefs rather than the state of the body or mind. Table 18 shows select illustrations indicating what interviewees perceived as ill-health, its cause, and where applicable related emotions. Bodily, emotional, spiritual and social categories of problems are not disconnected in reality as I have implied in the table. I used the signs of illnesses described by interviewees to situate a problem where I felt it most reasonably fitted. At times the interviewees' explanations appeared dubious, such as hate resulting into goiter (5_c). I have indicated their position in table 18, but put a question mark on it.

Figure 18: Table of Classified Ill-health Issues

Problem category	Kamba Tradition		Catholic Charismatics		Street Musicians	
	Illustration	Cause	Illustration	cause	Illustration	cause
bodily	1a, Mutua's skin Disease – feared & hated the witch (E)	1b, Witchcraft Used by a jealous workmate (E)	1c, Gaiciumia's Year-long Incapacitation, anxious (E)	1d, Witchcraft or malevolent spirit acting from outside	1e, Blindness e.g. Owuor was sad (E)	1f, Biological
	2a, Mbwika's 'epilepsy' initiatory disease	2b, Benevolent Spirit – late maternal grandfather	2c, Wanza's kidney problem – fear as treatment was unaffordable (E)	2d, Biological	2e, Christina's chest pains & fear (E)	2f, Biological
	3a, Ndaa's infertility, initiatory disease	3b, Benevolent spirit – her late sister Nzambi	3c, John's wife – fibroids, childless, anxious (E)	3d, Biological	X	X
	4a, Ndaa's diagnosis	4b, Problem may be of biology, witchcraft, spirits & curses	4c, Ceril's bed wetting	4d, Upbringing – mother lived in fear, hated her uncle, a wizard (E)	X	X
	X	X	5c, Peninah's goiter	5d, Hate? (E)	X	X
Emotional	6a, Ndaa's anxiety (E)	6b, Delayed menstruation, miscarriages	6c, Martin's uncontrollable Anger (E)	6d, Spirit of Anger? (E)	6e, Anxiety (E)	6f, lack of basics
	7a, Mina's madness	7b, Benevolent. Spirit, called to be *mganga*	7c, Bahati – missing love of parents, sad (E)	7d, Upbringing – parents' failed love	7e, 'begging' of Shombe, felt self pity (E)	7f, dependency on others
	8a, Katulu's 'disturbing voices'	8b, Benevolent spirit (of *ngui*)	8c, Andrew's addiction to cigarette & alcohol	8d, Upbringing - acquired habit	X	X
	X	X	9c, Ceril's self hate (E)	9d, Bed wetting	X	X
Social	10a, Social stigma - anxiety (E)	10b, Barrenness - makes one socially unfit	10c, Catherine's family, all girls not married, worried (E)	10d, Curse	10e, Abuse & despising of Owuor – felt self pity, and sad (E)	10f, Blindness or dependency on others
	11a, Woman behaving bizarrely at Mulundi	11b, Benevolent Spirit, demanding sacrifice	11c, Mburung'a – expelled son from home	11d, Anger / unforgiveness, or curse? (E)	X	X
Spiritual	X	X	12c, Girl in Isiolo, 'screaming spirit'	12d, Malevolent possession spirit	X	X

Key: X = free space; E = Emotion related; ? = Questionable

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Based on the above illustrations, the following discussion will illustrate that ill-health for Kenyans may be said to constitute one, or more of the following:

1) *being sick* – may cause social problems
2) experiencing negative emotions – may cause social problems
3) being under control of spirits – may cause social problems
4) failing in spiritual devotion.

Interrelations between bodily, emotional, social and spiritual factors are shown thus: for Mbwika, Ndaa, Katulu and Mina, bodily dilemmas were manifestations of unresolved spiritual problems; among the CCR members anger and anxiety were portrayed as possible causes of biological problems; and Christina, a street musician, had a chest (biological) condition leading to fear/anxiety beyond that which other street musicians shared owing to their life circumstances. Therefore the problems suggest mixed-patterned cause and effects such as: a biological problem creating an emotional or social one, spiritual problems leading into bodily, emotional or social problems and so on.

From figure 18, whether with regard to Mutua's problem (1_a), Ndaa's infertility (3_a), Mina's madness (7_a), Wanza's kidney problem (2_c), Ceril's bed wetting (4_c), Christina's chest pains (2_e), or Peninah's goiter (5_c), we refer here to a condition in which the sufferer has a problem that disables normal functioning of the body. It could involve pain in some part(s) of the body or just inability to perform certain biological functions. Any form of ill-health that is evidenced by such objective parameters – often physical but in Mina's case mental – and which could bring the view of ill-health and health as dichotomous, will be termed here as *being sick*. *Being sick* should not be understood merely from the point of view of physiology or biology, it simply represents that condition of health in which one must swiftly find a solution, or people by and large term it as ill-health. The above cases are problems affecting the body, even if they originate from spiritual or emotional rather than biological causes. I therefore use the term *being sick* to refer to any ill-health shown through failing bodily functioning without respecting its cause. As shown through Ndaa's infertility, it may lead to problems like social stigma.

A second parameter defining ill-health in Kenya has to do with emotions, which cause intra and/or interpersonal (social) problems among people. [303] Figure 18 portrays varied negative emotions as ill-health in certain contexts. In figure 19 I have classified the common emotions under hate, anger, jealousy, fear/anxiety, sadness and pity. Some emotions were not portrayed as ill-health but as **a cause** of *being sick*. Examples include jealousy in Mutua's case, and Ceril's long time bed wetting attributed to her mother's fear during pregnancy. Emotions were also portrayed **as results** of ill-health. For instance Ndaa's fear (of social stigma) when she appeared barren; the numerous cases of anxiety among CCR members including Wanza, John and Gaiciumia; and in Christina the street musician. Negative emotions were further portrayed **as** ill-health in themselves because healing practices were undertaken to weaken their impact in people's lives.[304]

Illustrations in figure 19 suggest that emotional health concerns vary depending on the context. Fear and anxiety were common to all, while pity seemed primarily a problem of the street musicians. CCR participants showed wide variety of emotions. The CCR participants saw anger as a major health challenge especially when it made it difficult to forgive – prerequisite to miraculous healing and a cause of healing by itself. Hate was referred to in the CCR and Akamba contexts as a result of unforgiven offenses. Many of these emotions were presented as threats to good health because they are linked to basic survival needs affecting one's quality of life, as an individual or as a member of a society. Emotion as ill-health is suggested only when the affected seeks remedy or adjustment to its effects, since emotions are also definitely essential motivators for our daily living.

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[303] Brehm, Kassin & Fein (*Social Psychology,* 2002, p. 514) write that negative emotions contribute to biological ill-health by triggering release of hormones that weaken the immune system, and promoting unhealthy behavior like heavy drinking and sleeplessness.

[304] Richard Lazarus (*Emotion and Adaptation*, 1991, p. 387-423) posits that negative emotions affect one's somatic health, subjective wellbeing or coping and social functioning. When the emotions cause a somatic problem, they result into *being sick*. When they affect one's subjective wellbeing or social functioning, I would see them as constituting emotional ill-health.

Figure 19: Emotions Related to Ill-health

Emotion	Kamba Tradition		Catholic Charismatics		Street Musicians	
	Illustration	Cause	Illustration	Cause	Illustration	Cause
Anger	X	X	**1c**, Mburung'a	**1d,** Irresponsible son	X	X
			2c, Martin	**2d,** Spirit of anger?		
Hate	**3a**, Mutua	**3b**, Was bewitched - suffered skin disease	**3c**, Ceril's Mother	**3d**, Bewitching & death of husband (brother-in-law)	X	X
	X	X	**4c**, Ceril	**4d**, Rejection and feeling of unwantedness	X	X
Anxiety/Fear	**5a,** Ndaa	**5b**, Social stigma	**5c,** Gaiciumia	**5d**, Incapacitated - Unknown disease	**5e**, Owuor, Shombe etc	**5f**, Unreliable source of income
	6a, Mutua	**6b**, Bewitched	**6c**, Wanza	**6d**, Kidney disease, She could not afford treatment	**6e**, Christina	**6f**, Chest problems, medical service unaffordable
	X	X	**7c**, John & wife	**7d**, Fibroids and childlessness	X	X
	X	X	**8c**, Catherine's Family	**8d**, Many cases of unmarried girls Due to a curse?	X	X
Jealousy	**9a**, of Mutua's workmate	**9b**, wanted cashier's job	X	X	X	X
Sadness	X	X	**10c**, Bahati	**10d**, Missing parental love	**10e**, Owuor and others	**10f**, Abuses by those depended on
Pity	X	X	X	X	**11e**, Shombe	**11f**, begging

In figure 18 we see other problems associated with spirit possession or control by spirits. They may manifest in noticeable ways like in the cases of Mina (7_a), Ndaa (3_a, 6_a) or Mbwika (2_a), where they are a form of *being sick*. But there are similar problems without outward manifestations, or that can only be discerned by cultural specialists such as CCR

healing ministers or *waganga*. For example the spirit possessed girl (12ᶜ) at the Isiolo CCR retreat was diagnosed as being ill as far as CCR ministers were concerned. A similar case among Akamba might mean she was destined to become a *mganga*. Among Akamba spirit possession is ill-health only if the person fails to perform the rites to appease spirits. This may lead to the problem developing into *being sick*. While such spirit possession among CCR members is definitely ill-health, for Akamba it is double faced. As a problem it is just a call for the *mganga* or *ngui* to strengthen his/her relations with a spirit through offerings.

Spiritual control as ill-health is a very complex issue with several irreconcilable notions between the Kenyan contexts. CCR ministers have the special healing charisms only because they are controlled by a spirit just as *waganga* are. CCR regards only the Christian Holy Spirit, and people who through spiritual devotion are filled with that Spirit may perform miracles of healing in the name of Jesus. In the case of the Akamba, even if *waganga* are subject to many spirits, each is identified by name even in singing, for example Ndaa's *Askari*, Mbwika's *Asumani*. The common ground for the two situations is that the spirit(s) demands devotion and sacrifice in order to bestow certain healing powers on a human being. From a neutral ground, one may argue that a CCR minister, filled with the Holy Spirit, is like a *mganga*: both are either healthy of unhealthy if they claim to be under control of spirits. This is because 'spirit' is not designated as good or bad except when one identifies with a religious/ethnic belief system. Like some negative emotions, spiritual control may cause interpersonal/social problems. Actually negative emotions were sometimes portrayed as a reflection of influences by spirits.

This leads us to the last category of ill-health, that of failed spiritual devotion. There was a tendency among interviewees to see failed spiritual devotion in itself as ill-health. CCR members attend regular meetings and devote time to bible study, prayers and singing. When this is not done regularly, some think of themselves as unhealthy. In fact most of the participants attending healing retreats appeared healthy. Similarly, for merely neglecting to dance his/her spirits, a *mganga* sees his/her condition as ill-health whether or not there are signs of a problem. And this is also an issue for street musicians, as lack

of spiritual devotion might be perceived by Christians as unhealthy when it leads to 'unwarranted' anxiety, as God is believed to provide all for a faithful believer.

Figure 20: What Defines Ill-health
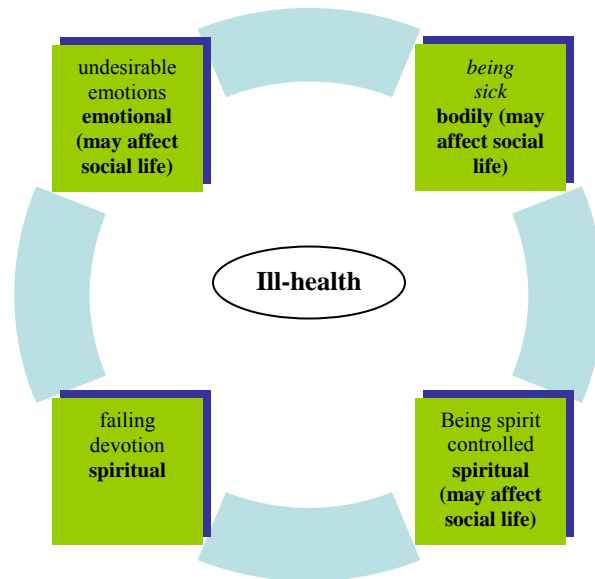
The above factors suggest an overall definition of ill-health that is subjective. An all inclusive definition may be: *Ill-health is any challenge to physical, emotional, social or spiritual wellbeing of a person considered to warrant pursuit of remedy or adjustment aimed at enabling coping.* Subjectivity is underscored as different people regard varied challenges as warranting pursuit of remedy or adjustment. Problems are not always understood as purely bodily, emotional, social or spiritual. Even if not always for lack of knowledge about biological and psychological causes of ill-health among interviewees, spiritual ill-health (and spiritual causes of it) was strongly emphasized, and therefore spiritual solutions were pursued.

This subjective view of ill-health in Kenya is largely shared by the international community from where varied traditions of healing can be identified. The World Health Organization defined health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being--not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".[305] Health is now commonly

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[305] World Health Organization, 1946, quoted in Stige (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy*, 2002, p. 186).

described as holistic rather than just biomedical.[306] This is reflected by the fact that many authors in a variety of health science disciplines including psychology and music therapy recently have referred to the 1946 WHO definition as up to date. While disease or infirmity may be dealt with through biomedicine, it is no longer the only defining factor of ill-health. And "complete physical, mental and social wellbeing of a person" may not be objectively assessed. Health is therefore subjective for most people around the world. It is indeed so liberal that individuals, not just cultures, impose their own ideas on it.[307]

As subjective notions of health have expanded, so have the disciplines focusing on health matters increased in number, albeit taking varied perspectives. Medical anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnomusicologists often describe everyday experiences of people, while music therapists and psychologists take experimental or theoretical directions. All this is in addition to conventional biomedicine. The first group, often passionate about traditional healing practices from around the world whether speaking from the emic or etic viewpoints, takes culture-based views, with little prospects of universal principles. Many are concerned about, among other things, the meaning of health in specific cultures, while some attempt to correlate findings from different cultures.[308] For such researchers ill-health is not just defined in biological terms; it bears a close relationship with spirits and magic. Although this happens in all the continents, preliterate cultures with low technological advancement are the most studied. But spirit possession is increasingly being recognized as a health problem among Christians, and rituals of

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[306] Mildred Blaxter (*Health & Lifestyles,* 1990) and Kenneth Neal (*Health: A Text and Workbook* 1990) have both discussed various ways of fostering health with regard to holistic and biomedical views. They both indicate the common belief that mental and spiritual factors may affect bodily health.

[307] June Boyce-Tillman has pointed out that having taken up their own definitions of health individuals have applied strategies such as diet, exercise, aesthetic pursuits, psychological techniques and spirituality as ways of staying healthy (*Constructing Musical Healing*, 2000, p. 18).

[308] We have examples of recent writings on this from imperial Russia (Christine Worobec *Possessed*, 2001), Malaysia (Marina Roseman, *Healing Sounds from the Malaysian Rainforest*, 1993), parts of Africa (for example among the Songhay of Niger (Stoller, *Fusion of the Worlds*, 1989), Tumbuka of Malawi (Friedson, *Dancing Prophets*, 1996), Ewe in Benin (Rosenthal, *Possession, Ecstasy & Law in Ewe Voodoo*, 1998) and among the Warao in South America (Briggs, "The Meaning of Nonsense, the Poetics of Embodiment, and the Production of Power in Warao Healing", 1996) among others. But as sociologist Bryan Turner notes (*The History of the Changing Concepts of Health and Illness: Outline of a General Model of Illness Categories*, 2000, p. 9-23) the association of sickness with evil forces of witchcraft and demonic spirits is generally on decline world over, with modernization embracing a secular paradigm in various scientific disciplines.

exorcism in Catholic Church, among other churches, appear to be on the rise, in places where technological advancement is higher.[309]

Psychotherapists on the other end, who include music therapists, emphasize problems sourced or connected to the mind. Like many psychologists, their concern is the body-mind relationship and its meaning in overall living. Though united through their application of theory and empirical research, music therapists do not have a single definition of ill-health. Nor does the range of their methods afford us even a hint. Instead the tendency has been to emphasize a subjective 'open-ended' view, which thanks to WHO's definition, is officially justifiable.[310] As a music therapist, for example, Pavlicevic[311] only mentions that their field does not necessarily point towards biomedical illness. Despite their open-endedness, though, ill-health in this orientation is unlikely to appear as a spirit problem suggested by researchers in the anthropology school.

Disciplinary orientation thus affects how we understand ill-health, as being a psychotherapist, anthropologist, and biomedical specialist influences one's view. Speaking from a psychotherapist's standpoint, Machleidt associates extreme hunger, fear, aggression/pain (German: *Hunger, Angst, Aggression/Schmerz*) to schizophrenia; sadness and joy (German: *Trauer, Freude*) to manic-depressive psychoses.[312] Emotions associated with basic survival needs may logically be linked to more serious problems (Schizophrenia), and the others to mania or depression. This kind of thinking, common among psychotherapists, does not regard cultural factors in the expression of ill-health

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[309] Examples include CCR movements which has till now spread across America and Europe as well as other parts of the world (Csordas, *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*, 2001). Pastors in Singapore, interviewed by Robert Solomon (*Living in Two Worlds*, 1994), agree that the so-called demonic possession may show through strange or unusual animal or human sounds, reactions to Christian symbols, disturbed behavior, and extraordinary abilities or powers such as telepathy, clairvoyance and prediction of future.

[310] In Music therapy Stige (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy*, 2002, p 116) and (Kenneth Bruscia, *Defining Music Therapy*, 1998, p. 82-89.) discuss why health is more than not being sick as suggested by WHO. Bruscia in fact emphasizes Aaron Antonovsky's notion of health as salutogenesis rather than pathogenesis. For Bruscia health is not an either or phenomenon, but one that should be seen in a continuum. A 'sick' person has then some relative good health to also talk about.

[311] Mercedes Pavlicevic, *Music Therapy in Cultural Context*, 2000, p. 93.

[312] Wielant Machleidt (*Schizophrenie – eine affektive Erkrankung?,* 1999, p. 104) does not suggest that these emotions necessarily express the stated problems. The emotions reflect on the problems when they are beyond the normal levels for healthy people.

when it is centered entirely on emotions.[313] Mina's problem seemed to be a case of mental disorder, even if spirits and not emotions were associated with it. Without doubt emotions have potential to initiate and reflect these problems; but it is important to acknowledge that cultural factors may have a role to play in defining ill-health as well. For spirit-induced problems like Mina's, it is doubtful that psychotherapy would have improved her condition as her *kilumi* dance did. The cause of her problem, as well as the solution, may be understood only from a cultural standpoint, not psychological theory. *A relativistic view of ill-health is thus what I would advocate for.*[314]

Finally looking briefly at biomedicine, we are further aware that ill-health is viewed also objectively.[315] Indeed, while the subjective notions continue to subsist, objective views of ill-health appear dominant owing to advancement in science and technology. Complications such as those requiring brain or heart surgery would awaken anybody's understanding of ill-health as a problem of the body and biological processes without doubt. These differ from psychological or spiritual problems described in areas such as psychology or anthropology. In reality these fields (anthropology, psychology, and biomedicine) have informed each other rather than just maintain one line of thinking as implied above, thus a 'cross fertilizing' of disciplines. Sub disciplines such as cross-cultural and social psychology, for instance, appear more a merger of anthropology and sociology with psychology.[316] This has encouraged an interdisciplinary view of ill-health

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[313] Victor Turner ("Symbols in Ndembu Ritual," 2000, p. 488) observes that anthropology and psychology need to support each other. Humans, in matters of health, are not just influenced by psychic conflicts, but by the so-called *social facts* that are exterior to an individual. Even if Turner refers particularly to psychoanalysts, I think other branches of psychology, such as the humanistic and behavioral, often wrongly undermine the meaningfulness of indigenous knowledge, when they narrow down to just psychic or universal perspectives.

[314] Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen (*Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 2002, p. 432) has indicated that there have been other rich reports fuelling a relativistic position. In this case we are talking about local forms of psychosis that are not known outside a particular culture.

[315] Lazarus (*Emotion and Adaptation*, 1991, p. 389) observes that health became more a muddled up concept with the notion of holistic health than it was when physical pathology was emphasized. He has the opinion that that physiological, psychological and social factors converge in overall health is merely an assumption that needs to pass through the test of empirical examination.

[316] Berry, et al (*Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 2002, p. 1) defines cross-cultural psychology as "the scientific study of variations in human behavior, taking into account the ways in which behavior is influenced by cultural contexts". Brehm, Kassin & Fein (*Social Psychology,* 2002, p. 5) define social psychology as "the scientific study of how individuals' thought, feelings, and behaviors are affected by other people". These fields appear to trespass into anthropology and sociology, and the area of health is especially affected, I

too. In music therapy, Stige, who proposed culture-centered dimensions, believes that this would enhance research and practice within the field.[317]

The boundaries between the disciplines have thus become increasingly blurred, and the broader pictures of health or ill-health have merged psychological, social, spiritual and biological perspectives. Unlike the mind and body problems, the spiritual seems contestable in Kenya let alone the international community. A spiritually well up person in one context may be described as gravely ill in another. This becomes even more pronounced as we look at ill-health concepts from around the world. It is, thus, prudent that as a world body WHO does not refer to spiritual wellbeing in defining health. But the spiritual dimensions appear very crucial in Kenya even if they must be contextualized.

In conclusion, it may be said that ill-health is therefore both a subjective and objective reality. Whatever one's orientation, body, mind and spirit, can be kept healthy rather than cured when they are sick. Indeed the axiom 'prevention is better than cure' applies pretty well. Using Antonovky's words, health is both pathogenic and salutogenic.[318] In the pathogenic view, ill-health entails presence of a pathology that needs to be eliminated. In the salutogenic view, ill-health is not defined through presence of such pathologies, as the focus is how people stay healthier whether or not there are pathologies. In other words, we are healthy even if we have lost a limb, are HIV positive, or have other incurable disease. Antonovsky challenges us to consider that a lot can be done to enhance one's health status despite conditions associated with ill-health [presence of pathologies], just as much can be done to enhance one's health when there are no such pathologies.

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think in a good way, as knowledge from one area can create hypothesis to be tested using the methods of another.

[317] Stige's (*Culture-Centered Music Therapy*, 2002) argument is that music therapy has never been separable from culture, and so music therapy researchers should be ethnographically informed. Because of this view, he sees music therapy as a sub-field of a much broader area which includes even traditional rituals (he terms this *folk music therapy*).

[318] Aaron Antonovsky, *Unravelling the Mystery of Health: How People Manage Stress and Stay Well,* 1987.

5.1.2 THE CONCEPT OF HEALING

Healing is that which disconcerts ill-health, thus restoring health. Healing thwarts ill-health either by totally eliminating its symptoms, weakening its impact thus enabling people to live better despite some challenges, or diminishing the chances for its emergence. To define healing, however, merely as a practice that realizes these aims would be simplistic and avoids critical considerations. Findings in this text, as well as from other references, show that questionable religious/cultural beliefs can be a basis for healing in certain contexts. But these healing methods contrast with those in psychological or biomedicine fields in that they are belief-based and do not render themselves free to use in contexts other than those in which they were conceived. Let me start this discussion by briefly looking at how various problems, described in the previous chapters, were solved (or could have been solved) as shown in figure 21.

Whether in reference to *kilumi's* dealing with infertility (3_a), madness (7_a), 'epilepsy' (2_a), 'disturbing voices' (8_a); or CCR's invocation of Jesus' power to heal kidneys (2_c), fibroids (3_c), negative emotions (6_c, 7_c, 10_c), addiction (8_c), and spirit possession (11_c); or the development of esteem (8_f) and elimination of negative emotions (6_e, 8_e, 9_e) by street musicians, the end result of healing may be complete elimination of ill-health. Most healing methods were considered spiritual, and problems were also often seen as spiritually rooted even though concerns appeared physical, mental or social. Apart from rituals, *waganga* also used herbal medicine, and CCR ministers counseled especially the people who had family problems. I was informed by ministers that relationship/family concerns often invoked intense emotions at the time of healing prayers, but people were helped to deal with them. Street musicians had the music experience, spirituality and a little income. Whatever the method, there was a possibility for the total removal of ill-health symptoms, or *healing as elimination of ill-health*, in each context.

