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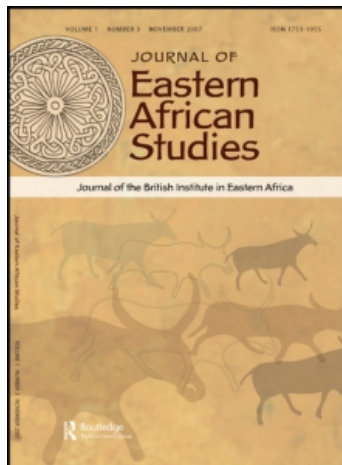
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### Kalenjin popular music and the contestation of national space in Kenya

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## **Kalenjin popular music and the contestation of national space in Kenya**

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This paper addresses how Kalenjin popular music, played mainly on the Kalenjin language KASS FM Radio based in Nairobi and also broadcasting on the Internet, participates in the consolidation of Kalenjin identities by recasting the collective national space – as governed by the nation-state – as a sphere of influence potentially injurious to imagined Kalenjin cultural and economic interests. It becomes a music of identity that deploys history, mythology and narration as a means of reshaping Kalenjin self-definition and culture. But while paying attention to these forms of ethnic self-definition, and how they are used to counter the homogenizing and hegemonizing logic of the national space, this paper also addresses the contradictions that circumscribe the music's gesture towards the pure ethnic while operating from a space that is already hybrid and multicultural, shaped by a confluence of non-Kalenjin ways of life, values and ideas. The conclusion shows how the emergence of new sites of power brokering has challenged the nation-state's governance of the public domain.

**Keywords:** Kalenjin; popular music; identity; national space; Kenya

The social and political re-arrangement that followed the radical shift to multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992 gave rise to diverse responses in the field of creative arts. Popular music, especially, was at the forefront in both the contestation of the status quo and in the configuration of emerging socio-political spaces and identities.<sup>1</sup> By 2002, the year of the election that ended Daniel Arap Moi's 24-year grip on power, numerous ethnic FM radio stations had come into being, thanks to the relinquishing of full state control of the broadcast media. One immediate consequence of this was the popularization of ethnic music, and the consolidation of ethnic identities through such music and through live call-in programmes. Ethnic popular music, and those ethnic FM radio stations broadcasting these songs, became powerful sites for constituting new spaces of expression alternative to that authored by the nation-state.

A particularly salient feature of Kalenjin popular music since the late 1990s is its articulation and constitution of Kalenjin consciousness. "Kalenjinness" is itself a fairly recent construct for, until at least 1940s, there were no people called Kalenjin.<sup>2</sup> The sub-ethnic groups who were until then referred to by missionaries and colonial administrators merely as Nandi-speaking<sup>3</sup> peoples, transformed themselves into the Kalenjin, "an imagined community", according to Ogot, which now included "the Pokot, Tugen, Keiyo, Marakwet, Nandi, Kipsigis, and the Terik".<sup>4</sup> As would follow

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any cultural construction of community, traditions were subsequently invented and histories reconfigured to establish social cohesion and a stronger sense of group membership. This “symbolic construction of community”, as Cohen<sup>5</sup> would call it, was conducted by the Kalenjin elite in the twilight of British colonialism in Kenya. It was driven not only by the need to address “local rural grievances and aspirations”<sup>6</sup> but also by the inevitable strategic re-alignment and power brokering ahead of independence.

On the other hand, the resurgence of Kalenjin consciousness in the post-Moi era has been given impetus by a confluence of other factors, including the heightened ethnicization of national politics by both the state and other political actors, the overriding sense of persecution in the post-Moi era and, ironical enough, independence from Moi’s patronage of Kalenjin culture and politics. It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into each of these factors, but let us focus on the extent to which Kalenjin popular music became a vehicle for these aspirations and goals. As one of the sites for the production of “Kalenjinness”, popular music responded to the challenges of this transitional moment by reworking and repackaging cultural symbols, historical pasts and folkloric themes, to enable a conception of a homogenous Kalenjin community with a common past. This music also set itself against an assumed common threat in the present: the nation-state, resignified as the symbol of a Kikuyu hegemony.<sup>7</sup>

Like in the term Kalenjin, the nomenclature “Kalenjin popular music” is similarly one of convenience. I use it here to designate that particular broad form of popular music – whether secular dance music or gospel music – that consciously projects, redefines and revalorizes the discourses of “Kalenjinness”. The production of such music began in earnest after the first multi-party elections of 2002 and the effect and proliferation of its acoustics was fortuitously guaranteed by the emergence of Kass FM radio station a year later. Indeed, there is an interesting symbiotic relationship between the identity politics of Kass FM and that of Kalenjin popular music, and it is necessary to discuss this briefly before turning to the music texts.

### **Kass FM, Kalenjin music and identity politics**

Kass FM radio markets itself as “*Tuget ab Bik ab Kalenjin*” (the voice of the Kalenjin people). This blatant identification by a radio station with the ethnic constituency of its listeners is by no means unique to Kass FM. The many vernacular stations owned by the company Royal Media Services, and which enjoyed a lot of goodwill from the newly installed Kibaki regime after the 2002 elections, were already doing this before Kass FM hit the air waves. What was distinctive about Kass FM, however, was the manner in which it focused upon its intended audience and turned the project into a fully fledged reconstruction of the “primordialness” of Kalenjin ethnic identity. Kass FM was not just “imagining” its community of listeners in order to boost advertising sales, it was, in effect, giving form and meaning to a resurgent cultural formation. This quickly drew the attention of the Kenyan state which, although it had by then allowed the expansion of democratic space to some extent, was still not entirely comfortable with the idea of un-regulated auditory spaces.<sup>8</sup> From the start, then, Kass FM threw down the political gauntlet.

One crucial radio chat show, *Kakipta*, sought to re-assemble the past in order to demonstrate the common origins and traditions of the Kalenjin and chart a common political future. It was in the *Kakipta* programme that Kiipkoech arap Sambu, an

Egyptologist of Kalenjin birth, disseminated his compelling research into the religious and cultural connection between the Kalenjin and ancient Egyptian civilization.<sup>9</sup> In another Kass FM programme, Sambu reconstructed the history of the *Orkoik*, Kalenjin ritual leaders who have historically been especially prominent among Nandi and Kipsigis. This programme inspired efforts to iconize Koitalel Samoei, the leader of the Nandi war of resistance against imposition of British colonial rule, as a national hero. Whether it was out of political expedience or a genuine acknowledgement of Koitalel's heroism, the Kibaki administration responded to this by funding a national mausoleum for Koitalel in the Rift Valley town of Nandi Hills, the site of his interment.<sup>10</sup>

In the airing of these programmes, music with relevant thematic content on Kalenjin unity, culture and history was played during the interludes and also as signature tunes at the beginning and end of each broadcast. Initially, the choice of such music was limited, but very soon local composers took the cue and began writing music inspired by the radio chat show discussions. This music responded directly to the political scenario then emerging in Kenya's national politics, a scenario that was marked by the increasing organization of political access along ethnic lines.

### Negotiating the local and the national

Reading after Connel and Gibson,<sup>11</sup> Michel Titlestad asserts that "soundscapes are a compelling basis for the analysis of tactical practices that link space, history and identity in individuals' attempts to make sense of their quotidian existence".<sup>12</sup> In Kalenjin popular music the homogenizing and hegemonizing presence of the nation-state is answered through discursive re-territorialization of the "local" space, where a naturalized identity between people and place is established while its relationship with the public space is redefined. Jane Kotut of the Keiyo Stars band tries this feat in her track "Rift Valley" which she released in 2003 around the time of the controversial referendum on the new constitution.<sup>13</sup> Here, the title "Rift Valley" refers not to the Kenyan section of the Great Rift Valley, the land formation stretching from the Red Sea to Mozambique in Southern Africa, but to the ethnic profile of one of Kenya's most expansive administrative units, Rift Valley Province, the dominant inhabitants of which are the Kalenjin and the Maasai. In Kotut's lyrics the territory and the people are imagined as one and the same; one derives its identity and sustenance from the other. The opening verse in the song declares Rift Valley "our homeland" and proceeds to list the Kalenjin sub-ethnic groups as those that qualify to be tagged under the possessive plural "our":

*Rift Valley, eeh woe oliinyo,  
Rift Valley, oliinyo achek Kalenjin,  
Rift Valley, Kipsigis, Tugen ak Nandi,  
Rift Valley, Keiyo, Marakwet ak Pokot  
Rift Valley, Sabiny ak Maasai ak Turkana  
Rift Valley, oliinyo eeh.*

Rift Valley eeh, our homeland  
Rift Valley, our home, the Kalenjin  
Rift Valley, Kipsigis, Tugen and Nandi  
Rift Valley, Keiyo, Marakwet and Pokot  
Rift Valley, Sabiny ak Maasai, Turkana  
Rift Valley, our homeland, oh.