Figure 21: Table of Solutions to Ill-health

Kamba Tradition		Catholic Charismatics		Street Musicians	
Problem	**Solution**	**Problem**	**Solution**	**Problem**	**Solution**
1_a, Mutua's skin disease (bewitched)	**1_b,** dramatic overnight ritual by an *mganga*	**1_c,** Gaiciumia's year-long incapacitation by witch/spiritual powers	**1_d,** miraculously recovered after deliverance prayers, even walked unsupported	**1_e,** blindness	**1_f,** none
2_a, Mbwika's 'epilepsy' initiatory disease (sp. pos)	**2_b,** *kilumi* and dancing of his spirit, graduated to an *mganga*	**2_c,** Wanza's kidney problem, needed fortnightly dialysis	**2_d,** miraculous healing after she was prayed for in her absence	**2_e,** Christina's chest pains	**2_f,** needed to see a physician
3_a, Ndaa's infertility, initiatory disease (sp. pos)	**3_b,** *kilumi* dance with cow sacrifice, graduated to an *mganga*	**3_c,** John's wife – had fibroids, numerous miscarriages	**3_d,** miraculous healing, now has several children	X	X
X	X	**4_c,** Ceril's bed wetting	**4_d,** inner healing stopped bed wetting after 28 years.	X	X
5_a, Ndaa's patients (bewitched, cursed or affected by majini)	**5_b,** Performs rituals, finds and destroys witchcraft	**5_c,** Peninah's goiter	**5_d,** forgiveness? recovered after vocally declaring she forgave her father	X	X
6_a, Ndaa's patients (natural ill-health)	**6_b,** As herbalist administers herbal medicine	**6_c,** Martin's uncontrollable tempers	**6_d,** deliverance? spiritually/vocally commanded to repent.	**6_e,** for many, anxiety as life was unpredictable	**6_f,** hope, consoled through faith and gospel music
7_a, Mina's madness after she threw away ostrich egg offered by late sister (sp. pos)	**7_b,** *Kilumi* danced her spirits	**7_c,** Bahati – missed parents (often sad)	**7_d,** discovered her spiritual father?	**7_e,** for several, challenges necessitating begging	**7_f** fulfilled some basic needs from street music. Gatune quite successful.
8_a, Katulu's 'disturbing voices' (sp. pos)	**8_b,** *kilumi* dance with goat sacrifice, graduated to *ngui*	**8_c,** Andrew's addiction to cigarette & alcohol	**8_d,** spiritual warning to change or die (his wife had been praying for him) he opted to change and was helped through inner healing	**8_e,** among blind musicians – feeling despised for being blind	**8_f,** esteem raised as some were sought as entertainers or colleagues in street music making
9_a, For many *waganga* patients with marital or love problems	**9_b,** ritual &/or love portion.	**9_c,** Catherine's family, all girls unmarried	**9_d,** deliverance from bondage of a family curse	**9_e,** Owuor's self pity, and sadness	**9_f,** music reduced the impact of such emotions helping him worry less
10_a, woman behaving bizarrely at *kilumi* (sp. pos)	**10_b,** needed to host *kilumi*	**10_c,** Mburung'a – expelled son from home	**10_d,** forgiveness & breaking of a family curse?	X	X
11_a, Katulu's evil spirit affected patients at *kilumi*	**11_b,** Exorcism by paying 7 cent, and striking ground twice	**11_c,** girl in Isiolo, 'screaming spirit' (sp. pos)	**11_d,** spirit exorcised through vocal command	X	X

Key: sp. pos = spirit possession; X = free space; ? = Questionable

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Healing, though, does not always totally eliminate ill-health. Among Akamba *kilumi* is a way of adjusting to spirit possession (10_a) as much as it is elimination of symptoms of ill-health. While some [those who reach a critical ill-health stage or have suffered initiatory disease] need *kilumi* to eliminate ill-health symptoms, others [*waganga* or *ngui*] adjust so that possession, per se, is ultimately not perceived as ill-health. Adjustment to conditions associated with ill-health also happens in CCR where prayers do not always lead to experience of miraculous cures. Convinced that God had a reason for everything, the CCR ministers showed no disappointment with the numerous cases of people they prayed over who were not healed. Instead they advised people to thank God and be happy in their conditions, as God would give them abilities to cope matched with the magnitude of their problems. Similarly for street musicians, blindness, negative emotions and physical ill-health were realities they largely had to adjust to rather than eliminate. CCR participants and street musicians constantly encouraged themselves with the gospel, and undertook creative activities like music and dance to counter the impact of stress and generate hope. Spiritual practices, music and/or dance support adjustment to ill-health. We may thus talk of *healing as adjustment to* rather than elimination of ill-health.

Healing methods were also applied to avert rather than address existing problems. *Waganga* were aware that failure to dance spirits for more than a year, would not only weaken their healing powers, but cause a variety of problems including physical or emotional ill-health, bad luck and so on. By hosting *kilumi* and dancing his/her spirits once a year, a *mganga* or *ngui* appeased benevolent spirits before they reached the stage of feeling disgruntled. In CCR many people expressed concerns about relatives such as brutal husbands, disobedient children, cruel employers/supervisors and untrustworthy confidants. Spiritual activities were a source of courage for living in difficult family and work environments. Spirituality here also implied that believers were shielded from witchcraft, evil spirits and other powers. Likewise, the street musicians sang gospel music more to avoid higher levels of negative emotions than to totally eliminate them. This then is a dimension of *healing as prevention of ill-health*.

The figure 22 illustrates the three dimensions of healing, corresponding to three objectives outlined as elimination of, adjustment to, or prevention of ill-health.

Figure 22: Dimensions of Healing
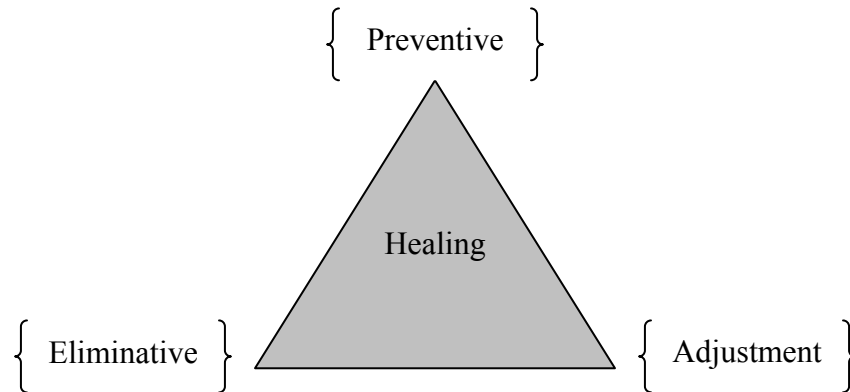
Although healing is often designed to specifically fulfill one of these three objectives, it is also the sum total of the processes of maintaining health by concurrently preventing what can be stopped, eliminating what can be removed, and adjusting to what cannot be changed. *Kilumi* illustrates this process in its practice as a procedure that eliminates ill-health, a way of adjusting to spirit possession, and a means of preventing infirmity. In CCR healing rituals often fail to fully eliminate ill-health. An emotional problem may be solved while a physical one remains. The affected people were encouraged to view life positively despite the problems. Religious devotion assumed influence over evil powers and enabled those living in difficult environments to cope with stress through forgiveness. Street musicians, similarly, adjusted to physical handicaps [which cannot be healed], and strove to either totally eliminate or avoid unmanageable stress through spirituality and music. In all contexts we may say that broadly speaking *healing is a life-long process*.

Lastly, some healing methods depend on the religious or cultural beliefs. The best example we have here is how spirits were exorcised. Among the Kamba, Katulu, the *ngui* at Mulundi, exorcised dangerous spirits by paying 7 cents and striking the ground twice [once above the head and again after the feet]. In CCR "evil spirits" were commanded through verbal and physical gestures to leave the affected person in the name of Jesus. Forgiveness is another good example of a cultural healing method. Such methods apply

only among people who share certain beliefs, as we know that offended people react in aggressive ways towards offenders. Physical and mental ill-health which doctors could not solve was addressed through religious rituals among Akamba and CCR. Solutions to such problems lie in cultural understandings not science, technology, or psychotherapy. This shows that *healing draws from religious/cultural beliefs*.

I therefore propose that in our contexts healing:

1)   aims at elimination, adjustment to, or prevention of ill-health;

2)   is a process that is life-long;

3)   applies methods rooted in cultural beliefs or practices.

In short, healing is the life-long process of eliminating, adjusting to, or preventing ill-health through culturally situated practices.

This proposed definition is not far removed from Western concepts of healing and therapy. While there are many European definitions of healing it will serve my purpose to refer just to the view of healing by Boyce-Tillman[319]. For her "healing is the process of dealing with major traumas over a lifetime". She says healing is much more than curing individual illnesses as it "is associated with a dynamic model of wellness". Apart from her notions of 'process' and 'dynamism' which I find very meaningful, she discusses healing as balancing.[320] Healing, she says, is a process of balancing physically, psychologically and spiritually.[321] She enlists diet, exercise, aesthetic pursuits, psychological techniques and spiritual practices as some ways through which people "rebalance their systems".[322] While there are the possibilities of help from health care

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[319] June Boyce-Tillman, *Constructing Musical Healing,* 2000, p. 16.

[320] Don Campbell (*The Mozart Effect*, 2001, p. 61) has a similar view of healing, terming it as "the art of balancing the mind and body, the feelings and the spirit".

[321] Healing as balancing was first described in writing by Plato. In the *Republic* (book IV) Plato first described man as tripartite. He termed the body as *the appetitive*, mental as *the rational*, and spiritual as *the spirited*. Viewing healing as balancing of the three, he argued that none of the three should be too deprived or satisfied at the expense of the others.

[322] Similar methods have been suggested by Scott Roberts (*Health Wellness*, 1992, p. 211) as ways of dealing with stress. Roberts's list has art, music, dance, drama, meditation, yoga, and exercise. Though not explicitly said, it appears stress reduction is a major component of Boyce-Tillman's balancing, because the mind links the body and spirit.

professionals like physicians and therapists, she says that healing as balancing is an activity of every informed individual.

Though a lot more needs to be done to scientifically validate theory and avoid speculation, it seems healing as balancing may be gaining support from scientific findings which link psychological states to physiological changes that go as far as affecting the immune and gastrointestinal systems. Psychotherapist Grawe[323] suggests that life experiences, which include music, effect specific changes in the brain that could possibly be documented through biological methods. From his argument, if life experiences can cause mental illnesses, they can heal too. Generally speaking effects of negative experiences on the brain are evidenced by stress. As Green puts it stress exists "when there is a discrepancy between perceived demands on an organism and its perceived ability to cope".[324]

Stress leads through activation of the autonomic nervous system (ANS) and the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical (HPA) system, which prepare the body to respond to specified stimuli.[325] Apart from these hormonal responses which affect the immune system, stress also affects gastrointestinal functioning in ways that could lead to ulceration. Toates[326] says that conditions induced by stress such as abnormally varying acid atmosphere, decrease in blood flow and rhythmic contractions of the stomach may lead to ulceration. It is comprehensible therefore that stress affects homeostasis − the

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[323] Klaus Grawe (*Neuropsychotherapie*, 2004, p. 88) sees music as one of the experiences that can undo effects of bad experiences and restore mental health, but suggests that certain music could also likewise cause illness.

[324] Simon Green (*Principles of Biopsychology*, 1994, p. 102) uses 'perceived' to imply that both the demands and ability to cope may be over or underestimated since they are based on personal perception. He argues that stress could have positive outcomes because some people need it as a motivating factor for work. The problem is chronic stress which may lead to psychological and physical problems.

[325] In the condition of stress or arousal, neural impulses from the sympathetic division of ANS stimulate physiological changes, but the endocrine system maintains the actions. In the endocrine system, it is the pituitary gland that releases glucocorticoids that are responsible for conversion of fat into glucose and repair of tissues, while this suppresses the immune system. The pituitary gland also produces adrenacorticotrophic hormone which stimulates the adrenal gland to release adrenaline into the blood stream. Adrenaline maintains muscle activity through fast heart rate, high blood pressure and sweating (Nicky Hayes, *Foundations of Psychology*, 2000, p. 398; Frederick Toates, *Stress: Conceptual and Biological Aspects*, 1995, p. 7-12).

[326] Toates, *Stress: Conceptual and Biological Aspects*, 1995, p. 274-275.

process of ensuring that chemical, hormonal and physical make-up of fluids in the body are maintained with limited alterations in a body – just like drugs would.

Writers who describe healing as balancing, for instance Boyce-Tillman and Campbell,[327] usually view health in a holistic way. For such people, ill-health is not just a physical, mental, or spiritual condition; it is also a lack of balance where one of the three is oversatisfied at the expense of the others.[328] This view of healing as balancing is evident in Kenya, when it is used mean that body, mind or spirit could be strengthened separately to improve overall health. I do not mean that each needs to be at par with the others [I suppose it impossible to tell when that happens], but that each needs special regard. Most healing activities undertaken by Kenyans appear to be more of 'balancing systems' than attempts to cure particular ill-health issues. They often are ways of coping with spiritual problems, numerous negative emotions, and bodily ill-health. For the street musicians, music making helps them to 'relax' the minds constantly at the risk of 'overstretching' in capricious living conditions. *Kilumi* may be viewed as a ritual of invigorating the 'spirit' in a way so comparable to giving some food to the body to avoid starvation. Perhaps the most interesting illustration of balancing is in CCR. More than in any other context, ministers regarded the spiritual, physical and mental needs of participants. Their objectives ranged from praying for the jobless, praying for miracles of physical and emotional healing, to promoting spirituality and forgiveness through their teachings. This appears to be an attempt to address the needs of the body, mind and spirit.

Religious beliefs often enable people to transcend universal tendencies. In recognition of this fact, and having observed that religious involvement promotes healing of the body, mind and spirit in Kenya, I propose a definition of healing that is dependent on cultural methods. One example was forgiveness, which I see as a great cultural way of dealing with stress or balancing systems. Because of its culture-centeredness [at least the way it is promoted in CCR by blaming Satan and perceiving offenders as innocent] it may not be

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[327] June Boyce-Tillman, *Constructing Musical Healing*, 2000, p. 17-18; Campbell, *The Mozart Effect*, 2001, p. 61.

[328] Plato (*Republic,* Book IV) elaborated well on healing as balancing, and he is often mentioned by those describing healing as balancing, but he may not have known that mental states influence biological functioning as research now tells us.

seen in a psychologist's list of techniques of eliminating stress or balancing.[329] Members of CCR were encouraged to always see offenders as mere instruments Satan applies in order to destroy their faith. They were advised to fight back through spiritual devotion, and to show love to those who hated them. The results were often incredible. Such beliefs may have theories in psychology being contradicted, as there may be expressions of love where a psychologist would expect aggression. Religious thinking of this sort has a place in healing as well, because what people feel when experiencing stress depends to some degree on their way of thinking about the world, and this ought not to be ignored.

In conclusion, in defining healing as life-long process of eliminating, adjusting to, and preventing ill-health through *culturally situated practices* I want to reiterate that religious beliefs appear to me important in healing, especially when it is viewed as balancing. We have seen that religious beliefs often lead towards behavior that would contradict common or universal tendencies. Since we have seen that physical healing is somewhat enabled by these same beliefs, the physician may equally be baffled at the witnessing of inexplicable extraordinary cures, unless he is ready to admit that not all physical problems have biological relevance.

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[329] Biopsychologist Green lists a number of methods of coping with stress including psychotherapy (psychoanalytic), cognitive and behavioral therapies, skills training, relaxation, environmental change, biofeedback and use of drugs (*Principles of Biopsychology*, 1994, p. 114-116). Spirituality is however increasingly being mentioned in psychological fields including music therapy.

5.1.3 KENYAN HEALING MUSIC

Can the healing music be regarded as a separate category of music in Kenya? This is our next question. First it should be clear that at this level of discussion I focus on sonic properties of music or the non-sonic factors only if they affect musical sound in certain ways. I am at this point not concerned about concepts of music but the nature of musical sounds and factors influencing them. It needs to be very clear that conceptually music is much more than just sound in some of our inquiry contexts. Merriam describes music as tripartite (involving concept, behavior and sound)[330] and such a view is especially pertinent for Africa where music is often a fusion of art forms that are usually separated in the West.[331] Nonetheless, I will now discuss music as sound from the musicological standpoint of music as a unitary concept for all humans.[332] In contexts such as ours, where musical sound is fused with other arts, I see nothing wrong with isolating sonic properties for particular study purposes[333] [in our case for comparative purposes] as long as this does not concern objectionable aesthetic judgments.[334]

By isolating sound I do not mean that other aspects of music were of so little importance that they could be ignored. It has been clarified that variables such as dance, costumes, and rituals were essential in Kamba and CCR contexts. Sound was a common factor in all the three contexts, and it is the only feature that can be examined comparatively. Unlike

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[330] Alan Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music*, 1964, p. 32-33.
[331] Ruth Stone ("African Music in a Constellation of Arts", 1998, p. 7) points out that what is generally termed as music in Africa is a "tight bundle of arts sometimes difficult to separate". She mentions singing, playing instruments, dancing, masquerading and dramatizing as some of these bounded arts. In the Kenyan contexts described, the arts were bound but not in all cases.
[332] Bruno Nettl, "Music", 2001.
[333] John Blacking (*Music, Culture, Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*, 1995, p. 55) argues that music is understood better when not detached from its context, as it is not merely a sonic object. I share this view, and that is why situated concepts of music have been discussed separately in the previous chapters, but I also find nothing wrong with isolating sound for comparative examination.
[334] Bruno Nettl (*The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 2005, p. 56) believes that music is a human activity "but the musics of human societies are not alike and should not be judged by the same standards". Philip Bohlman ("Ethnomusicology's Challenge to the Canon; the Canon's Challenge to Ethnomusicology" 1992, p. 116-136) discusses canonic reflexivity as a distinctive trait of ethnomusicology since the 1950s. He argues that while ethnomusicology challenged historical musicology for its rigid canons, this was a result of ethnomusicology's self imposed challenge, desire and impulse to reformulate its own canons. The ethnomusicological canons need to be reflexive since music concepts change from one society to the other.

in Kamba and CCR dance and ritual drama were absent in street performances; while costumes were needed among Akamba but not in CCR or street contexts. Situated concepts of music were discussed in the previous chapters (see sections 2.5, 3.5, 4.5).

It is clear that musical sound was one of the foremost variables in the healing practices. It needs to be reiterated, however, that music – defined in its broadest terms – was not the sole determiner of healing outcomes. We have to regard the special skills of gifted humans (cultural specialists) as well as the numerous spiritual practices undertaken. Notably music did not take a peripheral role in either case. Nor was musical sound just of any sort, since, once contextualized, it needed particular properties to heal. This is why one could be tempted to think of healing music as a category of Kenyan music. But we shall see that this presents a problem because changing properties of the music were clear. Let me start by looking at the following aspects of the music which have already been discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters.

Figure 23: Features of Kenya Healing Music

Catholic Charismatic

a) **Call and response or ||:AB:|| form**, solo part often different from chorus, or has soloist's vocal interjections. Musical prayer (or simultaneously performed music & prayer) in certain cases brought about polyphony of vocal parts.

b) **Tempo changes in fast-slow-fast** format without break between songs. Intensity keeps changing depending on intensity of prayers.

c) Scales mostly **diatonic**.

d) **Keyboard** (mostly with primary chords + melody) and **hand claps** common but not indispensable.

e) Textual messages **praise Jesus, ask for descent of Holy Spirit, and implore God to heal the sick**.

f) Songs connected with gentle continuity between pieces. **The key, tempo, and intensity rarely changes** as a new song is introduced.

g) There is **a time for dancing**, shouting and playing. **No dance during prayer** time, except for some dancers who appeared to be hearing their own music that was in reality non-existent.

Kamba Tradition

a) **Call and response or ||:AB:|| form**, divisible into smaller units & repetitive. Waganga perform solo pieces with Uta accompaniment to invoke healing powers.

b) **Tempo and intensity gently increases** towards climax and master drummer's patterns often create polyrhythm.

c) Scales often **pentatonic**.

d) **Mwase drum was necessary**, but *kayamba*, whistles, harmonica, *nguli* (horn) also used in *kilumi*. *Uta* were used in performances of *waganga* to invoke spiritual powers.

e) Textual messages **about particular possessing spirits**. They were praised, asked to 'appear', help to heal, etc.

f) **Songs were interrupted** in performance and clearly stopped at the end before others are started.

g) **Separate song and dance for each** possessed person.

Street Musician

a) **Call and response or ||:AB:|| form**, divisible into smaller units & repetitive. Those performing solo had to sing or entire melodies, sometimes while playing an accompanying musical instrument.

b) **Tempo and intensity changes rare**. Guitar accompaniment varied from simple primary chord exchanges to complex variations of the melody interchanged regularly with chordal patterns.

c) Scales mostly **diatonic**.

d) **Guitar, drums and shakers** used in all bands. **Harmonica** & **keyboard** used by solo performers. Primary chord exchanges common.

e) Textual messages about **everlasting life, eternal punishment for sinners, God the provider, repentance and hope.**

f) **Different songs were combined** into one in each session, in the same key.

g) **No dance at all**, performers usually seated at the time of performance.

Features of Kenyan Healing Music

From figure 23 *call and response* or ||:AB:|| *form was found in all contexts*, and was the only common form/structure. There are factors bringing about differences or similarities in musical sound between contexts. I will now focus on properties of music or sound with clear causal factors, which make musical sound alike or unlike in at least two contexts.

There are similarities between Kamba and CCR functions stemming from the fact that they were both rituals, unlike street performances. Even if there were numerous differences between the music in Kamba and CCR contexts, certain sound properties

appeared to differentiate healing music in the rituals from that of non-ritual street performances. Ritual healing appeared to require changing intensity, tempo and density, as these were crucial in their method of bringing about altered states of consciousness (ASC) in the course of healing. Among the factors that brought about differences and similarities in the music is the *ritualized versus non-ritualized* nature of functions in which it was applied. Kamba and CCR music was thus set apart from that of the street.

Linked to these rituals was dance or body movement. It was an obligatory part of *kilumi* and was present in CCR except at prayer times. Wherever there was dance, the tempo, intensity and density of sound characteristically increased gradually building to a livelier tempo, higher intensity and denser sound. As street musicians had no dance, their music had little if any such variations. A *mganga's* song of spirit invocation was also never accompanied by dance. Like the street musicians, the performer sang and played the musical instrument (*uta*) seated. Any temporal or density changes here were not comparable to those in *kilumi* or CCR rituals. The axis of *climaxing dance versus absence of dance* becomes another factor in the similarities and differences setting CCR and Kamba music apart from that of the street musicians.

Some CCR music was performed during prayer time, thus setting it into competition with noisy sounds. This partly stemmed from the fact that music is itself seen as prayer in CCR rituals. As music ministers sang slow choruses, the improvised prayer line of the minister with pitches and rhythms that resonated well with other existing sounds created polyphony or polyrhythm. I mentioned that the presiding minister against the backdrop of slow choruses often sounded like a rapper. While Akamba and street musicians always had song accompanied by musical instrument(s), CCR sometimes performed a capella choral repetitions of phrases with the leading minister spontaneously creating a freely flowing prayer, thus sometimes creating a vocal polyrhythmic sound. CCR blending of *music and chaotic sounds versus 'just music'* in Kamba and street contexts is, thus, the other factor of differentiation in the Kenyan healing music.

This factor vastly distinguishes CCR music from that of the street musicians or Akamba. While songs were viewed as prayers, prayers also often assumed aesthetically meaningful sound patterns, narrowing the gap between prayer sound and music. In fact even if the ministers saw their prayers just as such, it can be contemplated that prayers served musical aims with or without the leaders' realization. Music ministers were louder in the beginning, until a healing minister took over in prayer as the music subsided. The healing minister would be overpowered by a gently rising but inconsistent mass of sounds. Finally the music gradually got louder as prayer and noisy sounds slowly faded out (see figure 11). The prayers and trance sounds created variations that for me were desirable in fact, seeing that repeated choruses could be monotonous. Such variations only existed in CCR and were totally absent in other contexts.

In contrast to the CCR's smooth connection between individual songs, *kilumi* songs were stopped by a possessed dancer rather unpredictably. Or should I say harshly? Besides, a song was performed to appease a particular spirit, and so absence of particular possessees meant certain songs would not be performed at a particular *kilumi* function. *Kilumi* was characterized by numerous songs that were not connected to each other at all. The onset of a new song could mean a totally new rhythm and meter, melody, dancer, dance dress or costumes, and so on. Smooth transitions between songs were observed in CCR and street music, where tribute was paid to only one entity variously referred to as God, Holy Spirit, or Jesus Christ. The significance of this to music is shown through CCR and street music's *smooth transitions versus inevitable disconnection of songs* in Kamba performances.

In CCR the question how songs are interlinked was of special interest. Because people 'approached' God in the single ritual, there was a need to 'journey' together under the direction of ministers. The experience of music was collective; and temporal and intensity changes were also communicative signals. The complete ritual (see figure 23) had a fast-slow-fast format. When music changed from fast to slow, people understood they were entering a prayer session; they gradually abandoned singing and started prayers leaving the singing to music ministers. At this time the music gradually became softer

and slower and could be inaudible in the presence of loud prayer or trance sounds. A change in music from slow to fast meant that a prayer session was coming to its end. Prayers were therefore concluded and the participants gradually joined in music making. Among Akamba music followed directions of a single possessed dancer, while among street musicians, temporal variations, which corresponded with changes in intensity, were either absent or had no similar communicative purposes for performers.

CCR members and street musicians had many aspects of Westernization in their music. Not only did they have such instruments as guitars and keyboards, but the songs were in major keys, and tended towards Western harmony played as chords on guitars and keyboards or harmonized as alto and tenor parts in the band. Gatune played harmonica following the inevitable parallels of thirds and perfect fourth at the end of melodies. Akamba had *mwase* drums and *uta* in *kilumi* and spirit invocation rituals respectively. They commonly used pentatonic scales and never had western harmony. The absence of Western music ideals therefore set apart Kamba music from that of CCR and street musicians.[335] Westernization in Kenyan music is a result of a multiple of factors, of which Western education and religion are part.[336] By examining the levels of education reached by interviewees, it is clear the more educated favored Western instruments. Kamba healers had extremely low if any education, and thus their preference to traditional lifestyle. The *embrace of Western music ideals versus the retention of Kenyan indigenous ones* factored in the differences and similarities of Kenyan healing music.