In her list of the inhabitants of this territory Kotut includes the Maasai and the Turkana, who though not belonging to the Kalenjin ethnic group are indigenous inhabitants of the Rift Valley. This co-option of the Maasai and the Turkana is in a

sense a reference to the political discourses revolving the idea of KAMATUSA ((Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu block), invented by Moi's political confidant, Nicholas Biwott, in the late 1980s to challenge the possible political hegemony of the so-called larger ethnic communities in Kenya, principally Luo and Kikuyu, especially after the failed coup attempt against Moi of 1982.

But Kotut's list is also tactically exclusionary and this is significant. By keeping silent about the multi-ethnic nature of the Rift Valley Province, which is, apart from the Coast Province, the only Kenyan province settled by ethnicities from all over the country, Kotut contests the official position of the state – which declares that every Kenyan, regardless of his/her ethnic identity, has a right to settle and work anywhere in the country. By this very silence Kotut and her Keiyo Stars locate their lyrics in Kenya's discourse of nation-building. In Kenya, the state's reiteration of the basic constitutional right of its citizens to settle in any place in the country has always emerged in contexts where political mobilization along ethnic lines gives rise to reification of territory and ethnic boundaries, and which in certain cases consequently threatens state hegemony and its policies of national homogeneity. The paradox, though, is that by claiming sole legitimacy in the formation of collective identity and national culture, through a dominant discourse that imagines national identities in homogenous and monolithic terms, the nation-state creates its own structures of exclusion and inclusion. As if in response to this discourse, Kalenjin popular music generates a counter (ethnic) nationalism which promises a more inclusionary form of belonging to its members than that provided by the nation-state.

Yet, even in Kotut's own lyrics, tension is not only evident in the relationship between the ethnic and the national, in which the former struggles against the hegemony of the latter; it also emerges when attempts to imagine Kalenjin identity in homogenous terms is haunted by the existence of contentious identities *within* the Kalenjin ethnicity. This is, perhaps, why in another track titled "Keiyo", Kotut retreats from the idea of the pan-ethnic Kalenjin to articulate, instead, a Keiyo identity.<sup>14</sup> Keiyo, as I have noted, is one of the sub-ethnicities of the Kalenjin and the fact that Kotut and her music band settles on this name for their identity points to competing identities among the Kalenjin and the impossibility of a homogenous Kalenjin identity. The track "Keiyo", unlike "Rift Valley" which sees the national space as problematic relates the Keiyo to the wider Kalenjin and seeks to assert its difference from it. This anxiety is captured in the following verses of the track "Keiyo":

<i>Keiyo, oh, omete Keiyo kolenge</i>	Keiyo, oh, leave Keiyo to prosper
<i>Keiyo ko komasta age ne matami ng'ala</i>	Keiyo is a peaceful country
<i>Amechut tukukap Keiyo ngo mengen Keiyo</i>	Do not interfere with Keiyo if you know nothing about Keiyo
<i>Keiyo you mi murenik che kigoger tai</i>	Keiyo is found progressive men
<i>Kiotarboch koywek che kiiboru</i>	You destroyed the stone-beacons that
<i>Iwatet nebo Goiin ak nebo Goi, eeh</i>	Used to distinguish this house and that other house
<i>Ara menyo sinenyo Keiyo nguno?</i>	So who are we as of now?

While it is not entirely clear who the "you" refers to in Kotut's lyrics, use of the expression, "this house and that other house" denote the popular reference, among the Kalenjin, to distinct clans and the sub-ethnic groups that constitute the Kalenjin.

Kotut's dilemma is that the desire for a pan-ethnic identity, the Kalenjin, within the expansive territory, the Rift Valley, which stands apart and distinct from the hegemonic nation-state called Kenya, marginalizes the specific Keiyo identity; yet Keiyo is the identity with which Kotut herself most strongly identifies. Ethnic boundaries, as Joan Nagel has noted, "determine who is a member and who is not and designate which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place".<sup>15</sup> Following this, one can state that the ethnic categories available for individual identification are not necessarily the sum total of the histories and cultures of the groups that constitute the ethnic block; they are, almost invariably, limited to the categories provided by the majority culture within the group. A pan-ethnic Kalenjin identity, for example, show-cases more of Kipsigis and Nandi histories and cultures than those of other Kalenjin groups, the reason being that these two are both the most populous but also because their early contact with colonial rulers gave them high visibility. This is still reflected today in the main dialects used in Kass FM broadcasts, despite this radio's claims to a Kalenjin "*kutit*" (language), which are Nandi and Kipsigis.<sup>16</sup>

Construction of a Kalenjin homogeneity and identity demands the erasure of internal differences among the disparate sub-ethnic groups, even though this may be in practical terms an impossible task. A strategy adopted by some musicians involves performing or projecting dominant social narratives and cultures that may be specific to a particular sub-ethnic group as if they are part of a pan-Kalenjin phenomenon. A good example of this is Kipchamba arap Tapotuk's re-reading of the Nandi resistance to British colonialism as a Kalenjin war of liberation, even though the other sub-ethnicities did not really participate in it. In a track titled "Koitalel arap Samoei", Kipchamba, a talented musician well known for his creative exploitation of Kipsigis folkloric structures in his lyrics, relates the circumstances surrounding the assassination in 1905 of Koitalel Samoei, the leader of the Nandi resistance, by a British army captain named Richard Meinertzhagen.<sup>17</sup> Koitalel was killed by Meinertzhagen under a flag of truce, an act of treachery that remains notorious in all Kalenjin narratives of the resistance. Reading Koitalel's narrative in the context of Kalenjin's post-Moi mis(perceptions) of persecution, Kipchamba revises it in order to retell it as the story of Kalenjin heroism. Kipchamba sings thus:

<i>Kingoit chumbeek Kenya</i>	When the Europeans arrived in Kenya
<i>Kobargei ak Kalenjin</i>	They fought with the Kalenjin
<i>Kiindojin borionoto Koitalel arap Samoei</i>	The battle was led by Koitalel arap Samoei
<i>Kikibar anyun Koitalel</i>	They killed Koitalel
<i>Laitoryantenyoo wee bichu</i>	Our king, oh people.

The resistance, popularly referred to as the Nandi war, becomes a Kalenjin war and Koitalel, a Nandi *Orkoiyot* (spiritual leader) becomes a Kalenjin King and martyr. Hence, to the singer, it is the erasure of the Nandi – and other sub-ethnicities – that makes the Kalenjin nation wholly visible and allows it to compete effectively with wider and alternative Kenyan identities.

### Othering the nation

In Kalenjin popular music, the national is often seen as antithetic to the local, but this is not always the case. In the songs of Geoffrey Koskei and the Makichei Boys

Band, the nation is not seen to contradict local space, but rather to inspire it. In Koskei's figuration, the nation is the "the rest of the country", but this also includes the Kalenjin, and it is incumbent upon the Kalenjin to figure out how best to embed themselves within Kenya without losing their local identity. What goes on outside the Kalenjin space is thus as important as what goes within it, and can only be ignored by the Kalenjin only at their peril. Koskei asks the question, "*Lene emet oh bororiet nyo?*" (Our people, what do you make of the pulsations of the rest of the country? What do her beats tell us?). He then proceeds: "The rest of the country is marching ahead / what about us? Let us run too / but let us support one another like pots"). The metaphor of the pots, which refers here to the need for intra-ethnic harmony and unity, is derived from the huge African traditional rounded pots found in the Kalenjin areas. These pots cannot stand alone and will tumble and roll unless they are skilfully arranged to lean against each other in perfect balance. This song provides the signature tune for the Kass FM live call-in current affairs show which discusses Kalenjin affairs in the context of national politics.