Lastly there was a constant factor in Kamba music: the obligatory use of *mwase* drums in *kilumi*. Akamba believed that without *mwase* there could be no *kilumi*. In fact *mwase* drums were also called *kilumi* by a number of interviewees. *Kilumi* therefore differed from CCR and street music as its sound was distinctively more rhythmic. Since there appeared to have been a need for intensity and density dynamism in rituals related to trance, *kilumi* music was often polyrhythmic while CCR music and prayers tended more

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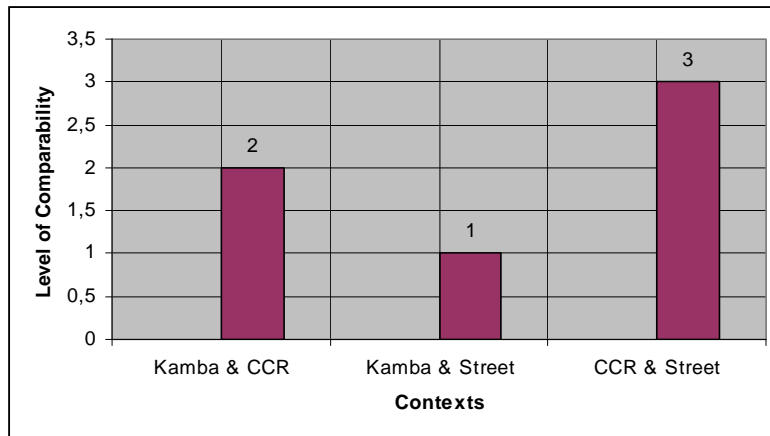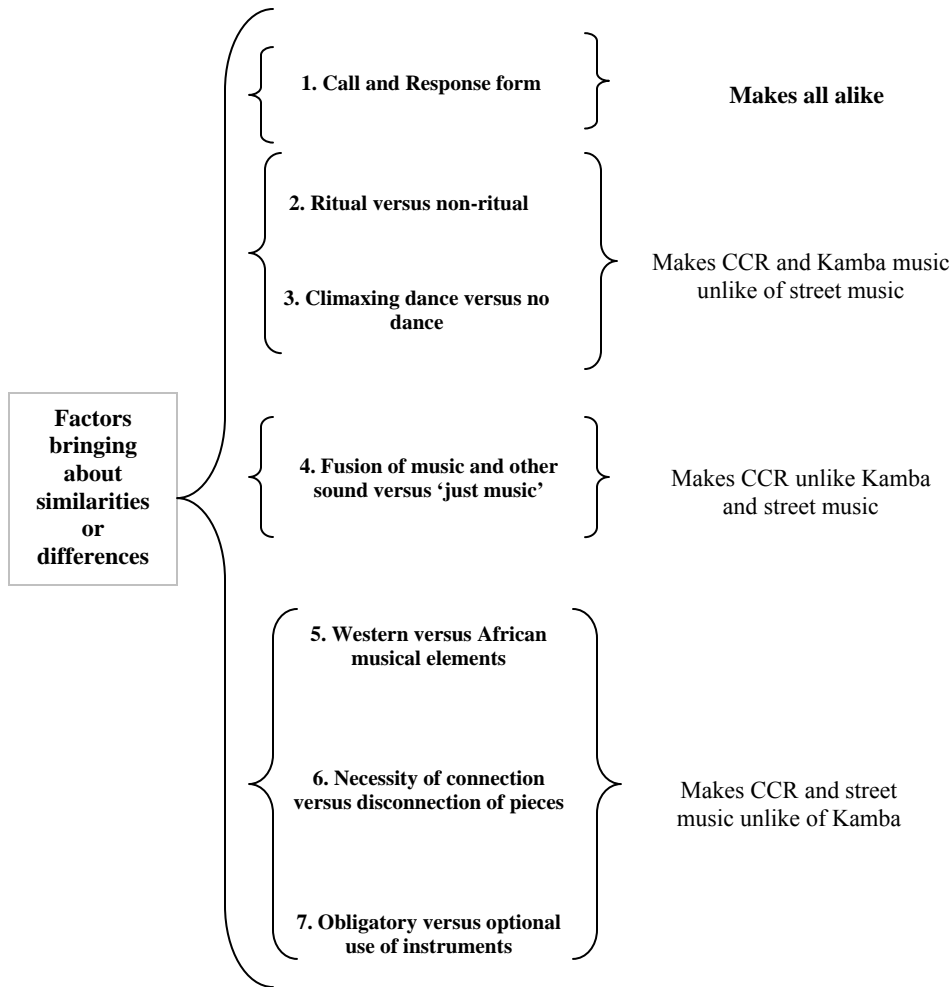[335] I mentioned that Harmonica was played in *kilumi*, but it was used like a whistle, as it was not moved around the mouth to produce different pitches.

[336] Peter Cooke ("East Africa: An Introduction", 1998, p. 598) rightly points out that change in religious practices affected traditional music and dance. On their part, Christian missionaries introduced harmonized hymns to cultures where monophonic singing was prevalent.

towards polyphonic texture. The presence of polyrhythm and polyphony, however, appeared to depend on whether *kilumi's* master drummer and CCR's healing minister were skilled and interested in it. Street musicians, particularly in the bands, had both drums and melodic instruments, but were not interested in invoking trance behavior. *Optional use of varied instruments* in CCR and street *versus obligatory use of mwase drums* among the Kamba bears implications. Music that was not bound to use of a particular instruments had possibilities for variety. While we find numerous instruments on the street, CCR music was often purely vocal, yet effective owing to their manner of performing it.

In figure 24, it is clear that comparability of musical sound in CCR and street contexts is highest at level 3 (drawing from 3 factors) followed by that of music of CCR and Kamba at level 2 (drawing from 2 factors). Comparability of Kamba and street music is lowest at level 1. Kamba and CCR music drew similarities from the fact that their performances were rituals (2) in which people contacted spirits, and music was often designed to provide for a climaxing dance (3). Kamba and street music differs from that of CCR in that it was not merged with sounds like prayer and trance noises that for CCR were part of the overall sound fabric (4). CCR and street music had Western music features (5), had sets of songs performed without breaks (6), and did not have to use particular musical instruments (7). In other words other than that all the performances had the call and response forms, i.e. ||: A B :||, there were no commonalities in all the three contexts.

Figure 24: What Brings Similarities and Differences in Musical Sounds?

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                    ┌─ 1. Call and Response form ─┐      Makes all alike
                    │                              │
                    │
                    │  ┌─ 2. Ritual versus non-ritual ─┐
                    │  │                                 │   Makes CCR and Kamba music
                    │  │  3. Climaxing dance versus no   │       unlike of street music
                    │  └──────── dance ─────────────────┘
Factors             │
bringing    ────────┤  ┌─ 4. Fusion of music and other ─┐   Makes CCR unlike Kamba
about               │  └── sound versus 'just music' ───┘       and street music
similarities        │
or                  │  ┌─ 5. Western versus African ─┐
differences         │  │        musical elements      │
                    │  │                              │
                    │  │  6. Necessity of connection  │    Makes CCR and street
                    │  │  versus disconnection of pieces│      music unlike of Kamba
                    │  │                              │
                    │  └─ 7. Obligatory versus optional ┘
                    │         use of instruments
                    └
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It needs to be reiterated that healing music could not just be of any kind. There was great sensitivity to particular features, even if the features were context bound. For Akamba particular melodies and rhythms were used to appease each spirit. Besides, *mwase* drums

were mandatory in all cases. When a *mganga* invoked spirits at a healing session, s/he played a musical bow, *uta,* while singing. In CCR the melodies and rhythms were never rigid, and usually several songs were performed in a single healing ritual. But there was a need to ensure smooth connections between adjacent songs, though significant melodic, rhythmic and temporal changes were made. In CCR music could be songs a cappella, melodies with instrumental accompaniment, or repeated recitations. In all cases the song leader or presiding minister introduced varying patterned sounds, and prayers intensified to a level where music almost faded out in the presence of the other sounds. Street music was much more varied and unrestricted in style. Instruments included drums, guitars, keyboards, shakers, and harmonica. Melodies and rhythms changed, but like in CCR the interlinking of songs by bands occasioned some songs to be performed in keys that were not the most suitable in order to ensure a set performance without breaks.

So, can we describe the distinctive nature of Kenyan healing music? In order to discuss this further, I will briefly mention general features of Kenyan traditional and church music based on existing literature.

Zake lists general features of Kenyan traditional music are as follows: 1) the frequent but not exclusive use of pentatonic scale 2) mostly sang in unison 3) rich in rhythm 4) applying solo-response patterns, and 5) in climaxing performances *accelerando.*[337] *Kilumi* displayed all these features, but not for performances of a *mganga* which did not involve dancing. And according to Kavyu[338] *kilumi* is not the only Kamba dance supported by drum rhythms. But most of the other dances have become less popular. Named after the accompanying drums, the other dances include *kyaa, ngoma, ngutha*, and *mbalya,* and *mukanda*. But unlike most African music making functions, the

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[337] Zake, *Folk Music of Kenya,* 2000, p. 2-11.

[338] Kavyu (*Introduction to Kamba Music*, 1977) suggest *kilumi* was formerly a dance to satisfy one spirit *lala*, a rain god, who was later called *kathambi* and the accompanying drum was called *kithembe*. *Kilumi* of today appears to be what he (*Drum Music of Akamba*, 1986, p. 57) described as *mwase*. But *mwase,* which he says replaced *ngoma,* an older name for the dance, remains the name of the accompanying drum. This drum does not look like *mukanda,* which he says was often used in *kilumi* to appease *kathambi*. In *mwase* dance, he says, people appeased *maimu*, the human spirits. *Lala* was mentioned by one interviewee as a dangerous spirit that needs to be driven away in a polite way. *Kilumi* today is probably a dance for satisfying both human spirits *maimu,* and spirits such as *lala*/*kathambi* that may also possess humans.

waganga's spirit invocation performances were not social functions, had no motor activity (dance) that needed support of specific rhythms, and were performed by solo musicians.[339] These performances were not mandatory as *kilumi* dance was, since *waganga* could do without having to sing each time they invoked spirits. It is reasonable to say that *kilumi* was the main form of Kamba healing music. Looking at the features of *kilumi* against those suggested by people like Zake and Kavyu, the only notable difference is the obligatory use of *mwase* drums in *kilumi*. But that is a weak distinction as other drums have been used in dances across the country and particularly by Akamba.

In CCR, we need to first note that the most well known songs in catholic churches are those used in Holy Masses.[340] CCR healing rituals are not part of the Mass. Nor is the music similar. The repertoire from which a set of songs is made consists of numerous popular religious songs such as those popularized through the media.[341] But how they are performed makes it possible for participants to adopt various (solemn versus lively) moods, and to begin their loud prayers in the presence of music and end with lively dance music. Many churches, as well as CCR, talk of 'praise and worship' to refer to music preceding and following group prayers (usually done loudly by everyone). Here, worship is made up of selected songs in the fast-slow-fast formula, at times with music fully stopping in the middle of the ritual and restarting before the end of prayers. Thus, healing music, being a selection from popular religious songs, is clearly not distinct from other existing forms of Kenyan music, except merely in the manner of performance.

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[339] This is an example of what Joseph Nketia refers to when he says there is African traditional music that is not linked to dance or drama in Africa (see *The Music of Africa*, 1974, p. 206). Referring to the music linked to dance and drama as more prevalent he says*:* "music that is frequently integrated with dance is bound to emphasize and develop those features that can be articulated in body movement, or to relate its form and content to the structural and dramatic requirements of the dance".

[340] Christopher Klein (*Messkompositionen in Afrika*, 1990) studied some of the African Mass compositions, which portray the African composers as having adopted European style of composition. The popular Catholic hymnal *Kitabu cha Nyimbo: Tumshangilie Bwana*, contains a number of popular Masses in Kiswahili language, and other liturgy songs popular in Kenya, which also show that European style of hymn composition was largely adopted by catholic musicians in the region. To date, however, it seems there is increasing usage of African idioms in mass compositions.

[341] Kidula (*Sing and Shine: Popular Religious Music in Kenya*, 1998) has extensively discussed how the genre of popular religious music was developed through television programs. Many of these songs, which are performed with much enthusiasm in worship, are used in numerous churches including CCR.

Lastly, like the CCR members, street musicians also performed well known songs. Indeed some of their songs were known to me from my childhood. There was nothing special about the way they were performed on the streets and the presence of guitars and keyboards shows that the musicians attempted to reproduce popular gospels songs, even though few street musicians composed their own songs as well.

Figure 25: Key Issues on Kenya Healing Music
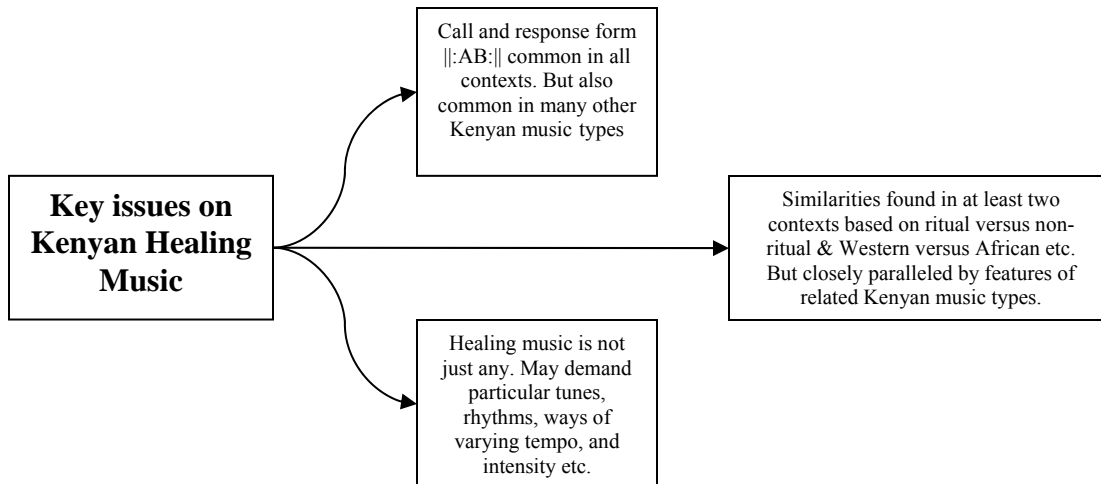
In conclusion there are three key observations as shown in figure 25. Firstly, other than the call and response form that applied in all healing music discussed, there are no other features shared between Kamba, CCR and street music. This call and response repeated form ‖: A B: ‖ is common in other types of Kenyan music and cannot be termed a unique feature of Kenyan healing music. Secondly, the other features that were shared in at least two contexts (see figure 24) have parallels in Kenyan music at least from related contexts. That is why one finds neither shared distinctive features of healing music in these contexts nor reliable similarities for the exclusive characterization of it. Thirdly, healing music is not just of any kind. It may demand things such as: particular melodies, rhythms or musical instruments, definite patterns in its temporal, density and intensity changes, textual limitations, smooth connection or total disconnection of pieces, etc.

5.1.4 SPIRITUALITY

It has been mentioned that music is not the sole determinant of healing outcomes in the discussed contexts. The key non-musical factors in the three contexts can be subsumed under spirituality. Spirituality is closely related to religion, though lately the two have been separated. Some people practice spirituality but do not subscribe to any religion, and this is increasingly getting popular worldwide. In Kenya it seems spirituality is intertwined with religion. Spirituality includes undertakings of individuals which are not demanded by a religion that one follows but which are individualized ways of fostering relations with supernatural beings. Thus I find it expedient to discuss spirituality and religion as a unit. I shall henceforth refer to both as spirituality, the core issue being that both concern themselves with matters of the spirit. I begin by looking at how man-spirit relationships are explained and nurtured, and how such relations play a part in healing.

In the case of Akamba, spirits of late relatives initiate a crisis, forcing one to perform *kilumi* dance seasonally. But once spirits are satisfied, they offer *waganga* certain extraordinary healing powers whenever they are invoked. Invocation means asking the spirits to enter their bodies and control their behavior. Thus one becomes a different being; a foreign spirit is hosted by a human body. Ndaa co-operates with the spirits of her late sister Nzambi, her brother Malonza, and a stranger, Askari, among others. Mina works with that sister who had mysteriously offered the ill-fated ostrich egg, as well as foreign Maasai and Giriama spirits. Mbwika's late maternal grandfather, Asumani, is believed to drum through him. Causing illnesses to Ndaa, Mina or Mbwika is merely the spirit's way of demanding an offering. Because *waganga* know how often they are required to host *kilumi*, they can avoid being afflicted by such spirits. Before a *mganga* becomes ill, his/her inability to invoke the spirits in order to treat customers serves as a warning sign. In short, the healing spirits, which may also cause illness, are *of late relatives or other deceased humans*.[342] The so-called nature spirits, such as *lala/kathambi*

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[342] African scholars in the area of African Religions (for example, Samuel Kibicho, "African Religions", 1990; Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition,* 1973; and Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religions*, 1992) indicate that spirits are not perceived in ATRs as gods, and most ATRs are in fact monotheistic contrary to what many early Western anthropologists wrote. On ATRs Sir Samwel Becker's

the rain god, may also possess or trouble an individual, in which case the spirit is exorcised through music and ritual offerings.[343]

The CCR situation is different. First it is worthy noting that ministers had spiritual charisms which appear to effect healing. Such charisms are not commercialized. They are offered to a few believers as spiritual gifts, to promote faith and to glorify God. When CCR ministers led in healing prayers, they asked the Holy Spirit to descend upon the people and heal them. They commanded evil spirits to leave in the name of Jesus, often also addressing God as father. At times they asked Mary the mother of Jesus and the saints to pray for them, for example by reciting the popular 'Hail Mary', though this never happened at the time the Spirit was asked to descend in a dramatic way, but either before or after it, when all people seemed in the usual consciousness state. Thus, in CCR performance of healing, prayers and songs were addressed to *Jesus, Holy Spirit, or God the father*, and certainly abilities ascribed to some ministers were a key variable.

To be healed in CCR a patient also needs faith as much as the healing minister does. Although the ministers who led in prayers for healing often saw themselves as having additional obligations,[344] all Christians are expected to obey God's commands, cultivate personal relationships with Him, and pray for healing. That is why evangelism, teaching and testimonies were always given ample time. Christians believe that all men shall face judgment at the end of time; and one's actions would determine whether s/he finds eternal joy in heaven or suffering in hell. Street musicians subscribe to this Christian religious system. Like in CCR their songs were sang to the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, or God the Father. Let us now look at these belief systems side by side.

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misconceived notion that ATRs had no idea of Supreme Being, idolatry, or even superstition, was framed in words that very well matches William Bosman's 'new and accurate' description of music in West Africa (*A new and accurate description of the coast of Guinea, divided into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory Coasts,* 1967), both reflecting the prevalent racial prejudices of their time.

[343] Kavyu (*An Introduction to Kamba Music*, 1977, p. 47-53) describes *kilumi* as a dance meant to appease *lala*, the rain god, and described *mwase* as the dance for appeasing human spirits such as those of *waganga*. Although *lala* was mentioned as a problematic spirit, interviewees did not suggest there is another separate religious healing dance at this time.

[344] Ministers often did lengthy prayer and fasting in retreat centers or camps. For example Philip and Catherine fasted for three weeks at Immanuel Prayer and Fasting Center in Machakos.

Figure 26: The Religious Systems (Christian versus ATRs)
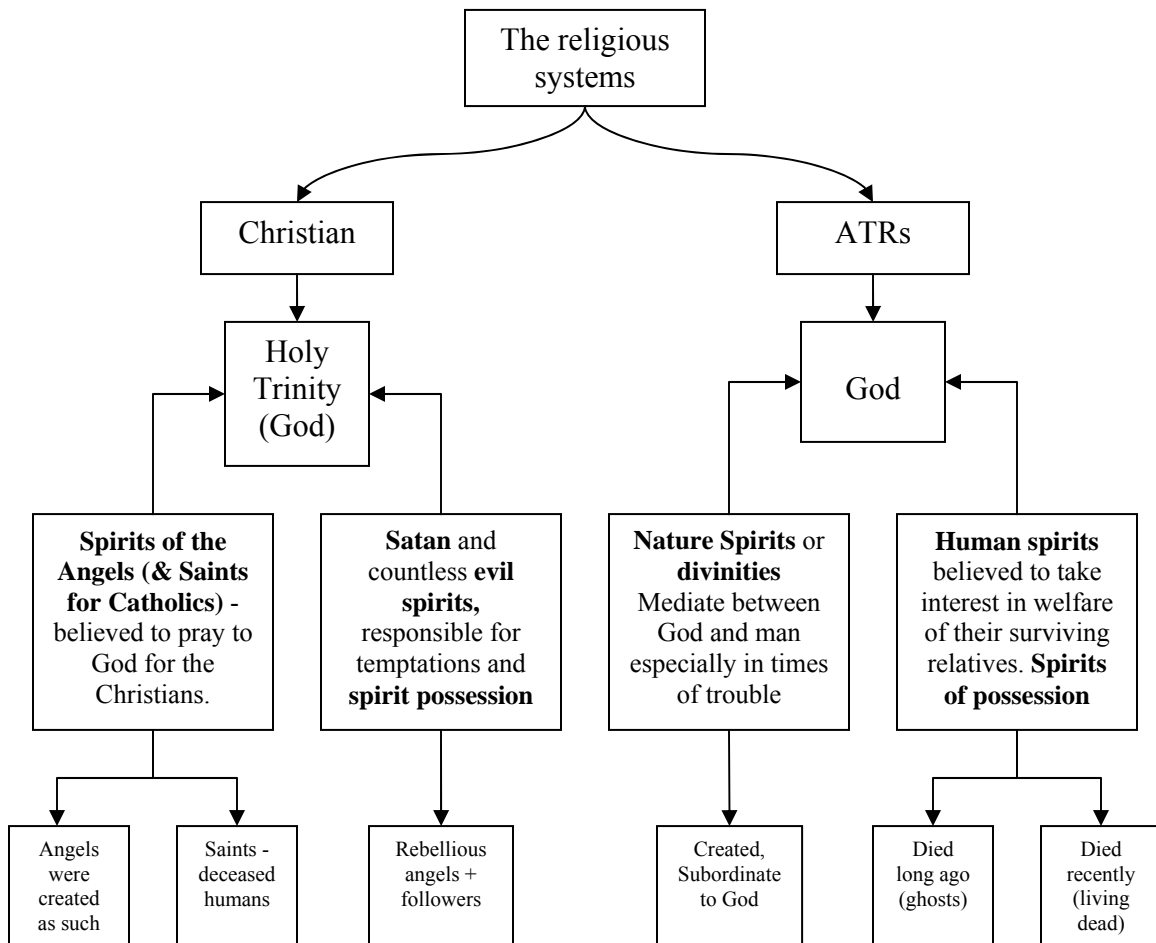
In figure 26, I present a view of God and spirits in African Traditional Religions (ATRs) discussed by a well known scholar in that field, Mbiti,[345] and my own view of Christian beliefs based on biblical literature,[346] to place the two systems abreast for comparison.

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[345] Mbiti (*Introduction to African Religions*, 1992) has extensively dealt with this subject in an all Africa inclusive manner. Although human spirits are contacted more frequently by healers, people could approach God directly (p. 173) or through divinities. Offerings are done to divinities, as it is often believed God does not need them, and the divinities then forward the requests to God on behalf of people (p .66).

[346] Angels are mentioned many times in the bible, with archangels Gabriel and Michael being mentioned by name as God's messenger (*Holy Bible,* Daniel 8: 16, & Luke 1:19) and defeater of Satan respectively (*Holy Bible,* Jude 9). That there are Saints who stay in the presence of God is disputed among Christians, but Catholics believe that people of great faith that after thorough scrutiny are canonized as Saints, stay in heaven, and may intercede for Christians. Frequently 'saint' is used in the bible to refer to believers who are living (*Holy Bible*, 2 Corinthians 9:1), and many protestant denominations emphasize that, denying that beings that were once human, could be in heaven or can intercede for the living. That Satan was created and remains subordinate to God is shown through the story of Job, where Satan is said to have asked for permission to tempt Job, who is portrayed as a man great faith (*Holy Bible*, Job 1: 6-12).

Comparison exposes that:

1) In each case there is one overall authority, considered as creator and sustainer of life, God.

2) There are spiritual beings between God and man, who may lay requests before God on behalf of men. These are nature spirits or divinities in ATRs, and angels and Saints in Catholic faith. In both cases these are not worshipped, but sacrifices (in the case of Catholics veneration or devotion) may be offered to them.

3) There are malicious spirits, who may harm humans. These are called evil spirits by Christians, while in ATRs there is no division between good and bad spirits. In Africa spirits were believed to act towards a person according to the nature of relationship established. They act well (are benevolent) when pleased, and badly (are malevolent) when displeased.

4) While benevolent spirits are believed to heal in ATRs, angels and Saints do not heal on their own. As Kamba people contact spirits on matters related to illness, they appear to minimize their contact with God, who is called to deal with catastrophic or other more serious community problems. Like ATRs' nature spirits, angels and Saints in Catholic faith may contact God on behalf of people.

5) In ATRs there is no such thing as the Christian heaven or hell; the dead become spirits (*living dead* and later ghosts). Few spirits reincarnate, in which case a child may be named after a dead person.[347]

Beliefs factor in healing. First looking at how exorcism is carried out, we note that in CCR "evil spirits" are commanded to leave in the name of Jesus, while in ATRs malevolent spirits are politely asked to leave. Katulu, who was *ngui* at the *kilumi* function of Mulundi, said that she would offer 7 cents to a 'dangerous' spirit, before striking the ground just above the head and below the feet of the affected person. The person, who would normally be slain by a spirit, would then rise and walk. In CCR ministers shouted commands to evil spirits for example saying: "I command you to leave now in the name of Jesus…come out! come out now!…go under the foot of Jesus's cross… leave now!".

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[347] This was the case with Munalo who said (3e) "I was born my grandmother", who was also a great *ngui*.

In both cases when a spirit leaves, and if it was the cause of a problem, this outwardly appears as a supernatural cure.[348]

The other way in which spirituality affects healing applies to CCR members and street musicians. It stems from the belief that there shall be eternal life for the righteous, and punishment for evil doers at the end of time. One may opt to place more importance to the future, neglecting earthly life. This thinking implies that suffering is better than good living, for earthly comfort may distract one from cultivating faith in God. Thus a brutal husband in CCR may be seen as Satan's tool of temptation to a believing wife, who may want to 'shame Satan' by showing even more love to her husband. Similarly because eternal life is of utmost value, street musicians may be satisfied once they feel they have a good relationship with God, having found grounds to ignore the corrupted earthly life. Religious beliefs thus appear to influence health positively. At least they minimize the impact of life stressors for many.

Across the world spirituality and religion have had a place in health care for millennia, and despite the fact that science has eradicated myths used to explain illness, they still have a place today. Stories paralleling that of Akamba are in many anthropological records, under shamanism or spirit possession. Such practices, like religious rituals from Kenya, always suggest co-operation between humans and external spirits. In the current era of rapid advancement in science and technology, there is a great temptation to describe these practices as terribly archaic, but I would fear for that path unless we first deal in a scientific way with the obscurity of spirit and its effects on man.

In the West practices such as shamanism and spirit possession have been largely discarded, but a less socialized practice of spirituality appears to be growing.[349] This spirituality is certainly a comeback of religion, which because of the many changes that have occurred, finds itself adjusting. By emancipating from dogmas without denying

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[348] We saw this in CCR through the case of Gaiciumia, the girl who miraculously walked after prayers of deliverance were conducted at Isiolo, though for the previous one year she only lay down.

[349] Kasayka ("A Spiritual Orientation to the Bonny Method: To Walk the Mystical Path on Practical Feet", 2002, p. 257) talks about a "spiritual revolution" currently taking place in our society. Unlike older spirituality, the new form cannot be contained in dogmas, it has taken individualized forms.

individuals the opportunity of nurturing relations with the supernatural, spirituality gives a 'voice' to the people. Religion may be described as a 'dictatorship', where spirituality is a 'democracy'. Since we are in an era of popularization of democracy, it does not come out as a surprise that religion is also being 'democratized' somewhat. Aldridge, who examines spirituality and religion from literature related to Western medicine, describes spirituality as individual, ineffable, and implicit, and religion as social, spoken and explicit.[350] Unlike spirituality, religion is a socio-cultural practice which imparts rules that may guide societies into harmonious living.[351] Spirituality, which includes all personalized spiritual experiences that may relate to spirits, is valued to some extent, in healing, despite the fact that psychotherapy has taken its place in the Western world.[352]

Spirituality appears to be of a growing interest among music therapists. Aldridge advocates for a pluralistic approach to healing, saying that there are people who understand health, illness, recovery and treatment in spiritual, as well as physical, psychological and social terms.[353] Healing is not just about curing, but finding "peace and reconciliation" in illness; even in dying. And music therapist Amir[354] thanks the 10th Music Therapy World Congress organizing committee for recognizing and bringing spirituality as one of the key areas central to global music therapy of the 21st century. She says that "opens the door and gives permission to people to talk and write about spirituality in music therapy". She must be saying music therapists had been, or possibly still are, under pressure not to speak about spirituality. This may be construable given that religious dogmas were largely rejected since Enlightenment, after which the West may have overreacted to the infamous church's centuries-old autocracy of the dark ages. As the area of psychotherapy utilizing music, music therapy first delinked itself from

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[350] David Aldridge, "Music Therapy and Spirituality", 2006, p. 163.

[351] David Aldridge (*Spirituality Healing and Medicine*, 2000, p. 57) observes "Religions have traditionally offered a cultural system for daily living, offering resources for discovering meaning and purpose, stabilizing communities and maintaining identity". He points out that religious rules instill appropriate social conduct, and dietary prohibitions related to tribal hygiene. For him, "Religious is used as an operationalization, or an outward manifestation of 'spirituality" (p. 164).

[352] Frommer & Rennie ("Introduction", 2006, p. 3) point out that, in the West, psychotherapy has taken up the place of the clergy in earlier times. Psychotherapy is not popular in Kenya today. This is perhaps one reason as to why spirituality and religion are very important healing practices.

[353] Aldridge, *Spirituality Healing and Medicine*, 2000, p. 10.

[354] Dorit Amir, "Spiritual Music Therapy: Opening Ourselves to the Mysterious Qualities of Music Therapy", 2002.

spirituality perhaps to dissociate itself with objectionable religious beliefs. But now spirituality is openly talked about in music therapy.[355] Authors, though, suggest a kind of spirituality that is different from what I have been discussing; spirituality that does not lead to expectations of everlasting life or miraculous cures.

In the worldview of Africans spirituality is at the centre of human existence. Although years have passed, Mbiti's[356] observation that "Africans are notoriously religious" seems true today. Religion influences all aspects of life even as several religious systems now coexist.

Practices of healing become worthless after they are superseded by superior methods. Science appears to have made the most in matters of body and mind, but is yet to grasp the spirit. Scientific methods appear to have limitations when it comes to the problem of spirit, and some people may assume that this is a non-issue. That spirituality has no scientific basis does not warrant its disregard as long as it serves people in a positive way. I suppose we need to embrace science as well as spirituality, although for some it might not 'sound' good to return to Pythagoras for counsel.[357] Pythagoras is not just reported to have taught his followers to receive 'with an open mind reports of the supernatural events', but is said to have performed miracles explained as actions of divinity. Truly it is the haunting curiosity about meaning of life and death that has sustained an interest in spirituality, the sophistication of modern science and technology notwithstanding. But occurrence of spiritual healing or miracles challenges us, in the same vein, to inquire about the nature of spirit, and paranormal healing linked to it. Centuries of scolding without rejection of spirituality affirm its ebb and flow in human life. Having endured harsh rationalistic forces, spirituality now appears poised for a much longer stay.

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[355] Kasayka ("A Spiritual Orientation to the Bonny Method: To Walk the Mystical Path on Practical Feet", 2002, p. 257-270) has discussed spirituality in GIM. Holligan & Marr, Borling & Borling, Beck, Clark & Kasayka have developed different 'paths' in which music as the prime factor supports spiritual growth in GIM.
[356] Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2002, p. 1.
[357] Strohmeier & Westbrook (*Divine Harmony: The Life and Teaching of Pythagoras*, 1999) have extensively discussed Pythagoras. He is portrayed as a scientist, mathematician, and miracle worker or magician. As a magician or miracle worker he is, for instance, said to have accurately predicted earthquakes among other things. According to the authors, Pythagoras maintained "men of piety continually receive messages from the gods if they but attune themselves to their calling".

5.1.5 ALTERED CONSCIOUSNESS

Musical sound and spirituality are the decisive variables in all healing practices discussed. I will now turn to effects of music in these spiritual events that are crucial factors in healing. These are altered consciousness and emotions. Healing often takes place when healing specialists and/or patients are in altered states of consciousness (ASC). Otherwise, ASC and emotions play a significant role in bringing about catharsis in people who are largely conscious. We shall now look at altered consciousness.

Talking about altered consciousness necessitates that we mention the other levels of consciousness: the conscious and unconscious. We are conscious if we can perceive things around us, and unconscious if we, conversely, cannot. We know that in any person consciousness is dynamic. We may look conscious, yet many things pass before us as we daydream. Other times we may seem unconscious when we are to a certain extent conscious. So unconsciousness, consciousness, and altered consciousness are states that keep alternating in each of us. Unlike the other two, altered consciousness is a level of awareness that is difficult to delineate.[358] Let us start with some examples.

In the Kamba context, Mbwika described a time he occasionally suffered fits like an epileptic. A *mganga* would help him to 'wake up', or a song was performed and he would 'resurrect'. Is it not being suggested that during such fits he was aware that song was performed? In the peculiar sleep-like trance, he still could perceive music. Such perception of selected stimuli in an otherwise unconscious state will be termed here as *elevated unconsciousness*. Like every other *mganga*, Mbwika now invites a spirit, Asumani, to enter into his body whenever he treats patients. At such times his consciousness is elevated to a level above the normal, so that he 'sees' beyond the

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[358] Berry et al (*Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 2002, p. 109) describe altered states of consciousness (ASC) as the generic name for mystic experiences, meditation, hypnosis, trance and possession. They mention that ASC differs from usual states in 1) alteration of thinking, 2) disturbance of time sense, 3) loss of control, 4) change in emotional expression, 5) change of body image, 6) perceptual distortions, 7) Change of meaning or significance (heightened significance to subjective experience), 8) sense of the ineffable, 9) feelings of rejuvenation, 10) hyper-suggestibility.

visible. In that state *waganga* may diagnose the cause of disease and suggest possible solutions. At *kilumi* functions they also enter this state, when they give up their bodies for the spirits to dance in. But, asked which song most was exciting after dance, *waganga* differed with Mina Mwanzia only in their choice of words. Mina could not remember anything let alone choose the best song. It was her late grandmother that had danced, not her, she said. When dancing she was in the *elevated unconsciousness* state, though she appeared conscious and excited.

The case of CCR is a bit more complicated. Different people experience dissimilar kinds of altered consciousness in the same environment and time. On their part, ministers recognized issues bothering participants that they did not know at the time of healing. One time John announced that two women and one man would have crises resolved at Isiolo. I became interested in the testimonies that were to follow. The story of Mburung'a was my final result. Such ministers identified participants by age group and sex, stating their problems, and saying that God was healing them. But testimonies did not always validate their statements, though cases like that of Mburung'a often did. Similar to the *waganga* situation, this kind of altered consciousness elevates one's level to above what is termed as conscious. This ability is associated with the "gifts of the Holy Spirit," including glossolalia, which was also common. The experience does not disable *usual consciousness,* which also helped ministers to be pragmatic, but supplemented their perceptive capability. As conscious and pragmatic, they helped those who fell down to lie down more comfortably, for example. Altered consciousness in this case is shown through *elevated consciousness* along with *usual consciousness*.

The ministers had a much more controlled kind of altered consciousness. Other participants had experiences whose outward manifestations varied extensively. For some it was sleep-like trance. A girl who had been involved with a *mganga* even attempted to hide under the tables at the Isiolo retreat. The ministers later said that the spirits of the *mganga* had affected her, and did not want her freed. It took the ministers several hours to solve her problem. I saw other two people performing ecstatic dances without regard to

the slow music that was performed by music ministers then.[359] So there were people apparently 'lost' into imaginary worlds. Inwardly, but not always, there were images or memories evoked. One man claimed he saw extraordinarily bright light when the Eucharist was passed close to him, and believed he had 'met the Lord'. In 2001 I met a lady who said she saw a white robbed angel-like figure resting briefly over the head of each person who was present. And one man said that he heard a voice declare that he had been healed of ulcers, which happened later in reality.[360] So altered consciousness may have to do with images, whether they are visual, audio, or both combined; when an image is that which is not perceptible to other people in the environment. Let me call this experience *image consciousness*.

Lastly looking at the street musicians we get a new picture of altered consciousness; one that we also may easily experience in normal living. Outwardly, anything resembling trance was not possible here, unlike in the other two contexts. Altered consciousness in this case, relates to changing degrees of awareness of their problems and not just of the environment around them. When singing, they seemed cheerful and much less worried than when we talked at the interviews. Interviews appeared to invoke memories of realities they tried to mentally suppress. Definitely they were aware of everything taking place around them on the streets, thus we should by all means be talking about some form of consciousness here. I said already that altered consciousness may exist in tandem with usual consciousness. This happens here, when aesthetic or spiritual experiences momentarily obstruct likely reactions to known harsh realities. Altered consciousness is thus *suppressed consciousness* of certain realities.

In conclusion, altered consciousness includes varied levels of perception as shown in figure 27. The entranced, who saw no images and could not perceive anything at all, may be said to have had *usual unconsciousness*. At a higher level, we have those who could

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[359] One of the two was a woman. She first made a lot of noise, moved around pointlessly (appeared to disturb others), and later after a minister prayed over her, she became less noisy. Still with her yes closed, she went slowly to the front while still dancing, knelt down and bowed severally before returning to her position.

[360] I reported this earlier after a research carried out in 2001-2002 (Kigunda, *The Place of Music in the Catholic Charismatic Ritual Healing*, 2002).

perceive certain real things but not others, like music in Mbwika's case, (*elevated unconsciousness*), and, those who perceived non-existent things such as images in CCR rituals (*image consciousness*). At the second highest level, we have either those who attempted to disregard realities, of which they were conscious, by taking their attention elsewhere (*suppressed consciousness*), or those who were in the normal state (*usual consciousness*). Notice that this *usual consciousness* is not necessarily usual, because perceptive levels may practically overlap, like in the case of CCR ministers. Finally we have people who could perceive what we normally cannot perceive (*elevated consciousness*) which I see as the highest level of perception, given that it is not restricted to the use of senses.

Figure 27: Perception in ASC
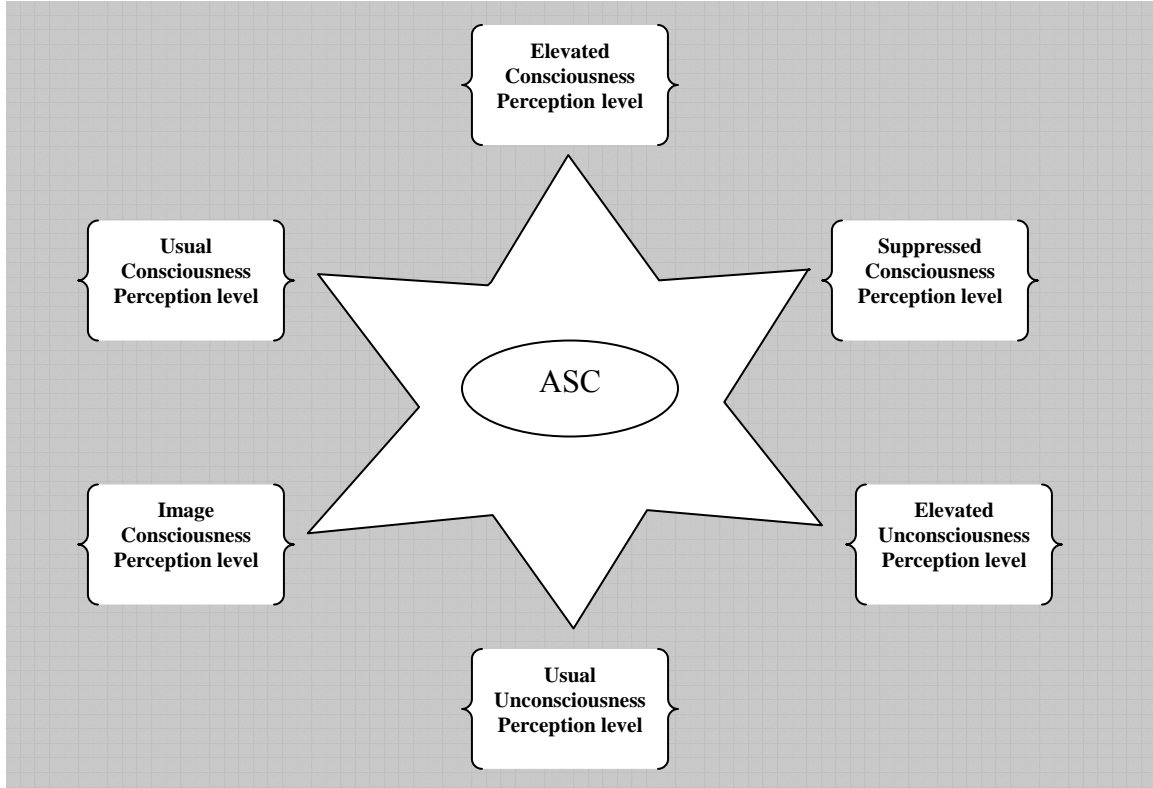
Altered state of consciousness (ASC), thus, can be defined in a general way as a transitory state of extension or deviation from the conscious and unconscious. An extension, when an ASC does not debar consciousness or unconsciousness; and deviation, when it debars them. In other words, someone in an ASC may be conscious or unconscious, except that s/he moreover is conscious at another level at the same time.

Those who could perceive things in their environment, as well as those outside, have extensions to consciousness. An example is a CCR minister. Those who perceived nothing other than selected things in the environment have extensions to the unconscious. We have the case of Mbwika, who could perceive music and consequently 'resurrect'. A case of a deviation from the conscious and unconscious is say a CCR member who perceives nothing in the immediate environment, but perceives meaningful images. At *kilumi,* a *mganga* is also a case of deviation, for once possessed they do not perceive whatever is around them, but they could perceive what is not perceptible for others.

The meaningfulness of ASC in healing is clear. Firstly, it is in this state that healers claim to have special powers to conduct healing using verbal and physical gestures. They exorcize dangerous spirits, neutralize powers of evil magic, and even heal some natural diseases. This happened in CCR and Kamba contexts. Secondly, for the street musicians, some probably suffered less emotionally at the time of *suppressed consciousness*, when their attention was drawn from stressful realities and taken to exciting aesthetic experiences. Momentary though this seems it is noteworthy for us since it has to do with ASC. Thirdly, in the case of CCR, perceived images had some significance, as some believed they had 'met the Lord' and their problems would be eliminated. These experiences created a noteworthy sensitivity that could have people changing their lifestyles for better health, say in the case of addicts who often came from such experiences with willpower to change. Finally *elevated unconsciousness* supported healing somewhat. Because Mbwika could perceive music when in possession fits, he 'resurrected' when it was performed. Had he not been able to perceive it, he surely would not have 'resurrected'.

In discussing altered consciousness, I have taken a phenomenological approach, and adapted terminologies I believe represent occurrences in the specified contexts. Consciousness has been an area of interest among psychologists. The area, though, faces problems since verbal reports need to be trusted as a source of valid information, at least to some degree. This has been objectionable among psychologists, who regard only what

is observable or, at least, can be mutually shared.[361] While psychology may have problems here, we, in musicology and anthropology have learnt to respect the spoken words in research, and may therefore have fewer problems trusting them. But psychologists have taken the responsibility of guiding us into study of consciousness,[362] and their apparently unresolved issues aside,[363] it is reasonable for us to briefly pay tribute to their work. But first we note that only because some of them have regarded all behavior – observable or considered to exist through an individual's statement – acceptable for study, has there been increasing literature on the subject.

Psychology has shown that studying consciousness is a complicated task. Apparently there are two main schools of thought. Looking at my findings, I fear for the school that sees consciousness from a materialistic perspective. My concern arises from the fact that consciousness, as shown through my discussions, goes beyond what can be explained to perplexing subjective experiences. I would agree with Chalmers[364] that experience cannot be construed by merely explaining mechanisms enabling functions such as memory or thought to take place. From my standpoint a phenomenological view of altered consciousness is suggested, of course, but I think facts from phenomenological and materialistic or objective points of view should be correlated for a superior view of consciousness.[365]

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[361] Wallace & Fischer (*Consciousness and Behavior*, 1999, p. 1-2) suggest that rigid methods have been a problem in behavior psychology, and cognitive psychology could be getting more popularity for its less rigid methods of data collection.

[362] Psychology of consciousness has been more intensely devoted to this (William Farthing, *The Psychology of Consciousness*, 1992).

[363] The problem of so-called explanatory gap or *hard* problem (David Chalmers, "Facing Up to the Problem of Consciousness", 1997, p. 9) relating to the connection between the mind and body is a cause of disagreements among cognitive psychologists. While one school holds that consciousness is material and can be understood through science, others believe that only part of it can be understood in a scientific way, and the other part remains more of a mystery (Valerie Hardcastle, "The Why of Consciousness: A Non-Issue for Materialists", 1997, p. 61).

[364] Chalmers ("Facing Up to the Problem of Consciousness", 1997, p. 11-13) believes that there are *easy* and *hard* problems of consciousness. For him, *easy* problems concern explanation of cognitive abilities and functions. The *hard* problems are about experience, which cannot be explained, at least not with the existing methods in cognitive psychology.

[365] Let us look at this example. The use of Electroencephalograph (EEG) to record electrical activity in the brain is materialistic. It shows that wave frequencies increase as we get more conscious (John Andreassi, *Psychophysiology* (3rd Edition) 1995, p. 22-23). Beta waves (β = over 13 Hz) are present when we are in the alert state; alpha waves (α = 8-13 Hz) when we are in relaxed and less focused states; theta waves (Φ = 4-8 Hz) when we are drowsy (near sleep or waking up); and delta waves (δ = below 4 Hz) when we are

Altered states may be classified broadly under: those occurring naturally and those induced (for the reason that ASC are apparently more pleasurable than the waking state).[366] Psychologists Wallace & Fisher have classified ASC as follows: 1) drug-altered states; 2) hypnosis; 3) biofeedback; 4) meditation; 5) daydreaming; 6) sensory deprivation; 7) sleeping; and 8) paranormal experiences. Induced altered states have been found meaningful in healing and therapy among psychologists. They have been used in pain control, treatment of phobias and sexual dysfunctions, enhancing memory, treatments of headache and asthma and numerous other ways.[367] It is understandable that paranormal experiences, such as extrasensory perception, psychokinesis, out-of-body experiences, near-death experiences and psychic (faith) healing would be a problematic area in psychology, the problem being that they are difficult to investigate through existing scientific methods.

In Kenya I discuss such paranormal experiences, when I touch on the collaboration of man and spirits/God, and apparently only the music-spirit axis accounts for ASC

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asleep or unconscious. This is crucial for psychologists because there are ways of increasing particular waves in the brain, if that helps patients feel better. For example drumming has been suggested by psychotherapist Robert Friedman (*The Healing Power of the Drum*, 2000, p. 89) who writes that drumming heals by inducing a state of inner peace, and increasing alpha waves, which are associated with well-being and euphoria. Melinda Maxfield ("The Journey of the Drum", 1992, p. 140) also found out that drumming, at 4 – 4.5 beats per second was effective in inducing theta waves in seven out of twelve experiment subjects, though the degree varied from person to person. Such findings may be correlated with those from phenomenological sources, even if not in every aspect. For example it has been suggested that trance and near-death experiences, occurrences often described in phenomenological language, take place when alpha or theta brain waves respectively prevail (Jörg Fachner, "Music and Altered Consciousness States: An Overview", 2006, p. 35; Maas & Strubelt, "Polyrhythms Supporting a Pharmacotherapy" 2006, p. 119). But can such objective realities explain, say, occurrence of images in CCR? We may be able to attribute occurrence of such images to specific brain waves, but it may be hard to say why the presence of the waves does not necessarily bring them about. Experience, thus, remains the complex area in the study of consciousness. I believe a materialistic view neither fully explains consciousness nor stops our curiosity concerning experience as a significant part of it. Of course, those who support a materialistic perspective may continue to hold a position like that of Hardcastle ("The Why of Consciousness: A Non-Issue for Materialists", 1997, p. 67) who writes that materialists explain what consciousness is in current scientific frameworks, and the explanatory gap is not their failure since they seek satisfy those who agree with the rules, not anyone.

[366] Wallace & Fischer, *Consciousness and Behavior*, 1999, p. 13.
[367] Wallace & Fischer (*Consciousness and Behavior*, 1999) have discussed in detail how each of this brings about altered states of consciousness, its psychological implications and therapeutic relevance.

induction.[368] CCR healing had elements of hypnosis. In many retreats, people in the so-called mood of prayer, in which they seemed highly hypnotizable, were asked to do various things. For instance there were healing performances in which the 'spirit of joy' was asked to 'descend' and people were asked to be happy. Many people then laughed uncontrollably. I know someone who could not stop the laughter even after we left the hall and went to bed in a dormitory.[369] He had to be prayed over the following day, because his 'spirit of joy' became uncontrollable. This, it was said, enabled the sad to be joyful, after having given their troubles to Jesus.

Looking at ASC in psychology and in these more natural occurrences in CCR, I believe that while the so-called "Holy Spirit" may cause some unusual occurrences when it descends, certain forms of ASC also produce an effect that is deceptive. The experience of altered states might be assumed to be a mystical occurrence when it actually is not. It may be hypnosis, for instance, but since hypnosis is not a common occurrence outside this context, people may think they have had an encounter with God, when the experience is merely an effect of hypnotizing music and sound. That does not, however, reduce its importance in healing, as people may, say, stop addictions and manage stress much better convinced that God would miraculously enable them to succeed, while this in fact is fundamentally a psychological strengthening of the willpower to do so.

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[368] Drugs have been used in some African traditions for ASC induction. For example Maas & Strubelt's ("Polyrhythms Supporting a Pharmacotherapy" 2006, p. 101-124) account on use of ibogaine drug together with polyrhythmic sounds to bring about near-death experiences, among the Mitsogho people of Gabon, sounds a unique and interesting story. They suggest that polyrhythmic music increases the effects of the drug that could be dangerous if consumed in large quantities, and the experience leads to healing of serious mental and psychosomatic illnesses. They attribute this to induction of theta waves by both the ibogaine drug and polyrhythmic sound.

[369] This happened in the year 2000. I was not doing research, but was a curious participant.

5.1.6 EMOTIONS

It needs to be reiterated that altered consciousness and emotions are the key effects resulting from music making and spirituality that engender healing in all the Kenyan contexts. Both can materialize in usual daily life, but they can also be induced. In our cases they are induced through music. They both have physiological effects which may be objectively examined. Emotions often show outwardly through facial musculature, and effects associated with the adrenaline hormone including faster heart beat, higher blood pressure, and deeper breathing. Unlike altered states, emotions often create sharply contrasted effects. Indeed, some are associated with ill-health while others are associated with healing. Emotion as ill-health was discussed earlier (section 5.2), and I will not return to the details at this point. Before we look at emotions in the actual healing performances, I need to mention that emotions appear to be a very problematic subject here, basically because they are juxtaposed with altered consciousness.[370] The juxtaposition of emotion with ASC brings up many complex issues, including whether emotions are truly emotions or should be termed non-emotions. Let me start by identifying the most essential element of emotion in each context below.

In the case of Akamba, Mina and Ndaa looked joyous whenever possessed, while Mbwika looked sad. Other dancers similarly expressed different emotions, mostly also joy or sadness, even if the tempo always accelerated as a dance approached its end. So a livelier dance does not mean a joyous mood or occurrence of positive emotions for the dancer. Notably emotions do not change. A joyous dancer remained joyous throughout a session, and a sad one looked sad throughout, although observers were almost always cheerful. On the contrary, when a *mganga* invokes healing powers, emotions appear to change dramatically as shown in the case of Ndaa. But interviewed, the possessed could not describe their feelings afterwards, which is why we may not have fair grounds to describe them as emotions. In either case the most significant issue here is that emotions were *facially expressed*, but were *verbally inexpressible* by the possessed.

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[370] Berry et al (*Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 2002 p. 109) observe that during ASC sensations, cognitive processes and emotions are changed. But they do not say how this happens.
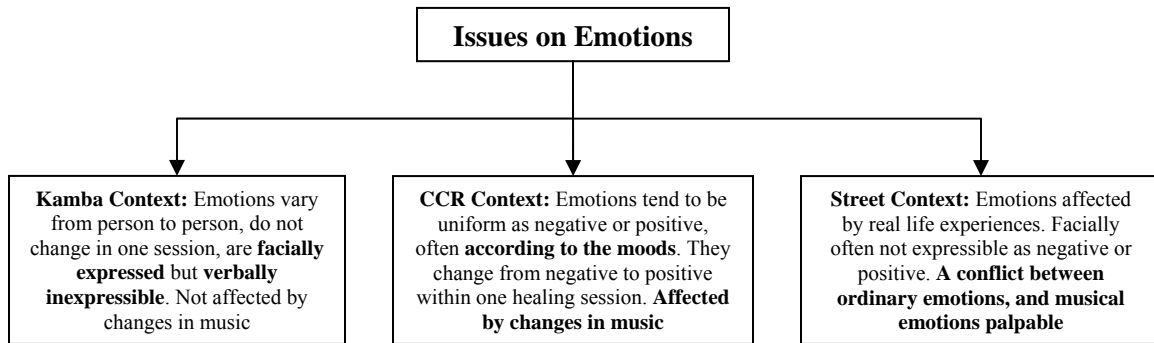
Emotions in CCR were predictable and often verbally and facially expressible as people gave testimonies of healing. In fact CCR healing looked like a premeditated process of evoking negative emotions in a solemn mood, only to get them gradually replaced by positive ones in a new joyful mood. Emotive feelings were typically invoked through what the ministers said, and many people cried at such times as catharsis seemed evident. Towards the end of a function, music and dance brought about a lively mood, and emotions then turned positive. But there were exceptions. Some people appeared to experience ecstatic joy in solemn moods, when other people actually cried intensely. It has been pointed out, for instance, that some people privately danced to unsung music. In CCR, emotions appeared to play a far more significant role than in other contexts described. Here we have a *calculated manipulation of moods often affecting emotions.* This was evidenced by the *uniformity* of emotions that were positive whenever the mood was joyous and negative whenever the mood was solemn, albeit with few exceptions.

The case of street musicians was different from the other two. Emotions did not appear as predominantly negative or positive. Sometimes they seemed joyous while singing, but this was not sustained over a long time. Other times some seemed either sad or just fatigued. Typically, though, they appeared in a neutral mood and facially expressed no readable emotions. At interviews some said music was their way of dealing with negative emotions, especially anxiety. If we look at this reflectively the *neutrality,* seems a product of the *conflict between positive and negative emotions*. The negative being an outcome of real life experiences, and the positive drawing from the aesthetic and spiritual.

Key issues on the emotions in these three contexts are summarized in figure 28, which shows select aspects of emotion which I think are meaningful for our reflection.

Figure 28: Main Considerations on Emotions

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Issues on Emotions │
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| **Kamba Context:** Emotions vary from person to person, do not change in one session, are **facially expressed** but **verbally inexpressible**. Not affected by changes in music | **CCR Context:** Emotions tend to be uniform as negative or positive, often **according to the moods**. They change from negative to positive within one healing session. **Affected by changes in music** | **Street Context:** Emotions affected by real life experiences. Facially often not expressible as negative or positive. **A conflict between ordinary emotions, and musical emotions palpable** |

Psychologists see emotion basically as a motivator. By definition "Emotion is a complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural/hormonal systems, which can (a) give rise to affective experiences such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; (b) generate cognitive processes such as perceptually relevant effects, appraisals, labeling processes; (c) activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and (d) lead to behavior that is often, but not always, expressive, goal directed, and adaptive".[371] Izard[372], who describes emotion first as phenomenological, neurophysiologic, and neuromuscular, regards motivation as a second key element of emotion, as another leading emotion psychologist, Lazarus, locates motivation at the centre of the Cognitive-Motivation-Relational theory. But there is a newer model by Ulich & Mayring[373] in Germany, which lays more emphasis not on such universal and motivation oriented views, but on 'being touched' in a personal way. It needs to be pointed out that emotion as 'being touched' personally would for us be more attractive, since emotions serve the function of facilitating catharsis and not motivation.

Although some psychologists think that music merely creates moods and does not induce true emotions[374], psychology of music, as well as music therapy, has shown that musical

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[371] Kleinginna & Kleinginna, quoted in Sloboda & Juslin, "Psychological Perspectives on Music and Emotion", 2001, p. 75.

[372] Carroll Izard, *Die Emotionen des Menschen*, 1994, p. 67.

[373] Ulich & Mayring, *Psychology der Emotionen*, 1992.

[374] Leonard Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, 1956, p. 7. Sloboda & Juslin ("Psychological Perspectives on Music and Emotion" p. 81) note that this problem is linked to the belief that musical emotions are less important than other emotions. In the past few scientists considered musical emotions worthy of study, but it seems, as Sloboda & Juslin have noted, that there is currently an increasing interest, among music scientists, in music and emotions.

emotions are powerful and essential in therapy and healing. These emotions differ in some ways from the ordinary ones.[375] Basically they do not serve as motivators in the same way as ordinary emotions do, and this has in fact been an issue of reflection among music therapists. Music therapy researcher Wosch[376] finds Ulich & Mayring's view of emotion as 'being touched' to be more appropriate for Regulative Music Therapy and Guided Imagery and Music, than the universal motivation oriented view articulated by people like Izard. Emotion as 'being touched' is what I also find pertinent, and this appears to agree with musical emotions in healing and therapy by and large, and to contrast somewhat with motivation oriented views more suited for other emotions.

In connection with the problem of ordinary versus musical emotions, I may point out that street musicians appear to consciously invoke the latter to counter the effects of the former. For anybody unsure of meeting basic needs, experience of anxiety would be comprehensible. Just how well musical emotions are able to counter the effects of ordinary ones is what we may in fact be talking about here. Apparently the musical emotions have a treasured relieving effect, but this dies out as soon as memories of realities about actual life resurface. I say this because even if expressions of joy were evident say as Shombe led in singing, he seemed rather sad when we talked about how he earned his living, when he said unprovoked that no one likes to be a beggar.

One of the major concerns in psychology of music is whether music parameters such as rhythm, tempo, harmony, tonality, intensity, and pitch could be manipulated to evoke particular emotions in people. How people respond to music depends of course on cultural and personal dispositions. But there has been indication that music can induce particular emotions, and as Hevner found out,[377] mode and tempo have the strongest

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[375] After pointing out that musical affecting experiences differ from affective experiences in response to other stimulus situations, Meyer (*Emotion and Meaning in Music*, 1956) uses the psychological theory of emotions to explain occurrence of musical emotions, which he calls musical affective experiences. With reference to the psychological theory of emotions, he writes, "…that emotion is evoked when a tendency to respond is inhibited, is a general proposition relevant to human psychology in all realms of experience" (p. 22).

[376] Thomas Wosch, "Emotionspsychologie und ihre Bedeutung bei Regulativer Musiktherapie (RMT) und Guided Imagery and Music nach Helen Bonny (GIM)" 2004, p. 233-252.

[377] Annemiek Vink, "Music and Emotion - Living Apart Together: A Relationship between Music Psychology and Music Therapy", 2001, p. 145.

impact on emotions. In more recent research, tempo and rhythm have been found to be the most significant factors in inducing musical emotions. In a list of parameters used by music therapists in decoding basic emotions in a brief study, Bunt & Pavlicevic[378] give the first place to tempo and rhythm. Notably in reference to happiness and sadness, which we have frequently mentioned in our contexts, they suggest a fast/lively and slow tempo respectively. This is also the case in the CCR context, where fast tempo and rhythm evoked positive emotions (often joy) at the time of dance, while slow tempo marked the time for negative emotions (often sadness) where dance was missing.

An issue of concern among music therapists is whether induced emotions are shared between a therapist and client. Looking at how emotions affected musical interaction between therapists and clients, Wosch[379] found out that emotions are sometimes shared between a therapist and client, and, the person who experienced anger usually led while the other followed. In our contexts sharing of the musical emotions was common but did not always happen. Sometimes the possessed dancers performed a very lively dance while expressing tense negative feelings, as *ngui* and other musicians as well as observers ululated with intense excitement and joy. Other dancers appeared to share the joy of the observers at such times. However, as I later learnt, this happened not because they wanted to, but because a possessing spirit showed itself always in that emotion or mood. In CCR, moods tended to shape emotions for most people. For instance at a time for negative emotions it was hard, but not impossible, to find someone looking joyous. These remarks draw from my examination of facial expressions. Such facial expressions were largely missing in the case of street musicians. But at interviews they suggested they felt better performing music, and were sad when it came to how they raised their incomes.

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[378] Bunt & Pavlicevic, "Music and Emotion: Perspectives from Music Therapy", 2001, p. 190.
[379] Thomas Wosch, *Emotionale Mikroprozesse Musikalischer Interaktionen*, 2002.

5.2.0 CONCLUSION

The first objective of this study was to identify music features that indicated that its composition or performance was influenced by an intention to create an atmosphere for healing. It was clear that music was affected through its being applied in healing practices. A spirit in the Kamba context went as far as necessitating use of a musical instrument or artifact from the tribe of its origin. In CCR smooth connection between songs [through a cautious alteration of tempo, intensity and often common keys] controlled moods. The exclusive performance of gospel music, expressing hopes, beliefs and aspirations of the street performers, is another indicator that music suffers for being composed, selected or performed to create a healing space. While the localized levels showed clear requirements for healing music, at a general level I was unable to find similarities in musical sound in all the three contexts, except for call and response or the ||: A B: || form. But literature suggests that this is common in Kenyan music generally. Thus, no particular features are exclusively attributable to just Kenyan healing music from the selected contexts.

The second objective of the study was to identify non-musical factors with a valued role in the performances. Here, we have in effect relationships between man and supernatural beings that can perform healing. This is clear in the Kamba context where a *mganga,* after having appeased spirits, is enabled to heal, and in CCR where God, who heals using human ministers as instruments, is pleased through devotion, faith and music. Once spirits are appeased through music, devotion and faith, they heal through, and are expected to show favor to, particular devotees. Spirituality is clear also in the denouncing of earthly desires with aspirations for life everlasting among street musicians. Although there are differences in how relations between men and spirits are fostered in the three contexts, we have subsumed all pursuits under spirituality which concerns matters of the spirit generally. Spirituality covers most of what remains outside of music and sound, in the healing functions from all the contexts.

My third objective was to identify valuable changes that took place among participants. Although I have talked of numerous individual cases of healing, it does not seem that this is more substantial than to expound on their mediation by ASC and emotions. It is much less important to say Mutua was healed of a skin disease after a night ritual of a *mganga* than to say that a *mganga* needs to get into an ASC to conduct healing. This is because Mutua's case was just one among numerous cases the *mganga* must have treated. Similarly, it is much less important to say Mburung'a forgave his son at a retreat, than to say that evocation of negative emotions and their eventual replacement with positive ones influenced the experience of catharsis in CCR healing. Many others experienced cathartic effects, though exemplified just through Mburung'a's case. Although numerous particular cases of healing were mentioned, in this chapter it needed to be said that ASC and to a lesser degree of commonality emotions, were the effects engendered by music and spirituality whose impact must be highly regarded in all contexts described.

In my sub title, I refer to ASC as juxtaposed with emotions. Juxtaposition has to do with positioning of two different things side by side. ASC and emotions are definitely distinct things, and none can be subsumed under the other. Analysis shows that each of them had a unique place in healing procedures, and they featured in each of the contexts described. In the performances, either some people experienced altered consciousness while others experienced emotions at the same place and time, or individuals experienced both: they expressed emotions but in altered consciousness states. It was accordingly clear that altered consciousness and emotions shared time and space, and they interacted and influenced each other in dynamic ways. A remarkable product of this interaction in the case of Akamba is that *kilumi* dancers who appeared intensely emotional could not verbally describe their experience as such. I dwell not much on emotions, but I notice that popular definitions in psychology regard facial expression of emotions. With respect to the experience of possessed dancers, emotion psychologists need to consider that either facial expressions do not connote experience of emotions in certain forms of altered consciousness states, or emotions cannot at all times be recollected and/or verbally expressed. In the Kamba context this verbal inexpressiveness is exclusively a product of emotions' being experienced in altered consciousness states.

Ultimately it can be said that spirituality influences the relationship between music and health in all the Kenyan contexts. As suggested through the Kamba case, this relationship appears to have a very long history, one that does not relate to the coming of foreigners to Africa. But it is now continuing to dynamically change and shape itself in the midst of competing forces like Christianity versus ATRs, and African versus Western music cultures. Indeed I suppose music-healing relations speak volumes about the typical life of Kenyan – perhaps generally African – people. By and large, one frequently faces the question of whether to adopt something foreign or regard something traditional. Since I met people who said they sought help from *waganga* though they were Catholics, I am tempted to believe that people do not respect the differences between the two religious or cultural belief systems when they seek solutions to problems or make personal decisions.

I will later look at musical and musicological implications separately below, so let me now briefly mention what I surmise about the future of music-health relations in Kenya. Although traditional practices such as that of Akamba may continue long into the future, they are highly at risk of extinction because they are associated largely with lifestyles people now appear to be departing from. For instance, Mbwika's dropping from school at an early age is not something many people would find well, as for many Kenyans, education has become a means to a more attractive lifestyle. Another issue is the coming up of Christian movements that emphasize supernatural healing through miracles. As we can see looking at catholic charismatics, these movements have a way of thinking about music-spirit healing that is comparable to the African traditional one. As problems related to spirits and witches, which were traditionally left for *waganga*, are now solved in Christian ministries, traditional healing rituals appear to face a tough survival battle.

Establishment of professional music therapy in Kenya seems imminent. As all these contexts suggest, music is commonly perceived to be a healing agent in partnership with a spirituality of one sort or another. Of course spirituality is problematic especially where people have mixed belief systems, and in fact our three contexts do not necessarily represent the thinking of all Kenyan people. But music therapy may need to inform itself of the existing music-spirituality healing axis, from which it may philosophically draw.

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Music therapy, as evidenced by the various existing methods around the world, works in careful regard of people's way of thinking about the cosmos, about music, and about themselves. Although spirituality has been much less valued in Western music therapy, and even if it might present a problem for those who regard values that may be explained rationally, it seems palpable for a pragmatic music therapy in Kenya's case.

There is certainly a desire to unite the practices of music therapy worldwide, while spiritual practices incorporating music have so far been left out. Is it because music therapists believe these religious events are less beneficial in healing? Not quite. It is more about preserving their identity as scientists rather than doubting its meaningfulness in healing. We need to decide whether to take a more scientific or pragmatic direction. To incorporate spirituality in music therapy might be to weaken its scientific basis, but it might in some cases represent a much more pragmatic approach. Scientific methods need to be dynamic as well. As shown through our findings, spirituality takes very dissimilar forms in Kenya. To accept it would be to limit applicability of a professional practice to only a certain category of people. That is the problem. But at any rate, I suppose music therapy would better be developed with particular categories of people in mind.

5.3.0 MUSICOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A number of musical and musicological concerns will be broached at this point. To start with, music is perceived either as universal or as a culturally situated practice. The universal viewpoint focuses narrowly on music – as ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl puts it – as a "kind of sound", whereas situated concepts may include context contingent non-sonic properties such as dance, costumes, ritual or drama, and poetry.[380] For a musicologist whose conception of music is universalistic and/or structural,[381] the notion of music may contrast with that of other people. This is what happens when I see CCR sound, which was a blend of music, prayer and trance noises, as a musical improvisation. The contrast between my position and that of CCR members is further evident when I perceive a minister's prayer, which moves in free rhythm and contrasts with repeated uniform phrases of other participants, as music, portraying the minister as a rapper.

Secondly, even though this remains debatable, music is a human practice. This is propounded both by staunch formalists such as Hanslick[382], who describes music as a pure creation of the human spirit without prototypes in nature, and ethnomusicologists such as Blacking[383], who attach great importance to sociological elements of music. Thus, music is often defined as a *humanly* organized and pleasant sound form.[384] The CCR sounds described above were in fact just that: humanly and pleasant – indeed

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[380] Bruno Nettl, (*The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 2005) who discusses universals and non-universals in music in his 4&5 of 31 issues and concepts, says that "music as merely a kind of sound is a basis of operations too narrow for acceptance by ethnomusicologists" (p. 23). Although he recognizes that there are musical animal sounds, he points out that music is essentially human but varies in nature (p. 56-57).

[381] In the structural view rhythm, melody and harmony are often cited as the primary levels through which music is organized though things such as volume, dynamics and timbre are considered in formal analysis (Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music*, 1997, p. 309). How tones are organized may be syntactical like words are in language, but as Peter Kivy (*Music Alone*, 1990, p. 8) notes, there is lack of semantics which makes it difficult to describe music as a language.

[382] Eduard Hanslick (*Von Musikalisch Schönen,* 1854) points out that music does not have prototypes in nature (p. 152), from which other arts such as plays, poems, or visual arts are produced. While rhythm can be found in nature, he observes that melody and harmony do not exist in nature and must be created by the human spirit (p. 144).

[383] John Blacking (*How Musical is Man*? 1974, p. 27) illustrates his point with the example of regular engine or pump sound, which the Venda people would not term as music, since it is not produced by humans. For him "music is sound that is organized into socially accepted patterns".

[384] Jean Jacques Nattiez (*Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music,* 1990, p. 47-48) distinguishes music from noise saying: "just as music is whatever people choose to recognize as such, noise is whatever is recognized as disturbing, unpleasant or both"

fascinating – sounds. But they were not created with the understanding that the performers were making music. Must humans make music only consciously? I believe we make a lot of music subconsciously as well, and in fact how we carry out many daily activities is a reflection of musical creativity. The human spirit often notices creatively viable episodes and constructs pleasant sound and motion patterns without our full consciousness. Such is the subconscious creation of musical sound patterns that was common in CCR prayers. As long as these sounds are structurally comparable to what is termed as music, and since they are tonal creations of the human spirit, they may be described as music, the issue of consciousness disregarded. It appears to me that we need to acknowledge that the human spirit does not always need our consciousness to create musical sound; although consciousness is definitely needed in any appreciation of it.

As conscious beings we settle on what beauty is in art guided by different philosophies. Whether we view music through what Hanslick[385] terms intellectual or pathological viewpoints, we need consciousness to enjoy what it offers. Hanslick asserts that aesthetics should be based on the intellectual and not the pathological view common among lay people, who judge music through what it makes them feel. Feelings cannot to be equated to content of music as a structural sound form. Nor should aesthetic judgment, he posits, be based on them. For an observer, *kilumi* may have been a very interesting event, but possessed dancers never described it as such. Should the fact that possessees could not describe their feelings stop us from discussing aesthetics in Kamba possession music? Not quite. Hanslick, concerning himself primarily with Western classical music, finds some support from a rather unexpected context. Possessed performers show how separated music and feelings could be: they had absolutely nothing to say about music induced feelings. From the point of view of possessees, thoughts not centred on feelings must apply in determining what is to be the musically beautiful. Altered consciousness dramatically influences feelings evoked through music. Since in natural life we often get in and out of altered consciousness, above all when listening to music, how could just what music makes us feel really be a basis for the determining of beauty in musical art?

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[385] Hanslick, *Von Musikalisch Schönen,* 1854, p. 120-121.

But surely deliberate manipulation of feelings or moods is one reason why much music is composed, and the reason why songs in CCR were connected in a smooth way. In other words the intention to evoke feelings, which Hanslick reminds us are not the content of music, affects music after all. However, feelings in our cases may be evoked not just by the sound form, but also by textual messages, which may not be taken seriously among formalists such as Hanslick. In fact, most Kenyans maintain that musical meaning is sourced from song texts not things like rhythms, melodies, or harmonies. Although feelings are not the content of music, they cannot be separated from the experience of music in most Kenyan healing contexts. Whilst in *kilumi* feelings evoked through music are imperceptible, in CCR and street musicians we cannot possibly disconnect music from expressible feelings without affecting its applicability in healing a good deal.

Among music professionals who appear to essentially reject autonomy of music are music therapists, who in effect are healers using music. They definitely espouse feelings evoked through music, as well as the sociological aspects of music. Ansdell[386] believes that to do just structural analysis in musicological studies may be likened to "using a folk to eat soup – almost everything of value and significance goes through". Though still valued, structuralism has in recent times been challenged by musicologists who look at how/where music is used, and many writers maintain that music can no longer be an autonomous sonic object. Indeed ethnomusicology and New Musicology's positive stance on sociological aspects of music is viewed more positively in music therapy than traditional musicology that is based on structural analysis of music.[387] Although I discuss Kenyan music at times in structural terms/language (sections 2.3.1, 3.3.1, & 4.3.1), what music means in healing certainly cannot be clear without looking beyond its structural form. This is why it was found important to also examine song texts (sections 2.3.2,

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[386] Gary Ansdell, "Musicology: A Misunderstood Guest in the Music Therapy Feast?", 2001, p. 21
[387] Ansdell ("Musicology: A Misunderstood Guest in the Music Therapy Feast?", 2001, p. 30) cites a number of music therapists, ethnomusicologists, and New Musicologists including Aasgaard ("A Suspiciously Cheerful Lady", 2000), Stige ("Perspectives on Meaning in Music Therapy", 1998), Blacking (*Music, Culture and Experience*, 1995) and McClary ("*Conventional Wisdom*", 2000") to support his assertion that current trends in musicology are opposed to essentialism, on which structuralism is founded, and are in favor of social constructionism, which regards phenomenological and anthropological aspects of music.

3.3.2, & 4.3.2), and describe the socio-cultural environments in which music was made through some observations (sections 2.2, 3.2 & 4.2).

An apperception of music as mystical supports phenomenological approaches in musicology, because it provides the grounds for our examination of music as lived experience rather than merely a structural sound form. Nettl[388] has pointed out that among the universals of music is that "all known cultures accompany religious activity with music". This is an idea also shared by Sarjala[389] who describes some historical connections between religion and music. So there are musicologists and writers who share my belief that there is something mystical in music that lacks in other arts. To characterize music just as an art form does not appear to be satisfactory as it would be in the case of painting or play. And this connection between music and spirituality and/or mysticism is strongly evident in all the Kenyan contexts. The relationship is such that musical sound is directly affected as people apply it to satisfy spiritual needs.

Although every studied context shows the relationship between spirituality and music, we have a noteworthy case in *kilumi* performance. In it, music is performed to satisfy particular spirits. Particular tunes, instruments, costumes, and procedures are strictly followed. Not only could possessed *kilumi* dancers stop music at any point, if the spirit so wished, but specified tunes were performed only for particular possessees. Furthermore, while the explanation given may be mythical, *mwase* drums were obligatory, and so *kilumi* sound was inevitably percussive. Transcribing and analyzing *mwase* rhythms and song melodies, and leaving out facts like *mwase*'s being demanded, gives an incomplete picture of music. This connotes that unless we respect certain contextual elements of music, we may neglect critical aspects of what it means to people. Though these facts are non-musical they are crucial since they tell us why the sound is what it is. *Kilumi* music is predominantly percussive because of the belief that *mwase* is needed to appease spirits.

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[388] Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 2005, p. 46.
[389] Jukka Sarjala, *Music, Morals, and the Body*, 2001, p. 4.

The last issue I need to mention is intra-African influences, which have been a concern for some African musicologists. Kubik[390] has discussed diffusion as the means through which inter-cultural exchanges of musical elements take place. He lists factors such as human migration, contacts between neighboring groups, long distance travel, and the media as possible causes of intra-African influences. How the presence of *kayamba* was explained by Akamba is an incredible illustration of how diffusion could take place. When Mina got possessed by a Giriama spirit, she played *kayamba*, a Giriama instrument mentioned by Kavyu[391] as one indicator of intra-Kenyan influences. The Giriama spirit is expected to like *kayamba*, the instrument/dance from its homeland, and is well appeased through it. If not through examining contextual variables, how would one notice that foreign spirits had the potential to cause such intra-Kenyan influences?

In conclusion, it should be reiterated that to understand music, we need to look at both contextual/sociological as well as structural aspects of it. Music is what scholars think it is, as much as it is what lay people believe it is. Both positions should be considered in musicological research. To create music does not require full consciousness; for there are *kilumi* performers in altered states. But to appreciate music always appeals to our ability to perceive it intellectually or just sensuously. Feelings derived from music are inappropriate as a basis for aesthetic judgment, not only because they cannot be 'read' from the structure of sound itself but they can be affected by altered consciousness profoundly. But it is a reality, once a context is defined, that music may be created and/or performed to evoke feelings that are significant in healing, among other things.

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[390] Gerhard Kubik ("Intra-African Streams of Influence" 1998, p. 296-298) notes that human migration, contacts between neighboring groups, long distance travel, and the media are possible ways through which diffusion takes place. Kamba people used artifacts and instruments from tribes with which they have had contacts including Maasai, Kikuyu, Somali and Giriama.

[391] Paul Kavyu, "Music in Kenya", 1998, p. 625.

5.4.0 SUMMARY

Triangulation was my method of ensuring validity in analysis. Manifestly, triangulation had much more value in this work than I earlier anticipated. I drew several triangles at various stages in the work, and indeed there were numerous instances where I did not construct triangles though its concept [the number three] was inherent. Until the text was complete, I remained unaware that triangle speaks of basics of the whole work. An observation that most key aspects of this work can pretty less laboriously be recollected merely by bringing the sign of a triangle into mind is simply unbelievable. To begin with, the text deals with [three] diverse Kenyan contexts. Kamba healing represents other forms of Kenyan traditional healing, while the CCR case represents Christian ritual healing, and performances of street musicians represent non-ritual healing practices.

My [three] objectives also bespeak of a triangle:

- to identify music features that indicated that/if its composition or performance was influenced by an intention to create an atmosphere of healing,
- to identify non-musical factors with a valued role in the performance of healing,
- to identify particular consequential changes taking place among participants.

The applied phenomenological design evoked the triangle concept early in my exposition of methodology. The [three] applied methods of data gathering were 1) observation, 2) interview and 3) digital recording. In my analysis, the data from these sources was triangulated to promote validity of findings, by ensuring that information sourced from one data source was not an antithesis of that from another. Where no such validation was possible, data from one source only filled certain knowledge gaps making the story more complete and/or comprehensible. The concept of triangle is shown also through my [three] guiding questions in the analysis chapters which were: 1) what necessitates a healing function, 2) what transpires at the function, 3) what are the significant outcomes?

Before outlining the other aspects of the study for which the concept of triangle is pertinent, let me at this point briefly state the essence of healing in each context, to reveal results of analysis at the primary [contextualized] levels.

Any or all of the following characterize what is broadly to be termed as Kamba healing: 1) creation of connections between spirits and humans by *waganga* when there is a need to heal; 2) performing of supernatural acts by spirits, which demand offerings from *waganga* who benefit materially from the occurrence; 3) appeasing spirits in *kilumi* whereby *ngui* lead in singing and drumming while *waganga* give their bodies for spirits to dance in. It is clear that experience of music, whether at *kilumi* or at the ritual where a *mganga* invokes spirits to treat a patient privately, is a significant part of Kamba healing. The necessity of application of specific melodies, musical instruments, and costumes to invoke or appease a specified spirit represent the apogee of music's being influenced positively or negatively once it is applied in healing by Akamba.

In the case of catholic charismatic healing is said to have happened when any or all of the following are manifest: 1) growth of faith in God, forgiveness, and repentance, 2) expression of favor by God, 3) invoking of God's power purposely for healing, 4) performance of sound and physical gestures as the actual means of invoking spiritual powers. Music and sound was organized very cautiously in order to evoke desired emotions and varied forms of altered consciousness states. Music was organized in sets for each session of healing, with the key commonly being unchanged within the session, while tempo, rhythm, intensity and density, either have same patterns in the way they change, or have equivalents so that the final result is that lively dance parts sandwich a solemn prayer part of the ritual when people never danced, and in fact rarely sang.

Lastly for the street musicians healing is: 1) belief in God who promises good life on earth and/or everlasting life, as a source of hope in very challenging circumstances; 2) experience of music whose effect prevents escalation of anxiety to horrendous levels through messages of hope and expectations of better future; 3) being socially appreciated

due to good music performance skills; 4) income earning thus fulfilling of certain basic needs including healthcare, food and housing, minimizing their degree of dependency on others and reducing anxiety. Here music is affected only a little, unless the effect is not sourced from their premeditated use of music to fabricate healing. Different instruments, styles of performance, timbres, etc, were evident, and this does not affect healing. But the musicians performed only gospel music, upholding or reflecting their Christian beliefs, but leaving out possibly impressive music that the passers-by could have enjoyed.

Let me return to the representation of triangle. In all cases ill-health may be [three things] bodily, emotional or spiritual, although my analysis has it clear that emotional, bodily, and spiritual concerns may cause social problems as well. Man is definitely understood as tripartite, with the [three parts] body, mind, and spirit all vulnerable to ill-health effects. Notably, a bodily problem does not need to be sourced from biological causes, nor is a mind problem necessarily a reflection of psychological conflicts. A bodily and mental problem may be spiritual if it is sourced from spiritual influences or witchcraft. The relevance of this is clear when one looks at how healing takes place.

Healing is essentially defined as [three things] elimination of, prevention of, and/or adjustment to ill-health, although my analysis further indicates that it is a life-long process that is so dependent on culture that there are ways of constructing it which do not apply outside a specified cultural context. While psychology and biomedicine promote methods of healing that may apply irrespective on one's cultural background, spiritual methods differ significantly between the Kenyan contexts. For Akamba spirit possession requires regular *kilumi* performances and not exorcism, which is the only solution for CCR members. In all cases, there are problems that were totally eliminated, those to which people adjusted and felt better despite ill-health, and those that were prevented.

At a comparative level, applied music does not show many similarities between contexts. The final product of the discussion on music, which leaves out non-sonic properties, shows the following [three] things: 1) only call and response and/or ||:AB:|| form was found in the music from all the contexts, but it is also common in much of Kenyan music,

2) certain similarities between music from two contexts were noted, and they had clear causal factors and were traceable from other Kenyan music from related non-healing contexts according to existing literature, 3) healing music was not just any; to heal, music needed certain specific characteristics determined in individual contexts.
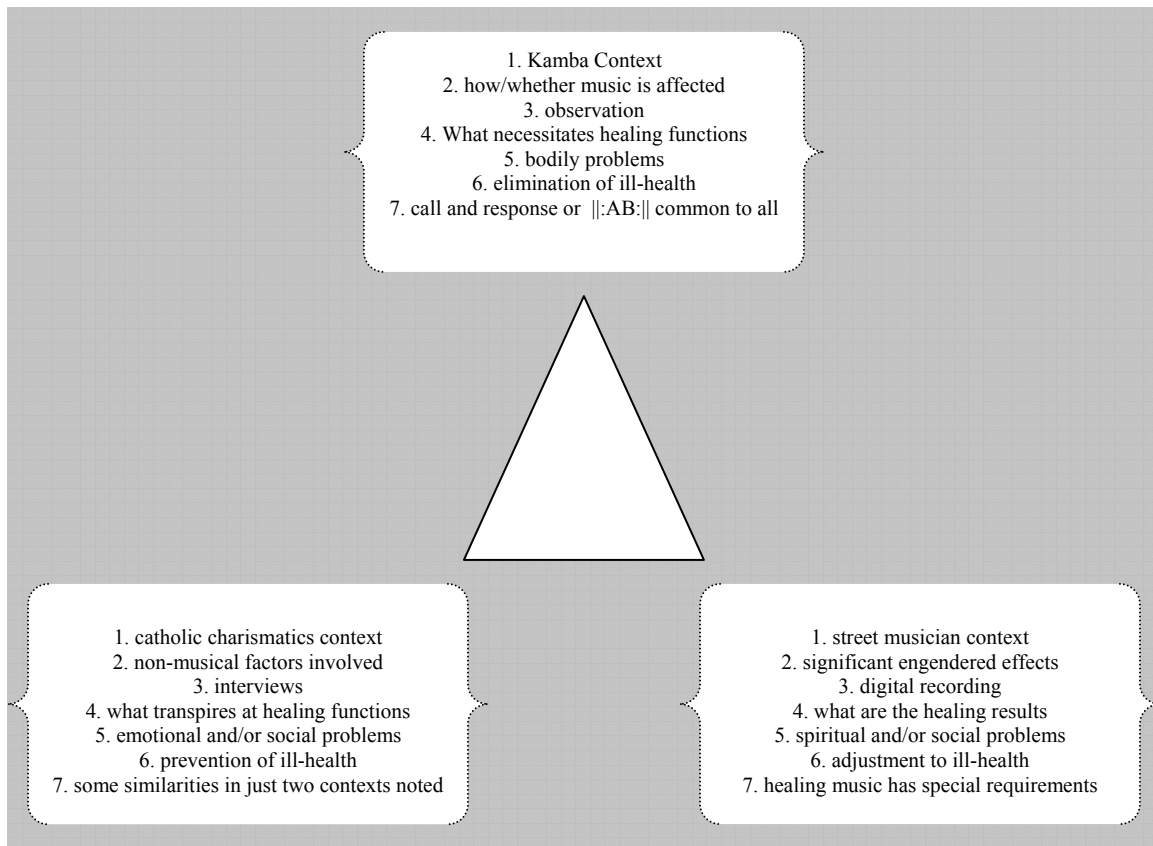
Spirituality was found to be a constant variable in all contexts, although it meant different things to people in different contexts. Relations between men and spiritual beings in Kamba and CCR lead to expectations and experience of supernatural healing made workable through the spirits which demand devotion or sacrifice. Christians, both in CCR and streets, are encouraged by the belief that earthly life would pass away, and a future everlasting life will follow. This encourages hope among those with social, economic, or ill-health challenges, and indeed appears to console or heal many of them.

Music and spirituality engendered altered consciousness and emotions which then facilitated healing in a variety of ways. Either healing ministers or *waganga* acquire extraordinary powers to perceive disease causes and offer solutions once in altered states of consciousness, or both altered consciousness and emotions pacified those in need of healing, so that they felt better at the end of a performance. While ASC were classifiable into six categories according to the perceptive levels manifest in my findings, which all had implications for healing, emotions were rather problematic. Juxtaposition of emotion with altered consciousness finds emotions partly losing part of their essence in Kamba context. We can only be sure we are describing an emotion if those experiencing it tell us what they feel, so that how we see them express it can be seen against their reports. That is not possible for the possessed among Akamba. After possession no reports can be presented, since posssessees have amnesia at every instance of possession.

There are therefore at least seven aspects for which the triangle symbol helps us to recollect something pretty meaningful about the study. These aspects range from those that speak of the number of contexts of my research, objectives, methodology, and even some results. The figure below represents these aspects.

Figure 29: Triangle and Recollection of Study Aspects

1. Kamba Context
2. how/whether music is affected
3. observation
4. What necessitates healing functions
5. bodily problems
6. elimination of ill-health
7. call and response or ‖:AB:‖ common to all

1. catholic charismatics context
2. non-musical factors involved
3. interviews
4. what transpires at healing functions
5. emotional and/or social problems
6. prevention of ill-health
7. some similarities in just two contexts noted

1. street musician context
2. significant engendered effects
3. digital recording
4. what are the healing results
5. spiritual and/or social problems
6. adjustment to ill-health
7. healing music has special requirements

In figure 29, same numbers indicate the aspects of study that correspond, from different edges of the triangle. Number 1 for example, refers to contexts as either that of Akamba, catholic charismatics, or street musicians. Number 2 is about the three objectives of the study pertaining to music and non-music factors, as well as significant therapeutic or healing effects. Number 3 & 4 have to do with methodology. Data was collected through observation, interviews, or audio recording, and analyzed with the guiding questions shown at number 4. Number 5 refers to categories of ill-health definitely also portraying man as tripartite, with each part vulnerable to ill-health. Number 6 is about dimensions of healing as either: elimination of, prevention of, or adjustment to ill-health problems. Finally number 7 shows final answers to the question of music at a general level. The call and response or ‖:AB:‖ form was common to all the music, and healing music needed special qualities which depend on the context and cannot be generalized.

GLOSSARY

Akamba – Eastern Bantu ethnic group speaking Kamba language and staying mainly in Eastern province of Kenya.

Buibui or *ivuavui* - A black long dress, which covers the whole body from the head to the leg ankles, used especially by Muslim women. It is used in *kilumi* as a dance costume by some possessed dancers.

Charism – In CCR a spiritual gift to heal, teach, evangelize, speaking in tongues, etc.

Dancing a (…) spirit – Dancing in the state of possession by (…) spirit. It is said in Ukambani that the dancer hosts a spirit that uses the person's body to dance.

Function – is an event which may last a day or more, in which different activities aimed at enabling healing are conducted in sequence. Night-long *kilumi* events, CCR retreats or seminars, a day of street music making, are all functions.

Githeri – A mixture of beans and maize cooked together, which is staple food in many parts of Kenya.

Host (of kilumi) – A person who invites *kilumi* dancers at his/her home compound for an overnight dance. Usually the first possessed dancer, and provides food and drinks to participants. Often the hosting is necessitated by some kind of health problem, or s/he is a *mganga* using this performance to reenergize healing powers.

Iimu – spirit, whether foreign or ancestral, which is believed to possess persons causing disease, but also enabling ordinary people to handle some sicknesses. See also *shetani.*

Kamba – Adjective for Akamba.

Kamuti – A white sheet of clothing tied round a possessed dancer's waist, which is required before some possessing spirits can dance. In Kamba language it can also mean love portion.

Kaniki – A black sheet of cloth material worn round the waist by some possessed dancers.

Kanzu – This is a long dress covering the arms and extending from the neck to below the knees. Some possessed dancers require it.

Karubu – Kamba traditional alcoholic drink.

Katinya – A blue sheet of cloth material that covers the waist and extends to below the knees Some Kilumi possessed dancers use it.

Kayamba – A percussion instrument made from dry reed stems enclosing seeds that freely move within it when the instrument is shaken. It is an instrument of the coastal tribe of Mijikenda, but is today found in many parts of Kenya.

Kikoi - A white cloth material used round a possessed dancer's waist extending up to below the knees.

Kilumi – An all night spirit possession dance performed to heal people who are bothered by benevolent possessing spirits.

Kitambi – This is a dark sheet of clothing with strips close to its two opposite sides used as costume for some possessed dancers.

Kyondo kya Katunge – Similar to *kyondo kya utabibu* but used even by *non-waganga* especially by people such as ngui, who also get possessed like *waganga*.

Kyondo kya Utabibu - a small basket decorated with cowry shells, tied around the waist of possessed dancer. It contains *mbuu* and other objects used in *uganga*.

Maimu – Plural for *iimu.*

Majini – Swahili word for genies. Spiritual beings believed in Ukambani to originate from Islam. They are said to have abilities to protect and even multiply wealth, but are believed to also have powers a person may use to cause trouble to other people. They are said to have capacity to change from spiritual to physical forms appearing in human or animal forms, and sometimes interacting with unsuspecting people.

Mapepo – This is the Kiswahili word for spirits.

Mbuu – Some hard and small stones used by *waganga* while invoking spiritual powers.

Mganga – the people involved in traditional methods of diagnosis and treatment of diseases using either herbs and/or invocation of spiritual powers.

Mti wa Jamii – This is Kiswahili word for Family Tree. Because the bible says that God punishes up to the fourth generation, catholic charismatics repent sins of all parents of four generations (backwards) in order to be freed from any curse bondages that could possibly be affecting their lives.

Muinga – flywhisk.

Mwase – Long Kamba drum used as main instrument in *kilumi* performances, and believed to host a spirit therefore handled with caution.

Nduli – A striped cloth material used by some possessed dancers. It extends from the waist up to below the knees.

Ngai – Used in Ukambani to mean God, but used also to mean spirit that guide *waganga*.

Ngui – is a soloist in *kilumi* performance who is also exorcist in case evil spirits attack people at a *kilumi* performance.

Nguli – is a traditional horn, sometimes also flute of Akamba.

Nguo ndune ya Maasai – A red Maasai cloak covering a dancer's body from the shoulders to below the knees. *Kilumi* dancers possessed by Maasai spirits use it.

Possessee – one who gets possessed for the purpose of appeasing spirits or healing.

Possession – a state in which a spirit is said to be in control of one's body and mind.

Praise and Worship – in catholic charismatic rituals, a prayer session in which people enter and leave prayers with music of varying tempo and intensity. It is made up of a solemn prayer time sandwiched between two lively sessions of song and dance. The prayer time may be with or without music, and prayers are loud.

Session – refers to a time space in which music and/or healing rituals take place, usually without interruption. In CCR, healing is often conducted in one session per day, while in *kilumi* each possessed dancer performs in one session. Street musicians perform several songs in one uninterrupted set of songs in what I term as a session.

Shetani – another word for *iimu* commonly used in Kisasi location.

Uganga – the healing profession of a *mganga*.

Uji – Kiswahili word for porridge commonly now used by Akamba.

Ukambani – The geographical region occupied by Akamba.

Uta – Kamba musical bow made of a bow with half-calabash resonator.

Vilingi – Kamba whistle.

Waganga – plural for *mganga*.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEWS – WAGANGA AND NGUI

Interviewee 1: Ndaa Mulu Kamau

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LEADERS

1) Ndaa Mulu Kamau's Personal information

Age	62
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Mulundi
Education up to	None
Source of income	*Mganga* and farmer
Years involved	40 years

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"*Mganga*"

b) *What is your task in healing performance?*

"I diagnose[392] and treat patients who come to me. You can see that list over there on some of the diseases and problems I deal with." [The list read: high blood pressure, asthma, heartburn, kidney problems, gonorrhea, typhoid, epilepsy, and joint pains].

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I do it once the spirits come into me. I welcome the spirit, and then the spirit tells me how to solve your problem. Sometimes I am asked to pick a specific herb and give to a patient, and the person heals afterwards."

d) *Are there times you perform healing better than other times; If yes, why?*

"Yes, this is a task that requires support from my spirits. The longer I stay without performing *kilumi* dance, the weaker I become in diagnosing and treating the sick. If I

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[392] She used *'kupiga ramli'* which means 'to diagnose' but does not only apply to diseases but to all problems. It could be a family relationship issue, disease, inexplicable and regular bad luck, etc. She charged Kshs 50 consultation fee, and then a treatment fee in addition.

take too long a time without hosting the dance, I begin to suffer sicknesses and many problems myself."

You said that you have several spirits, including your sister's, and grandmother's; why not have only one?

"Each of them does a different thing for me. If you have fewer spirits you will find problems you cannot handle. For instance my grandmother helps me to deal with barrenness cases, my one sister (Nzambi) on curses and a different sister on evil spirits, my late brother's wife (Nzeli) on *majini* because she was a Muslim herself,[393] and my brother (Bundi) for people suffering bad luck."

e) *How did you pick up the role of mganga, and how are new waganga recruited?*

"When I reached teenage, I could not menstruate like other girls of my age. We sought the intervention of a *mganga* after it took too long and I was very worried. The *mganga* told us that my elder sister, who disappeared in a cyclone disaster while an infant, was the cause of my problem. She had vowed to ensure that her junior sister, who is I, would never mature, as she never matured herself before she met her early death, unless I danced her spirit. So I would have remained like that had no action been taken. The *mganga* advised that I take my grandmother's *kyondo kya utabibu* and *katinya.* I got healed. But after getting married, I left the *kyondo* and *katinya* at my mother's place to join my husband. As a result, I could not give birth to a living child up to my third time pregnancy. Then I sought the help of a *mganga*, who said that it was a problem of leaving *kyondo* and *katinya* at my parents' home. I was asked to bring *kyondo* and *katinya* from my parents', and moreover arrange *kilumi* one night at my parents' and two nights at my new home. A sacrifice of a cow was required. After this was done I begun to get living children, and began receiving messages from my spirits. I could for instance meet a suffering individual and my spirits would immediately give a solution to the problem. Something like …If you touch him he'd be okay…If you give him the roots of this herb to chew, he would be fine…But I could leave people that had not consulted me to suffer, even if I new the solution because it was uncomfortable for me. Eventually I began the profession at the age of 22."

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[393] She is indicating her awareness that genies are of Islamic origin.

f) *In what ways is it useful to be an mganga?*

"It is a profession from which I earn a living… and I have my family protected."

3. History and meaningfulness of *uganga*

a) *For how long has uganga existed?*

"I do not know but I also think no one can tell. This is a really old thing in Ukambani."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"What do you do if a woman cannot give birth? Some people get insane because of spirits, and even witchcraft intended to destroy families. Jealous witches and wizards always cause these problems. You will find in one family no one succeeds in whatever they are doing. If you have crops, you hardly harvest a thing because someone has planted witches in your farm. Other times you find families always having problems between man and his wife because one of them is bewitched.

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in uganga*

"Nothing is so different, we deal with problems the same way, and problems are similar."

d) *Is uganga faced with any problems today?*

"No"

e) *Do you think uganga will continue long into the future?*

"*Uganga* will always be there in order to solve the problems people have."

f) *What in uganga is the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"The healing is supported by the spirits with which each *mganga* must work. The solutions we get solve the problems of people."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for an uganga session?*

"I invite the spirits to come and deal with the problems at hand. One of the spirits that possess me will notify me what the problem is and what we need to do to solve the problem."

b) *Can uganga work on a different music type? Why?*

"No, when I sing, I must invite the spirits to come to me."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired for uganga? If yes, which ones and why?*

"Yes, I normally use *uta* when singing and I must have my *kyondo kya utabibu*."

d) *Can uganga work without people having to sing?*

"It depends on requirements by your spirits."

e) *Name/describe anything of uganga you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"In the performance of *kilumi* dance we need songs to gratify our spirits through dance. I also sing when I need to attend to a customer but there are other ways to do this if a patient is very sick, in order to act faster. Possession in *kilumi* is a result of music because a spirit must dance with music."

What do you do to get possessed without singing?

"I use a cloth material with red, white and blue colors. I apply *mbuu*, powder and snuff to quickly diagnose and treat a patient. That way I need not play *uta* or sing."

f) *Is anything else attached to uganga in a way that it must be fulfilled before an mganga can conduct healing?*

"No, you only need regular dancing after your first dance."

Interviewee 2: Katulu Kalungu

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Katulu Kalungu's Personal Information

Age	52
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Mulundi
Education up to	None
Source of income	Ngui and farmer
Years involved	4 years

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"*Ngui*"

b) *What is your task in kilumi performance?*

"I sing to *maimu* who come to dance."

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I am guided by *ngai* when composing new tunes and playing *mwase* drum. A spirit brings a new song into my mind and I sing it mentioning the names of various *maimu* that have come to *kilumi* performance, each one at a time[394]."

d) *Are there times you solo better than other times; If so, why?*

"Yes, sometimes I do better. If a mistake is made in how I handle my *mwase* drum, my playing cannot be good. If I give it to someone, s/he must first pay Kshs 20, and then I hit *mwase* before giving it out, and once it has been returned, so that my spirit is aware that the drum has been given out or has been returned.

e) *How did you pick up the role of ngui, and how are new ngui recruited?*

"The skill of *ngui* is normally inherited, and you need to be possessed by a spirit of a deceased relative; in my case my maternal uncle. I began by hearing unknown voices singing in my head. I wanted to sing those songs, and needed an audience. It was disturbing and difficult to sleep at night. I consulted a *mganga* and got the news that my late maternal uncle demanded that I should own *mwase* drum. I hosted *kilumi* and made a goat offering. The skin from the goat made my *mwase* drum, a strap to be tied round my waist, and a strap for my arm. I graduated into a *ngui* after this, in the year 2000."

f) *In what ways is it useful to be ngui?*

"It is required by my spirit that I sing, and I may get sick if I do not sing regularly. Furthermore I am paid every time I sing in *kilumi*."

3. History and meaningfulness of *kilumi*

a) *For how long has kilumi existed?*

"I do not know …but it must have started long time ago with our fore fathers"

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"I think health problems, which have always been there. Things like women being unable to have children, spirits causing problems to someone etc. People had to find solutions to these problems, and so *kilumi* must have been discovered."

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[394] She uses both *ngai* and *iimu* (Pl. *maimu*) to mean possession spirits. NB: *ngai* in Kamba language also means God.

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in kilumi.*

"When people are possessed they can do things! There is a lady here in Mulundi who eats red-hot charcoal whenever she is possessed, while you will find others drinking too much water…twenty liters! It is impossible for a human being to drink so much water. Some people even fall down and roll on the ground as if fainting or dying when possessed by dangerous *maimu*."

Which are dangerous maimu?

"Foreign *maimu* may come to the home where *kilumi* is being performed. For instance there are *maimu* called *lala*, and others called *muviti*, that are very old. They even cause death! There are also *maimu* sent by evil people who want to destroy a person or family. All these cause some unusual happenings."

What do you do if that happens while you are singing?

"I wait for those who ask for things like water, food, cigarettes, beer etc to take what they need. For those falling and rolling down, I pay 7 cents to the *iimu* disturbing them, take a stick, and strike the ground at the space just above the head, and just after the feet while they still lie down. After this the person should rise and walk away."

d) *Is kilumi faced with any problems today?*

"No"

e) *Do you think kilumi will continue long into the future?*

"Yes, problems will always be there, and they are the cause of *kilumi.*"

f) *What in kilumi is the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"*Maimu* have their wishes done so they stop to bother people. *Kilumi* is the only way to fulfill the needs of such *maimu*. Moreover if *maimu* possess you they also ensure protection of your family, and enable you to earn a living."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a kilumi night?*

"I have to give priority to the host first before anyone else can dance. My songs are addressed to *maimu* who possess the dancers. Once I begin to sing, the person, who is normally possessed by the *iimu* that I sing to, will come up and dance. Then I choose a

new one who again comes, and I continue to a different person until all the people dance their *maimu.*"

b) *Can kilumi work on a different music type? Why?*

"No, the songs must be addressed to the *iimu* so that s/he can appear and dance."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired for kilumi? If yes, which ones and why?*

"We need *mwase* drums, and special dresses for the possessed to wear while dancing their *maimu*. These dresses include *kamuti, kikoi, nduli, kitambi, kaniki, katinya, nguo ndune ya Maasai, kanzu, muinga,* and *ivuavui (buibui)*. Without the dress the *iimu* cannot dance."

d) *Can kilumi work without people having to sing? Explain*

"No, *ngui* need to invite the spirit to come to the front and dance. This happens through the song".

e) *Name/describe any kilumi effect you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"Possession cannot take place in the absence of song. The purpose of possession is to dance *iimu*, and there must be song in order to dance.

f) *Is anything else attached to kilumi in a way that it must be fulfilled before possession can take place?*

"Yes, the dancer must wear the right dress."

Interviewee 3: Munalo Meliki

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Munalo Meliki's Personal Information

Age	50
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Katwala
Education up to	None
Source of income	Ngui and farmer
Years involved	20 years

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"*Ngui*"

b) *What is your task in kilumi performance?*

"I play *mwase* and lead in singing."

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I begin by lighting a fire, and then I bring *mwase* drums near the fire so they can sound well. Then I drum and sing until tomorrow[395]."

d) *Are there times you solo better than other times; If so, why?*

"Yes, sometimes performance is better. There are homes where you are not received very well, or you may be paid very little and that can discourage your performance. There are also hosts who value and respect our work very much and this of course encourages good performance."

e) *How did you pick up the role of ngui, and how are new ngui recruited?*

"To be *ngui* you need to learn songs from an experienced *ngui* to begin with. I am now training interested younger people because they will take over after me. Not all those I now train will be *ngui,* as only those who have the spirit of *ngui* can eventually make it. Of those I train, one or two can be expected to be possessed by their late relatives. I was born my grandmother,[396] who was also *ngui,* and she possessed me and has been my guiding spirit."

f) *In what ways is it useful to be ngui?*

"It is a paid for work and it is also enjoyable; if you are a possessed *ngui* like me, you also must sing to please your own spirit."

Are there ngui that are not possessed?

"There are some few talented *ngui* who may not be guided by *shetani*. They are singers who are not possessed. If they do not sing, they do not get sick. For me and other possessed *ngui*, failing to sing may result into sickness or some other problem."

3. History and meaningfulness of *kilumi*

a) *For how long has kilumi existed?*

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[395] The dance was just about to start when we talked. She was to be the *ngui* of the night.
[396] To be 'born someone' is a phrase used here to mean 'named after someone'.

"A long time… I do not know."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"I think it is because of *maimu* causing problems to individuals. Possessed individuals often discover useful herbs to treat certain diseases as they received instruction from *maimu* through dreams."

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in Kilumi*

"I see same things every time I lead in *kilumi*. It is just as you will see tonight."

d) *Is kilumi faced with any problems today?*

"The problem I find is that after singing a whole night my voice gets lost and my throat is sore."

g) *Do you think kilumi will continue long into the future?*

"Yes, of course…problems are there."

h) *What in kilumi is the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"Because of the music, the spirits appear to dance so that they are gratified. They do not cause any more problems thereafter."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a kilumi night?*

"My spirit guides me about choice of the songs. I compose songs addressed to spirits that come to the dance."

b) *Can kilumi work on a different music type? Why?*

"No, you must sing to *shetani*[397]."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired for kilumi? If yes, which ones and why?*

"We use *mwase* drums, *kayamba*, *vilingi* and *nguli*. We use also things like *vitambaa* and *mwinga*."

d) *Can kilumi work without people having to sing? Explain*

"No, because *shetani* cannot dance without the song"

e) *Name/describe any kilumi occurrence you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"Nothing in *kilumi* can work without singing. If you do not sing, no spirit will dance."

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[397] She often used *shetani* to mean *maimu*.

f) *Is anything else attached to kilumi in a way that it must be fulfilled before possession can take place?*

"You need to greet the *iimu* after dance, "*kumpa mkono,*" before leaving the arena."

Interviewee 4: Mina Mwanzia

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Mina Mwanzia's Personal Information

Age	22
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Misewani
Education up to	Standard 5
Source of income	*Mganga* and farmer
Years involved	4 years

2) Experiencing the spirits

a) *Describe your dance experience*

"I do not know anything about the dance since I did not see anything. Once you are possessed you cannot see a thing! My grandmother came; she, not I danced!"

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"Anytime I dance *kilumi,* I feel the same.

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"I do not remember it."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"None"

e) *Name a song that interested you most and give a reason for this.*

"I told you I do not remember…."

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"No"

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"No, I haven't reminded myself of anything."

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier before dance?*

"No difference."

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

NA

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

NA

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed when you are possessed? If not who does?*

 "No, *ngui* decides what song to sing."

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear tonight? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling kilumi? If yes, describe the experience.*

"No, every time I dance *kilumi* it is just the same"

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"No"

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"Traditional music"

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience tonight? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in music making?*

"When not possessed I normally sing with others but not as *ngui*."

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"When I am possessed they sing for me, and I also sing while others dance their spirits."

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

Interviewee 5: Mbwika Kilonzo

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Mbwika Kilonzo's Personal Information

Age	27
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Kisasi
Education up to	Standard 3
Source of income	Mganga
Years involved	17 years

2) Experiencing the spirits

a) *Describe your dance experience at the time you were helped into the house after sudden stop of drumming.*

"When *shetani* came into me, I felt weak."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"I sometimes feel the same when *shetani* comes while I am at somebody's home to solve problems."

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"When *shetani* is in me and music plays I only feel my body destabilized. You know, at that point I am not myself but *shetani*[398]."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"My task was playing *mwase* and singing."

e) *Name a song that interested you most and give a reason for this*.

"The song I like most is *Asumani*. If this song is sung while I am sick, I get well completely!"

What is the message in this song?

"It is sung to my maternal grandfather who possesses me... he has been my guiding spirit."[399]

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[398] *Shetani* is used by Mbwika, like Meliki to mean spirit of possession. It appeared *shetani* was the common word for spirits in Kisasi, while *maimu* was used in Mulundi.

[399] More details on this song are available under 'poetics of Kamba healing music'. See the song titled '*Ndelebe Ngali* – Asumani'.

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"There are very many people."

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"I remember some times when I would 'die and resurrect' after these songs were sung to me."

Can you tell me more about this death/resurrection?

"If *shetani* came to me those days, I would fall down like a dead person. Then they would invite a *mganga* to wake me up. Sometimes these songs were also sung and I would then resurrect. In one of these days I was preparing to go to school, and my books were taken up while I watched and I never saw them again. From this time I stopped going to school."

Do you mean the books were raised by a wind to the sky?

"It was not the wind… you know the books went completely and disappeared never to be seen again by anyone! I saw then rise up…up …up until I could not see them anymore. I was also having health problems because my grandfather wanted to possess me and I was in school at this time. I thought the *shetani* wanted me to stop school, and so I never went there any more."

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier before dance?*

"I feel the same."

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

"Every time I am possessed I begin by feeling weak in the body."

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

"*Shetani*"

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed when you are possessed? If not who does?*

"*Shetani* might demand a particular song, and the soloist must sing it. Otherwise *ngui* decides on songs."

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear tonight? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling kilumi? If yes, describe the experience.*

"No, in *kilumi* I feel the same."

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"No"

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"Traditional music"

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience tonight? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"I play *mwase* and sing."

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"My grandfather wants to drum. He was a renowned drummer and when he possesses me I too drum."

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

APPENDIX 2: KAMBA HEALING MUSIC

Song 1: Masikali ni Kivole (audio track 1)[400]

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[400]For drum rhythms in Time Unit Box System (TUBS) see next page. The above transcription contains the complete melody which was repeated many times. The leader nonetheless often picked shorter phrases and spontaneously varied it as the chorus repeated *'ii waya kinayumba'*. This helped to avoid singing the entire melody each time. The *ngui*'s part sometimes has slight melodic variations, but the chorus part does not change. As shown in the TUBS notation on the following page, each quaver and the semiquaver immediately following it are produced when a hand-held stick strikes the middle of the drum head. Then follows a semiquaver produced when the left hand strikes the drum head close to the edge. The master drummer's beats were omitted as they kept changing irregularly.

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Maskali ni Kivole: Drum rhythms in TUBS

stick	X		X		X		X		X	
hand		X				X				X

Song 2: Ndumaniwe Nzeli (audio track 2)[401]

Drum rhythm in TUBS

stick	X				X		X				X		
hand			X			X			X			X	

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[401] The hand and stick strokes alternate regularly in producing sound. In all songs the hand strikes the drum head close to the edge, while the stick strikes at the middle. *Nitiwe* was used sometimes instead of *Ndumaniwe,* but the two words are synonyms in Kamba language. In this song the leader also creates some short phrases outside of this main melody to which the chorus simply responds *Ndumaniwe Nzeli Oo ndakitari no mue.* Also at the peak of dancing the soloist alone sings a short repeated part that is not part of this melody. Their movement from left to right was marked by whistle blowing and an accented drum beat.

Song 3: Woria Tethya Wia (audio track 3)

♩=88

Voice / Mwase

Wo ri a i O Oo   te thya wi a   mba nde i ki se se i kya vu   nga sa la ma   a

6 — *Fine*

ndua ma kwa i   ni ndi wi a   Wo ri a i o Oo   ni ndi wi a   mba nde i ki se se i kya vu

11 — *D.C. al Fine*

nga sa la ma   a   ndua ma kwa i   ni ndi wi a

Drum Rhythms in TUBS

stick		X	X		X	X		X	X	
hand	X			X			X			X

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Song 4: Kayamba ya Wagiriama (audio track 4)

Drum Rhythms in TUBS

stick		X		X		X		X		X		X	
hand	X				X				X				X

Song 5: Asumani –Ndelebe Ngali (audio track 5)[402]

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[402] The drumming never applied the stick stroke in Kisasi. Often the drummers struck the drum closer to the edge of the drum head rather than the middle with their hands. In this song all dotted quavers were accented.

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Drum Rhythm in TUBS

Right Hand	X			X			X			X		
Left Hand					X					X		

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEWS – CATHOLIC CHARISMATICS

Interviewee 6: Muchiri Allan

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Allan Muchiri's Personal Information

Age	51
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Meru
Education up to	University
Source of income	Poultry and daily farming
Years involved	14

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"Currently I am the national coordinator… involved in the healing ministry."

b) *What is your task in CCR healing?*

"I teach the word of God, do counseling, and also lead in prayers. Many people have a lot of problems in their families. You also find parents with very difficult children, and some children also with cruel parents. A lot of people need the Lord's help"

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I encourage Christians to put their hope in God because He alone has the power we need. You know in God you can find whatever you need. Ours is to take the good news to the people, and God ministers to them according to what they need."

d) *Are there times healing comes out better than other times? If so why?*

"Yes, people need to be hear the gospel like I already said, so that they are ready to receive God's forgiveness and healing. If little evangelization is done, less healing may be the end result. The healing power of God is in the gospel that must be preached to open up people's hearts to the power of God."

e) *How did you pick up in this role of healing minister, and how are new ministers recruited?*

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"In CCR we train Catholics in the ways of life in the spirit through seminars. Some people receive the gift of healing and are commissioned to carry on this responsibility. Every CCR healing minister must have began through Life in the Spirit Healing Seminar participation. Later you continue to nurture the gift as it gets developed with time and experience encourages growth of your own faith."

f) *In what ways is it useful to be in CCR healing ministry?*

"The ministry is useful to me because I first received healing before beginning to take it to others. And my own faith is also enhanced in seeing the things God is doing to people."

3. History and meaningfulness of the CCR healing ministry

a) *For long has the CCR healing ministry existed?*

"CCR has been there from 1967 in the United States."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"When you seek God with a sincere heart, he has ways of training you in His ways so that you can follow His steps better. The founders of the movement in the US were doing exactly that, and God wanted to reveal how His spirit can minister to us. Pouring His spirit upon them, they could also not explain what they saw."

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in the CCR ministry.*

"Nothing is so remarkable because we experience healing that is remarkable every other time in the ministry. You saw for instance this lady we at the Isiolo Retreat called Wanza! I personally raised a written out petition for her healing in our Kasarani Retreat when a family member told me about her long-time illness. She had been so sick that she could not even come to the Kasarani retreat, even though she wanted to. When Christ was raised up in Blessed Eucharist, I raised the petition to Jesus, and believed that He would do something about it. Her kidney dialysis is required no more! We frequently see such experiences. I cannot call any of them remarkable."

f) *Is CCR healing faced with any problems today?*

"Yes, there is a lot of opposition from many people who do not understand how God is working. Many priests and even some bishops in our church do not support our approach

to healing. They have even stopped us from reaching out to Catholics in their parishes and dioceses, and it is really serious. Furthermore many Catholics do not understand that God is the healer. They think that we possess the healing power. This is a problem because they do not have time to listen to the good news, but only want healing prayers and laying of hands. You can see today people are arriving in the afternoon because they knew that the healing ministry is scheduled for the afternoon![403] They do not see the healing value of the gospel. They think it would be enough for us to lay our hands on them. Healing takes place because of an inner transformation that is spiritual and requires God's word to sink into one's heart first. Physical healing is the outward manifestation of an already complete inner process."

g) *Do you think CCR healing will continue long into the future?*

"The CCR healing ministry is not the making of man. This is a ministry of God for his children. Nothing will be able to stop what God has started. I believe CCR healing ministries will expand much further in Kenya and beyond."

h) *What in CCR healing is exactly the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"I have already said that God is the cause of healing in our ministries. I and other ministers are only agents that God uses as He wishes. I am indeed God's donkey! I do what God says and He ministers to His people wherever He asks me to go."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a CCR ministry session?*

"At the moment I am less involved in the music ministry. However you need to consider whether it is ministry time or praise time before deciding which song to start."

b) *Can CCR healing ministry work on a different music type? Why?*

"No, songs used in our ministry must be done for the glory of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They are sung to welcome the spirit, who then ministers to people. Music must be carefully selected… depending on the time it is performed."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired in CCR healing ministry? If yes, which ones and why?*

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[403] We were at this time waiting for people to arrive for the healing retreat in Kapsabet. The ministers were there long before the participants.

"Yes… instruments such as pianos[404], guitars, and drums are very useful. They support our music making so that it is a lovely experience. Lively music is important because it attracts the people. They should come and dance for Jesus with that energy in them. God is also happy when His children sing lively songs to His praise."

d) *Can the CCR healing ministry work without people having to sing?*

"It is difficult without music. Of course God is able to heal once we have faith… but music plays a very important role in this ministry.

e) *Name/describe any visible effect in CCR healing ministry that you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"Music helps to guide us into the mood of praising, of adoration …and the ministry itself depending on what is being done."

f) *Is anything else attached to the CCR healing ministry in a way that it must be fulfilled before healing can take place?*

"Once people receive the word of God, they are touched and healed already. But people must confess their sins, reconcile with those with whom they have had problems… and forgive fully. Otherwise they cannot retain healing for long… after it happens."

Interviewee 7: Bahati Mildred

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Mildred Bahati's Personal Information

Age	30
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Kakamega
Education up to	Form 4
Source of income	Well wishers
Years involved	7

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"Music minister… but I evangelize and teach also."

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[404] He meant electronic keyboards.

b) *What is your task in CCR healing?*

"I sometimes teach songs to participants… lead them in singing…compose new songs. I also sometimes serve in healing and an intercession ministry…depends on how we have shared the roles."

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"In singing I encourage people to sing with their whole hearts. The messages in these songs have been composed by a different person, but one must personalize them… singing as if you composed the song yourself… being part of the song. It is addressed to God and you should be able to see yourself before God glorifying him with all your might. Then God is pleased and will come to you as His child."

d) *Are there times music making comes out better than other times? If yes, why so?*

"Yes… when people do not know what kind of God they are singing to… they can sing anyhow. We have to show them exactly who God is, so they can understand how he should be glorified. He created us… and is our father. We are all little children of His, and we need to use all our energy in glorifying His name. Music catches God's attention… more than anything else, and he comes quicker to attend to our needs."

e) *How did you pick up in this role of music minister, and how are new ministers recruited?*

"I was a singer in church choir initially… so singing was not a new thing to me even before I was in the charismatic renewal. In CCR you need to start involving yourself in the ministry after you have done Life in the Spirit Seminar course. During this course we stir the seeds of the Holy Spirit planted at Baptism… to make them fruitful. If God wants you to serve in the music ministry, you have to do it. If he calls you into other ministries, you serve accordingly. I was first involved in the Life in the Spirit Seminar in 1991, and I was later commissioned to serve in the music ministry."

f) *In what ways is it useful to be in CCR healing ministry?*

"I feel safe in the hands of the almighty... no matter how hard things seem I am not afraid as I know God has ways to sustain me.[405] It is wonderful to have a father… entirely in control of our lives."

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[405] She had no regular source of income.

3. History and meaningfulness of the CCR healing ministry

a) *For long has the CCR healing ministry existed?*

"CCR began in 1967 in the United States. It has been in Kenya from 1974… which is why we celebrated the thirtieth anniversary the other day."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"God saw the need for Catholics to receive help from the Holy Spirit. He decided to pour His Spirit upon his children so that they can adore Him in the Spirit. Our Catholic church for many years did not realize the need to involve the Holy Spirit… in our everyday living. Other churches have been better at that, and many Catholics have unfortunately continued to suffer without realizing that God is ever ready to assist them in their burdens… if only they can trust and have faith in him!"

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in the CCR ministry.*

"Take for instance this lady known as Peninah. For failing to forgive her father and full of bitterness, she developed goiter. In her testimony, she said that her brutal father regularly mistreated and beat his children together with their mother, even abusing his wife in the presence of her children, so that everyone in the family hated him deeply. Making a secret arrangement, they planned, escaped, bought land elsewhere and lived far away from the man. They thought that their problems were now over. Peninah and her mother developed goiter soon after few years and it would not heal even after consulting different doctors!

I met Peninah after 15 years of suffering in Limuru where we were holding an Inner Healing Ministry in 1999. During the ministry, she started vomiting; a thing that was for her very rare. During the struggle to help Peninah, the ministers were made aware of the problem Peninah and her family had with her father. She was asked to say the words 'I forgive my father'. Every time she opened her mouth to say that, she said …I… and then vomited instead. But finally she managed to say it "…I forgive… my father." What was amazing is that her goiter immediately disappeared. I met Peninah later in the year 2000, and she had had no problem of goiter ever since."

f) *Is CCR healing faced with any problems today?*

"Yes… many things we do in CCR are misunderstood by some fellow Catholics. Some church leaders… even priests… discourage us. Other problems include financing of ministries. We do not have income generating means… through which to fund our functions. Because of this we have to ask the Christians who invite us to make necessary financial arrangements… and we also accept donations from friends who want the ministry to grow. CCR is not known everywhere… we want at times to reach a certain place to evangelize to the people there, but we cannot for luck of funds. To serve in the ministry we have to make many sacrifices. At times financial sacrifices… other times our free time. This is challenging but we are doing it because we see good results and we are encouraged to continue."

g) *Do you think CCR healing will continue long into the future?*

"Yes of course despite the problems. We expect the CCR ministries to expand in the future. More and more people are getting to know all this… and I therefore see the problems being overcome in the future. The message attracts the people overwhelmingly… and God is in charge."

h) *What in CCR healing is exactly the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"The word of God is the main thing. People hear the word… and it transforms them. They come to trust God and are hence saved from the problems they face."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a CCR ministry session?*

"Selection of songs depends on what we intend to do. Through singing we can give thanks… we can praise and worship… adore… and testify. At the start one must start with lively praise so that people can dance to the Lord. Later to bring the prayer mood, you introduce worship and adoration choruses. There are times we also perform ministry songs… when the Lord is ministering to people… you may choose a thanksgiving song to thank the Lord for what he is doing to people. There are times I take people direct to adoration songs if their mood is already set. You have to study the situation before deciding how to go about it… and the Holy Spirit also guides you to rightly discern. The Holy Spirit can also guide you on what song to sing… so that you can lead a session with

songs just coming by themselves[406] without a plan… because the Spirit does it. Other times you have a plan and you end up not using it because what we plan is not always what the Holy Spirit desires."

b) *Can CCR healing ministry work on a different music type? Why?*

"It is not possible to use any kind of music here. It has to fit into the role we assign it."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired in CCR healing ministry? If yes, which ones and why?*

"Instruments such as guitars… pianos… drums and tambourines are good. They help the music to be livelier."

d) *Can the CCR healing ministry work without people having to sing?*

"You cannot avoid having music here… there is no other suitable way of gratifying God better. One song is equivalent to two prayers… songs are the most suitable means to please Him."

e) *Name/describe any visible effect in CCR healing ministry that you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"People are cheerful while singing… without music you end up with a boring ministry session perhaps. There are even testimonies of people who have been healed while singing! There is definitely a strong healing power in music. There are people who behave differently while the Spirit manifests… Music helps to avoid disturbance because some forms of spirit manifestation can attract attention… it can draw others from their prayers. Music can be the way to ensure less attraction to those in whom the spirit manifests."

f) *Is anything else attached to the CCR healing ministry in a way that it must be fulfilled before healing can take place?*

"One must experience God in a unique and personal way… That is all!"

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[406] By 'coming by themselves' he meant following spontaneously.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Philip Ng'ang'a's Personal Information

Age	34
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Kiambu
Education up to	Form 4
Source of income	Farmer
Years involved	6

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"I serve in the healing and deliverance ministry."

b) *What is your task in CCR healing?*

"I evangelize… I find myself preaching the message of forgiveness. The Holy Spirit tends to use me in the direction of encouraging others to forgive each other… in order to be healed. My other roles in CCR healing include leading in prayers for healing and for reception of graces from God."

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I have had many experiences myself in which God has got me through. For instance…I lost my first wife so soon after marriage… and in her burial I was first to through soil into the grave where she was buried. The soil hit the coffin and a sound that reached my ears began to affect me in a way afterwards. Any similar sound… irrespective of where it came from could frighten me… until I had inner healing. I use experiences such as this from the ministry to encourage… and to guide people to receive the healing that God has for us once we believe."

d) *Are there times healing comes out better than other times? If so why?*

"You know I do not heal myself… mine is to invite people to have faith in God… and then God ministers to them according to their needs. There are cases where we see God immediately healing the people who have accepted to turn to him… there are also times when testimonies are given much later… and there are those who for one reason or the

other God does not heal physically even though they are spiritually healed. If you refer to the bible, St Paul, whose prayers healed sick people, was himself continuously sick. God said that his grace was enough for Paul… and so his suffering was meant for the glory of God. If healing is not so good today, God has a reason for it. He is able to do anything… and able to heal any disease. Another reason healing might not happen to someone is if the person lacks faith…we have to help that faith to grow."

e) *How did you pick up in this role of healing minister, and how are new ministers recruited?*

"After I did Life in the Spirit Seminar… I had the call to serve in this ministry… you have to respond. If God chooses you to do this work you actually cannot refuse it. But to be in the CCR healing ministry one needs sufficient training so that you understand how to go about it. At one time the skills of teaching are required, other times those of a counselor… and other times you have to evangelize. I have undergone a number of other seminars apart from Life in the Spirit seminar which normally is the beginning. We have particular seminars for leaders in healing and deliverance… evangelization… leadership and others like these. I did these courses before beginning to minister. But the courses are not enough… one must constantly pray and fast in order to have an effective ministry.[407]"

f) *In what ways is it useful to be in CCR healing ministry?*

"Being in the ministry helps me to learn very many things from the experiences of the people I meet. It is particularly very fulfilling… it is a reassurance that God is watching over us. It helps to build my own faith ever more."

3. History and meaningfulness of the CCR healing ministry

a) *For long has the CCR healing ministry existed?*

"You should count from 1967 when CCR began in USA."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"I think God saw that the church was not utilizing the gifts of the Holy Spirit… these gifts are so clearly outlined in the bible. Our Catholic church had particularly been unwilling to open the doors to the Holy Spirit. That way a lot was missing in the service

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[407] He talked about the need to pray and fast in our third interview. At this time he, together with Catherine Wanjiru, were praying and fasting (for three weeks) at Immanuel Prayer and Fasting Centre in Machakos.

that God is able to offer to his children. So I think God had to pour his own Spirit… to show us the way."

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in the CCR ministry.*

"Our experiences are always remarkable… take last night for instance… that girl who testified! Just yesterday she could not move or stand on her own… not even sit down! Yesterday we dealt with spirits… and for her to rise up after deliverance prayers, it means her problem was spiritual… but we see the physical manifestation… not the spiritual that must have preceded the physical one. There is this other girl we ministered to until very late after supper. …do you remember? She had been given to an *mganga* who had demanded to sleep with her after her mother sought favors from him. That was her payment means. People look for trouble by visiting *waganga!* Sexual involvement with an *mganga…* is the express way of acquiring the evil spirits that guide *waganga*. That is why people must be taught facts… so they stop looking for help where there is none!"

f) *Is CCR healing faced with any problems today?*

"You know not every Catholic understands what we are doing here. The people appreciate that this Life in the Spirit message… it is wonderful for them. However, there are barriers that the devil has put… to disrupt the work of God from progressing as it should. You will see people who should be leading others in seeking God's favor doing the opposite. Some think we are being too Pentecost… not Catholic. So in order to be Catholic we should shut our doors to the will of God's Spirit? The Catholic Church needs to open the doors to the Holy Spirit… to minister to people."

g) *Do you think CCR healing will continue long into the future?*

"Definitely yes… I do not see anyone managing to destroy the work that is led by the Spirit of God. We have already seen many priests and bishops who initially were opposed but now have changed. People are changing slowly… they are accepting the renewal. So the future is going to be better for CCR… I believe the whole church will be renewed."

h) *What in CCR healing is exactly the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"Because God is the healer… comforter… and provider… discovering Him would be to discover answers to the problems we have. Missing his divine mercy... is the cause of

problems whether you are rich or poor. Even when problems confront us, we have no reason to worry because our father has the answers. We only must have faith."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a CCR ministry session?*

"I do not lead in singing… but I sing and use music too in my evangelism and teaching. If we are doing healing and deliverance, we need songs that invite the Holy Spirit to minister to the people… we can also use songs to praise and give thanks."

b) *Can CCR healing ministry work on a different music type? Why?*

"The music must guide what is taking place. You can use a song with a certain particular meaning while teaching… or in ministry for instance asking the Spirit to touch those who feel unwell. Any other music might not achieve this."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired in CCR healing ministry? If yes, which ones and why?*

"We find instruments like keyboard and guitars good because they help us to improve in singing."

d) *Can the CCR healing ministry work without people having to sing?*

"Many things would not go the same way if music were to be absent. How to bring people to the best prayer mood can be a problem. Even praising and adoring God without music is not good. The healing ministry would be affected and less healing is likely."

e) *Name/describe any visible effect in CCR healing ministry that you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"If you look at the people's moods you will see that it depends on the music they are singing."

f) *Is anything else attached to the CCR healing ministry in such a way that it must be fulfilled before healing can take place?*

"Everything is done to appease the Spirit of God… so that He who heals us."

Interviewee 9: Catherine Wanjiru

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Catherine Wanjiru's Personal Information

Age	32
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Kiambu
Education up to	Form 4
Source of income	Business
Years involved	6

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"Music and healing minister"

b) *What is your task in CCR healing?*

"I do several tasks like singing, teaching new songs, ministry and intercession."

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"About singing, I decide first what I want to do with the music. It might be to call upon the Holy Spirit to come, invoke the healing power of the blood of Jesus, lovely entertainment to enhance togetherness, or it could be to praise God and adore Him. Then I choose songs that have that message. If I need a song that is not known to the participants, I teach the song. In the ministry I lead in prayers and intercede for people."

d) *Are there times music making comes out better than others? If yes, why so?*

"Yes, people need to be encouraged to sing to God better each time so that the impact of the ministry is stronger."

e) *How did you pick up in this role of minister, and how are new ministers recruited?*

"I did Life in the Spirit Seminar, and was commissioned to serve. In evangelization we need music and one would have to learn many new songs that are of use in spreading the gospel. From among these songs you choose the song to use depending on what you are doing. Then you have to read the scriptures more and more to be better versed with the word before you can teach others."

f) *In what ways is it useful to be in CCR healing ministry?*

"It is very satisfying to see what God does. You cannot regret being in the ministry because God does wonders that encourage you. It also helps us to be stronger in the Lord, to shun the things of the world and embrace the Kingdom that God has promised to us. Trials are there always and one needs to be strong in the Lord to overcome them. This ministry encourages me."

3. History and meaningfulness of the CCR healing ministry

a) *For long has the CCR healing ministry existed?*

"In 1967 it began in America."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"God has ways of making His revelations at the time He chooses. The church had for a long time suppressed gifts of the Holy Spirit. The time came that God found it necessary to make the revelation so as to minister to Catholics."

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in the CCR ministry.*

"Remarkable things happen every time. We see similar miracles everywhere we minister because God is the same everywhere. Differences exist only because we are already different in our upbringing. For some, involvement with *mapepo* and *majini* cause serious problems that require us to call upon the Name of Jesus for their healing to occur[408]. Others like in my family have been affected by curses for various reasons. You know that mistakes of other people can bring suffering into our lives. In my family we have had a curse and many of us do not get married after my grandfather refused my mother to marry a man who had paid dowry. It is very bad to take someone's property and not honor an agreement! That person needs not curse you; you have to suffer together with your children up to the fourth generation as it has been written in the bible. So then some of us have had to suffer for my grandfather's mistake. Each of my grandfather's four wives has unmarried daughters. But once you meet Jesus in your own personal way, He delivers you from any evil bondage and your doors open to opportunities. The situation is therefore currently changing, and so we know it is because of it that things had been bad."

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[408] *Mapepo* here means evil spirits. *Majini* or genies were also mentioned in the chapter on Kamba healing. They are believed even among these charismatic Catholics to be a possible cause of suffering for people.

f) *Is CCR healing faced with any problems today?*

"Yes there are problems. The devil cannot allow such good work of the Lord to continue uninterrupted. You even find conflicts between members of the renewal itself. But our major problem is from church leaders who are not giving people the right direction. Being a church leader requires that one be always guided by the Holy Spirit."

g) *Do you think CCR healing will continue long into the future?*

"CCR in Kenya is getting deeper roots as more people get the message and renew themselves. The future can be expected to be better even though challenges are there. God will continue to reveal Himself."

h) *What in CCR healing is exactly the cause of healing and fulfillment?*

"Once you place your burdens before the Lord Jesus, you can walk free. He has said: 'come to me you who are heavily burdened, and I shall give you rest.'"

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a CCR ministry session?*

"Music must exist in a flow … some sort of climbing flow[409]. Then again after the ministry you have to use music to bring people down…. The songs need to welcome the spirit to come and touch those who are wounded, burdened, and the sick."

b) *Can CCR healing ministry work on a different music type? Why?*

"The songs can be different of course as long as they connect well with the other songs to ensure that flow is retained. The message in the song is crucial and must support whatever we are doing."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired in CCR healing ministry? If yes, which ones and why?*

"Things turn out better when we have instruments like pianos and guitars. Drums are also good."

d) *Can the CCR healing ministry work without people having to sing?*

"You see the problem is that music is the main weapon of victory. In singing captives are set free. In the bible, Paul and Silas used music to defeat the devil. God was touched by their music and prayer so that the earth was shaken by His power and the doors to the

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[409] She uses 'flow' to refer to gentle connection between songs; without breaks or sudden rhythmic, pitch or intensity changes. This was better portrayed by her hand gestures than the words.

prison opened. Paul and Silas could have escaped if they wanted, because their music and prayer invoked God's power in a mighty way."

e) *Name/describe any visible effect in CCR healing ministry that you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"Music helps to bring about a joyful mood. Other times music enables us to sustain a prayerful mood so that people can speak with their God better. Also music can evoke a dance mood. People even get healed while singing."

f) *Is anything else attached to the CCR healing ministry in a way that it must be fulfilled before healing can take place?*

"Yes, the message we deliver is of utmost importance for healing to occur. People must repent their sins and turn to God. This is the starting point to healing. It helps also to pray and lay our hands on them because God uses us in a unique way as His servants."

Interviewee 10: Mburung'a David

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Mburung'a's Personal Information

Age	52
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Meru
Education up to	University
Source of income	Business
Years involved	First timer

2) Experiencing the Healing

a) *Describe your experience*

"I do not know what God is trying to show me! Or how can this be coincidental? Look, yesterday after Philip's lesson, I decided to forgive my son. This son has been such a difficult son, so that I had to expel him from home. What do you do to a son who always comes home very late, drunk and noisy? And by the way I even had to struggle to have him in school because he frequently escaped from school to be a street boy in town. We tried all ways to keep him in school, but he only managed scoring a very poor grade.

Now it was after school that he turned completely mad, and I had to get him out of my home. So for several years he has been living somewhere in Isiolo on his own; dirty and miserable for food and basic needs, I hear people say!

Yesterday, the very day I forgave him, I received a sms[410] from a priest here in Isiolo. It said: 'your son urgently wants to meet you so that you may reconcile; please call me as soon as you can.' My mobile phone has been locked in that room for more than twelve hours. So I did not read that message until much later. So the priest has arrived this morning to see if we could meet. Have you seen this priest who was here just when we were taking tea in the morning? [I answered "yes"] It was him. What surprises me is that the very day I forgave him is the same day he saw a need to reconcile with me. It must be the Holy Spirit at work! It is not possible to find such a coincidence unless under control of God. I believe no more problems will surface between us."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"No…never"

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"The music was good."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"I sang and danced like anybody else."

e) *Name a song that interested you most and give a reason for this.*

"All the songs are equally good. I see no difference."

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"Of course yes! I cannot forget this coincidence that occurred in my retreat here.

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"Yes, my father was a senior employee at *Mzungu* Kamindo's farm in Timau.[411] He had authority to even sack an employee at will. Unfortunately my father used his authority badly, so that many employees hated him. Indeed, they once meet at a low ground and cursed him for all the evil he was doing. In the meantime my father used his money to

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[410] He was referring to a short text message sent via mobile phone.
[411] Kamindo was the name of a *Mzungu* [white man] who owned the farm where Mburung'a father worked. He was among the many white settler farmers owning stretches of fertile land in Kenya. He had remained even after the end of colonialism and the farm has had numerous workers on the farms till this day.

educate his children well. I did Bachelors degree in commerce and for a long time served as an administrator of an insurance company in Nairobi. My job was well paid, and so I began to acquire assets for myself. Here in Isiolo for instance I have several portions of land in the town.

I had just completed constructing business houses here on one of the pieces of land I had bought earlier, when I heard that a cyclone brought it down almost immediately it was completed! Nothing remained even though the house was semi permanent. The iron sheets, timber, doors and everything else was carried away by the wind. Then I later decided to reconstruct the house. The last day of construction I had arrived in order to pay the remaining funds to the contractors. As we spoke with them shortly before clearing their bills, a light wind began to blow from the West. To my surprise, the building was down again; this time it fell as I watched. I was too angry to even collect an iron sheet or anything! I just went away. But today I connect all this to that curse my father had from his co-workers at the *Mzungu's* farm. I believe it was the cause of all these problems. How does a son who misses nothing at home choose to be a street boy, taking dirty food remains from litter bins in town? And how can such a light wind bring down a semi permanent house twice. By the way, this building was not the only building there, but it fell each time alone. It is clear to me that these things have untold causes. I believe my son is simply not the cause of his suffering. It is that curse which will affect us up to the third generation unless we seek Jesus. Thank God I have known it!"

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier before the retreat?*

"Yes indeed I feel very relieved to understand the cause of my problems and to know that God is able to get me through them."

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

"When I arrived here, I could not lift my shoulders up like this (he demonstrated). If I did, I would feel pain, which I do not feel now."

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

"God has done for me two things. To enable me forgive my son, and to break my curses. I want to advise my other family members to look for the same. These things must have caused my shoulder pains among others problems."

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed? If not who does?*

"No, the leaders do that."

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear? If yes, which ones?*

"No, I enjoyed the music, and after all songs are for the glory of God."

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling function of this kind? If yes, describe the experience.*

"No"

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"No"

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"I did not have a specific favorite."

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience tonight? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"I sang and danced"

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"All of us did that"

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

APPENDIX 4: CCR HEALING MINISTRY MUSIC

Examples

Song 6: Wewe ni Mungu (audio track 8)

Song 7: Usinipite Mwokozi (audio track 8)

Song 8: Oh the Blood of Jesus (audio track 8)

♩=118

Oh the blood of Je sus Oh the blood of Je

Oh the blood of Je sus Oh the blood of Je

sus Oh the blood of Je sus it wa shes white than

sus Oh the blood of Je sus it wa shes white than

Fine **stanza 1**

snow There is hea ling in the blood of Je sus There is hea ling in the

snow of Je sus There is hea ling in the

blood of Je sus There is hea ling in the blood of Je sus it

blood of Je sus There is hea ling in the blood of Je sus it

D.C. al Fine

wa shes white than snow

wa shes white than snow

Song 9: Show Your Power (audio track 8)

Song 10: That's why I Praise You (audio track 8)

That's why I praise you Lord in the morning that's why I praise you Lord in the noon time that's why I praise you Lord

That's why I praise you in the morning that's why I praise you in the noon time that's why I praise you

That's why I praise you in the morning that's why I praise you in the noon time that's why I praise you

Fine **stanza 1**

in the ev'ning that's why I praise you all the time You are so faith ful so faith ful

in the ev'ning that's why I praise you all the time so faith ful

in the ev'ning that's why I praise you all the time so faith ful

(3) *D.C. al Fine*

so faith ful You are so faith ful so faith ful so faith ful

so faith ful You are so faith ful so faith ful so faith ful

so faith ful You are so faith ful so faith ful so faith ful

Song 11: Haifai Tena (audio track 9)

Original by Daniel Kinyua (Kenyan)

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEWS – STREET MUSICIANS

Interviewee 11: Owuor John Okumu

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Owuor's Personal Information

Age	34
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Siaya
Education up to	Standard 8
Source of income	Music
Years involved	7

2) Experiencing the Healing

a) *Describe your experience*

"…Honestly I do not play this music because I earn well from it… I end up with little money to pay my house rent and buy some food. You know if a person is handicapped… no one bothers. And we have to struggle on our own to live on. Now I came here hoping to find better living conditions… I stayed with my brother who eventually began to abuse me… so I had to leave and stay on my own. Playing music helps me to forget these problems. But it is also my only source of money… and if I cannot get enough for what I need, I ask for help from friends so as to survive."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"Yes… music performance is not new to me. I lived in Siaya until 1997 when I decided to come to Nairobi. At this time I played Nyatiti[412] for village entertainment. But the problem with the village is that no one pays for the music. You have to look for money some other way even as you are an entertainer. You know people are poor there… Even if they come looking for you… It is much better in Nairobi because people offer us what they can… I enjoyed playing Nyatiti for entertainment… and people liked my performance… though only with their mouths."

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

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[412] Nyatiti is an eight string lyre found among the Luo ethnic group.

"The music helps my heart to calm down… There are times things get really bad. Like…I have been married three times and no wife was good. The first one ran away with all my belongings from our room… when I was away. The second one did a similar thing. The third one was unfaithful… so I had to decide to do without her. People despise us …the handicapped… they like my music…when I play music and people enjoy, I feel good."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"I accompany myself with an instrument… and also sing."

e) *Name a song that you liked most and give a reason for this.*

"…Songs are the same."

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"No"

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"Yes as I play different songs, some songs remind me of things some people have done to me that are bad. That can make me feel sad. Others remind me of good things of the past and even of the future. Depending on what the song reminds me… it can bring me happiness or sadness."

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier in the day? If yes how so?*

"No… I feel the same"

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

"No"

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

NA

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed? If not who does?*

"Yes"

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear? If yes, which ones?*

NA

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling function of this kind? If yes, describe the experience.*

"My music making in Siaya was more gratifying even though it was not paid for… People would come looking for me when they needed entertainment. It was very good to

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see people appreciate… The problem is that you would even lack soap because there you get no money."

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"I would be happy to have a Nyatiti… Xylophones… *Ngoma*… Accordion… harmonica. I play these… and they would improve my music."

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"…I play music that people around appreciate. In Siaya I played *nyatiti*… here I use keyboard. I like all music."

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience today? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"I play an instrument… and sing."

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"I like singing… and find joy in doing it."

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"…I sometimes must think how to get money to survive. My brothers and parents don't care for me anymore. It is hard for me to sing… without money for my house? These times I get quite distressed... I have to borrow from friends.

Interviewee 12: Christina Joseph

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Christina's Personal Information

Age	28
Sex	Female
Birth Place	Mombasa
Education up to	Standard 7
Source of income	Music and her mother
Years involved	4 months

2) Experiencing the Healing

a) *Describe your experience*

"I have much to thank God for… This is a new day and we are lucky to be living. We should sing to Him (God)."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"When singing I feel the same glorifying God… in church …or just anywhere. God can be glorified in prayer too. I do this so that someone else will hear the message…and may also be saved."

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"All songs are the same… so long as its message is Glory to God."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"I sing… and play the drum. Normally my voice is the second one[413]"

e) *Name a song that you liked most and give a reason for this.*

"Are they not the same?"

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"No"

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"No"

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier in the day? If yes how so?*

"No"

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[413] She uses 'first and second voice' to differentiate soprano and alto parts.

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

"No"

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

NA

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed? If not who does?*

"No… isn't it the leader who should do so?"

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear? If yes, which ones?*

NA

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling function of this kind? If yes, describe the experience.*

"No"

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"Yes, we did not have a bass guitarist… The music is better with both guitars playing."

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"…I like all types of music."

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience today? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"Singing… drumming… and the shakers"

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"…That is my talent."

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"I have been ailing around the chest region… and when I feel pain it is not possible to sing well. Right now I need money to buy some drugs… I had an X-ray and the doctor says I have wounds in the chest region. I feel pain and that makes it hard to sing well… my mother also has no money to help me now.

Interviewee 13: Gatune

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Gatune's Personal Information

Age	39
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Murang'a
Education up to	Standard 8
Source of income	Music
Years involved	10

2) Experiencing the Healing

a) *Describe your experience*

"I would call it good experience."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

"No"

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"Music entertains me… makes me joyful… and helps me to financially be independent."

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

It was observable.

e) *Name a song that you liked most and give a reason for this.*

"All the songs are good… but I specially like '*Hesabu Baraka*'…and '*Yesu kwetu ni Baraka*'."

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"No"

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

 "No"

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier in the day? If yes how so?*

"No"

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

"No"

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

NA

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed? If not who does?*

"Yes… I have to decide depending on the time of the year. During lent season I play songs of lent… on Christmas I choose Christmas songs… and on national holidays I play patriotic songs."

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling function of this kind? If yes, describe the experience.*

"No"

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"Yes… I make better music with accordion… and guitar. For now I do not have any of them so I use only the Harmonica."

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"Actually I like all… from popular, to patriotic, to gospel."

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience today? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"Playing harmonica - not in group but solo"

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"I discovered this talent while in primary school…sometimes people stand here to listen to my music. People like it!"

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

Interviewee 14: Shombe John

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARTICIPANTS

1) Shombe's Personal Information

Age	37
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Kuria
Education up to	None
Source of income	Music making
Years involved	15 years

2) Experiencing the Healing

a) *Describe your experience*

"God's grace has taken me far… Doesn't matter how much I earn."

b) *Have you experienced the same outside of this function; If yes, where?*

 "No"

c) *Describe your experience with music.*

"…Normal pleasure with music… nothing special"

d) *What role did you play in music making?*

"Singing… and playing guitar"

e) *Name a song that you liked most and give a reason for this.*

NA

f) *Is anything happening today especially memorable?*

"No"

g) *Does your experience remind you anything about your past life? If yes, what?*

"Yes, playing music here reminds me of many things, but among these, the bomb blast at US embassy here is still very clear in my mind. I was playing on the street when it happened… and so it has never left my mind."

h) *Do you feel different from what you felt earlier in the day? If yes how so?*

"No"

i) *Is any bodily experience/change uniquely connected to this function? If yes, which?*

NA

j) *What causes do you attribute to this experience?*

NA

3) Missing music options

a) *Do you decide what music is to be performed? If not who does?*

"Yes, I just decide which song to begin…It just comes into my mind as I play guitar. Sometimes I even compose new songs as I play… without any particular song in mind."

b) *Do you know some songs you missed to hear? If yes, which ones?*

"No"

c) *Have you in the past involved yourself in a more fulfilling function of this kind? If yes, describe the experience.*

"Yes… some songs turn out to be more satisfying at different times. There are times that songs are very touching."

d) *Was any resource (instrument, costume, leader etc) missing out? If yes, which, and what difference do you think it would have caused?*

"Yes… I prefer the electric guitar… with it I could record some of my music and sell. I believe I could be really far now… but for lack of resources I have continued to suffer."

e) *What kind of music do you like most?*

"I prefer gospel songs to other songs… but I compose some songs that are not religious."

f) *Do you normally have special experiences while performing or listening to music that you did not experience today? If yes, which ones?*

"It is not very good when I am the only guitarist… I like when we have two or three guitarists…so that the music is better."

4) Abilities and making of choices in music

a) *What was your place in group music making?*

"I play guitar… compose… and sing."

b) *Why do you choose this role?*

"I like it."

c) *Do you face any challenges in music performance? If yes, which ones?*

"There are some people calling themselves researchers who come talking to us here that keep worrying me because they write bad things about us… No one chooses to be a

beggar… we have no other way to get food… educate our children and live like everyone else. The government can promote us financially. If they can help us with some money to buy better equipments and record our music it would be great. But nobody is interested!

Interviewee 15: Raymond Beka

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GROUP LEADERS

1) Raymond's Personal Information

Age	25
Sex	Male
Birth Place	Mombasa
Education up to	Standard 8
Source of income	Music
Years involved	2

2) Leadership responsibilities

a) *What is your leadership position?*

"Coordinate the group"

b) *What is your task in street music making?*

"I play guitar… and sing"

c) *Describe and explain how you perform this special task?*

"I just begin playing the guitar and a song comes. Then after the song another one will automatically come."

d) *Are there times your performance is better than other times? If so why?*

"Yes… it depends on the kind of instruments we have. Today you can see the instruments are failing us.[414] We need electric guitars… and better drums."

e) *How did you take up the role of band coordinator or how are new leaders selected?*

"You know they come and request to join me in the music… and I agree. So then we simply arrange how to come… so that we are here together in the morning."

f) *In what ways is it useful to involve yourself in street music making?*

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[414] The guitar connection to amplifier and speakers had caused interruption two times. Blind Raymond was the only one who could reconnect them.

"…It helps us to get something…something small to live on… and also to spread the gospel."

3. History and meaningfulness of street music making

a) *For how long has street music making existed in Nairobi?*

"…I do not know… I found others here when I came from Mombasa a year ago."

b) *What may have caused its development?*

"You know the economy is not good… and we must survive"

c) *Describe any remarkable past experiences you have witnessed with participants involved in the CCR ministry.*

"Nothing extraordinary"

f) *Is your street music making faced with any problems today?*

"Yes… we cannot play at the best places… where many people pass, because business people complain that we are blocking the way for their customers. Other times the City Council Askaris force us out… they say we should not position ourselves in certain places in the city.

g) *Do you think street music making will continue long into the future?*

"Yes I think we will continue with this"

h) *What exactly in street music making is your motivation to continue?*

"You know most of us here do not have any source of income… we need food and shelter like everybody else. Glorifying God is fulfilling also for saved Christians… like us here."

4) The Issues on Music

a) *What do you consider when deciding on the music for a day?*

"We do not plan about music for each day… People already know the songs… and as long as the song is known to all of us, we have no problem. If a song is new, we learn it right here and then continue."

b) *Can street music making work on a different music type? Why?*

"…we sing gospel because most of our group members are saved."

c) *Are there specific musical instruments or artifacts needed or desired in street music making? If yes, which ones and why?*

"Guitars are very useful… but the one we have here is poor. Electric guitars would be much better. Also we need drums… shakers… and microphones."

d) *Can the passers-by still give some money without you having to sing?*

"Yes… but we want to pass the Word[415] to them too so that those who are not saved may also be changed."

e) *Name/describe any visible effect in street music making that you think is exclusively a result of music.*

"People are happier singing than not."

f) *Is anything else attached to street music making in a way that it must be fulfilled before you are satisfied with your day?*

"No… once the day is over we just share what we got and travel back to Kariobangi"

---

[415] He used Kiswahili word '*neno*' which literally means 'word', but is often used by preachers to mean 'the word of God' [in reference to the biblical message].

APPENDIX 6: MUSIC OF NAIROBI STREET MUSICIANS

Song 12: Afadhali Maskini (audio track 11)

By Owuor J. Okumu (street musician)

Voice

A fa dha li mas ki ni a e nda ye ka ti ka u nyo fu wa ke ku li ko m po to vu wa mi do mo

a li ye m pu mba vu M pu mba vu wa ku i po to sha nji a ya ke mwe nye we

na mo yo wa ke u zi ma juu ya ta maa ku ko sa

Song 13: Mambo Sawa Sawa (audio track 13)

Original in English by George Okadi (Ugandan),
Translated to Kiswahili by Ruth Wamuyu (Kenyan).

13

Ye sua ki wa e nzi ni ma mbo sa wa sa wa

Ye sua ki wa e nzi ni ma mbo sa wa sa wa

F# F# B B F#

16

D.C.

ma mbo sa wa sa wa ma mbo sa wa sa wa

ma mbo sa wa sa wa ma mbo sa wa sa wa

F# C# C# F# F#

Drum Rhythms in TUBS[416]

Head	X		X	X				X		X	X		
Side						X							

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[416] Sometimes the drum was hit at the side to produce the rhythm shown for drum head as well.

Song 14: Masia Nakutegemea (audio track 14)[417]

Original by Emmanuel Chibanda (Kenyan)

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[417] I have omitted the guitar improvisation. As can be heard from audio CD (track 14), the guitar part changes constantly employing parts of the melody or chordal material at different points.

(measure 13)

Fine (2)

ni ta ku te ge me a ba ba

ni ta ku te ge me a ba

ni ta ku te ge me a

(measure 17)

(2) *D.C. al Fine*

ba

ni ta ku te ge me a

Drum rhythm in TUBS[418]

Head	X				X		X	X			X		X	X	
Side			X			X	X		X			X	X		

---

[418] Sometimes the fast notes produced by hitting the side which appear at the same time as those produced through struck drum head are omitted.

358

Song 15: Sodoma na Gomora (audio track 12)[419]

Original by Mary Otieno (Kenyan)

Song 16: Blessed Assurance (audio track 15)[420]

<div style="text-align: right;">Original by Fanny J. Crosby (1820-1915)</div>
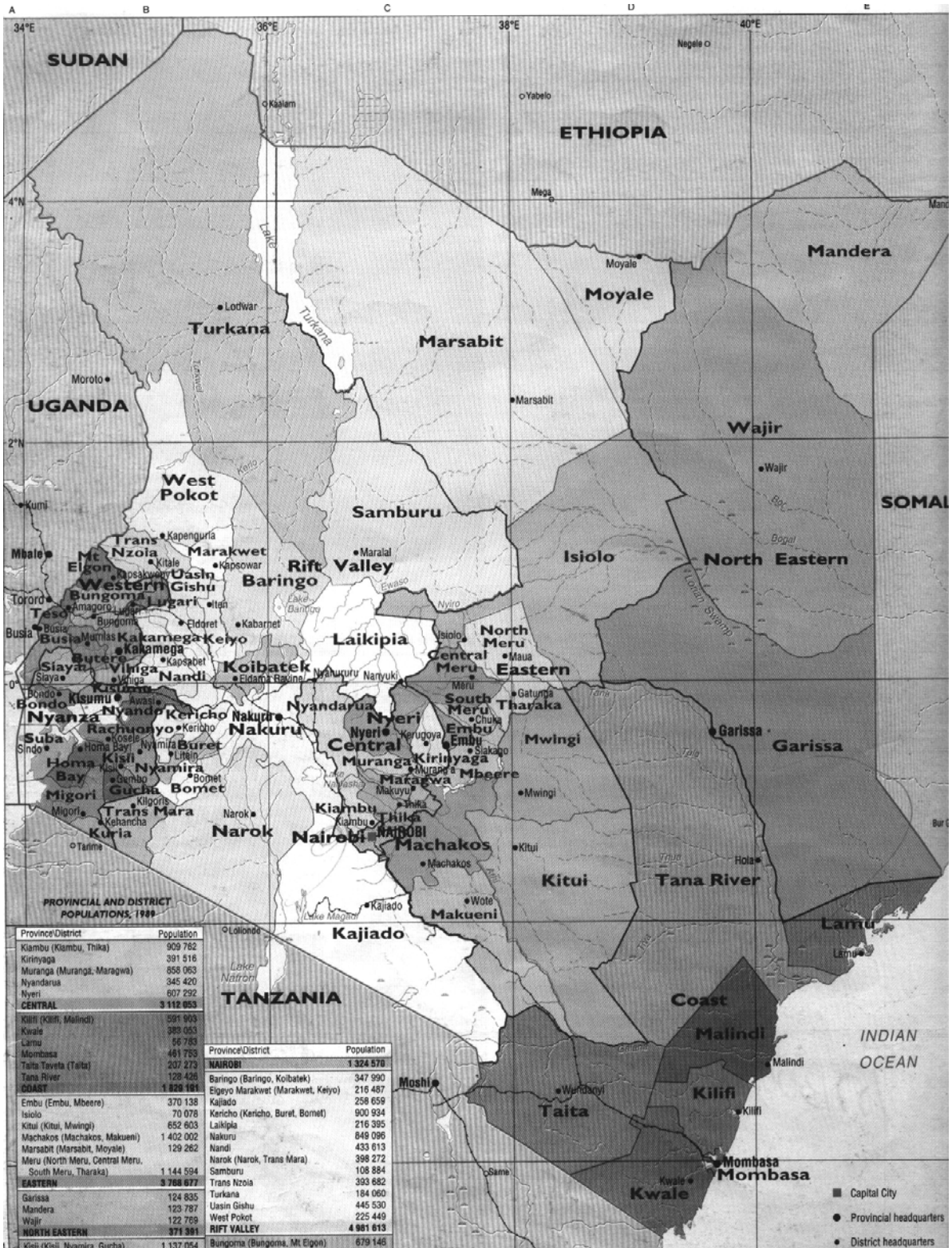

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[420] Gatune does not follow the shown meter keenly, nor does he play the complete phrases of this well known hymn as they are usually sung. The key is definitely not suited for sang version of this hymn.

APPENDIX 7: MAP OF KENYA[421]

[421] Source: Macmillan Atlas, Nairobi, 1999.

Wissenschaftlicher Werdegang Muriithi Kigunda

Geburtstag: 15 June 1975

Geburtsort: Meru

Staatsangehörigkeit: Kenyan

Besuchte Hochschulen:

1995 – 1999 Kenyatta University:

Studiengang: Bachelor of Education (Arts).

2000 – 2002 Kenyatta University:

Studiengang: Master of Music.

2004 – 2007 Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg:

Einschreibung als Doktorand an der Fakultät für Geistes-, Sozial- und Erziehungswissenschaften.

2004 – 2007 University of Applied Sciences Magdeburg-Stendal:

Gast Student, Fachbereich Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen, Studiengang: Musiktherapie.