One of the ways in which the nation is "othered" in Kalenjin music is through articulation of a distinctive Kalenjin landscape which must be protected from exploitation by "outsiders". If Mt Kenya features in national consciousness as one of the symbolic markers of the imagined Kenyan nation, as often promoted by Kikuyu-speakers, then in the Kalenjin ethnic consciousness "Tulwop Kony", otherwise known as Mt Elgon, generates a unifying myth of origin for the Kalenjin sub-ethnic groups. Elgon is remembered as the last place of sojourn before the splintering of the Kalenjin group into the present eight sub-ethnic units. However, Mt Elgon is not a place "left behind", rather it is the ancestral home: thus, the Sabaot, a Kalenjin sub-ethnic group still resident on Mt Elgon, are given a special place as *Kap Gugo*, i.e. those who remained to guard the ancestral land.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the music of Kipchamba Tabotuk and that of Geoffrey Koskei, the Hills of Tindiret (in the Southern tip of Nandi district) and the Nandi escarpment are represented as corridors of defence against the enemies, the latter always lurking somewhere within the nation. The symbolic status of Tindiret and Nandi escarpment derives from their role as natural fortifications during the 11-year Nandi war of resistance against the imposition of British rule. The Nandi fighters would attack from the hills and disappear back into what, to the colonial army, might have appeared hostile and "primitive terrain", but which to the Nandi was a fortified, habitable world, whose caves acted as impenetrable bunkers. Koskei praises Tindiret thus:

<i>Tindiret nenyu, ne mahaloku bunyo</i>	Our Tindiret, no enemy can encircle it or penetrate it
<i>Tindiret nenyu ne ngoliel kegol bai</i>	Our Tindiret, her flashes of lightening and rumbling of thunder is a signal for us to seize the moment
<i>Ne kitabeni wareng ne tebess</i>	from its peak the whole land is surveyed and guarded

In a series of images, the Rift Valley landscape is at times represented as a tough country that no one can dare to lay siege, but at other times the landscape is feminized and projected as a weak "mother" who must be protected from the marauding wild beasts from beyond. Kotut again does this repeatedly in her music:



*Rift Valley, Achamin ane wee oliinyo*  
*Rift Valley, oripkei moto oyatyi kereri*  
*Rift Valley, nga kass kechupin arire*  
*Rift Valley, Sinendet ab Kugo ak Kogo*  
*Rift Valley, sou be kap kong ngeusin*  
*Rift Valley, arire kila eng inye*  
*Achame kamenyu, noto ko*

*Ongemamar bett ak kemboi*  
*Sima ung'egei tongik ap timin*

Rift Valley, I adore you my mother  
 Rift Valley, keep guard, fend off exploiters  
 When I hear you being bad mouthed, I cry  
 Rift Valley, the blessed land of our ancestors  
 I shed tears whenever you are oppressed  
 Rift Valley, I worry daily about you  
 Rift Valley, I adore my mother, that is Rift  
 Valley  
 Let us guard it, day and night, so that  
 no wild beasts can take refuge here

The landscape in this sense provides the necessary imagery and symbolic resource for the idealization of the “homeland”, the definition of self, and the marking of the contours of belonging. It also acts as the site for performing heroic histories. A landscape that is presented as marked by unique histories enables the enactment of *difference* from the nation, opening space for the possibilities of alternative identity formation. Idealization of the homeland or its mythification in Kalenjin popular music is also done through the strategy of allegory. To echo Yewah’s understanding of the task of the allegorist, the musician collects fragments of a people’s history, mythologies, symbols and images and uses them to “produce a meaning the fragments could not produce by themselves – a meaning not identical to the intention of the allegorist but reflecting his or her relation to the given historical context”.<sup>19</sup> In the context of Kalenjin popular music, two musicians, Kipchamba Tabutuk and Lilian Rotich do this with particular vigour, as they react to the perceived tribulations of the Kalenjin in the post-Moi years since 2002. Kipchamba’s track *Ngosamis muriat ko bo got nevo*, provides a fine example. The title adopts a popular Kalenjin proverb, that translates as “A stinking dead rat belongs to the owners of the house where the rat died; they own the smell”. The saying is taken to mean that one cannot abandon relatives simply because outsiders have condemned them. The same proverb was used by Kalenjin politicians to justify Moi’s regime in the late 1980s, at a time when opposition to his rule emerged. In this song Kipchamba narrates the story of two rival brothers who had parted ways but are brought together by adversity in the family:

*Sikoi kele ngosamis muriat kobo got nevo*

The reason why it is said a rotten rat belongs to the house where it has always lived

*Ko kingete bik eng chetupcho chkikasunyo*

Arose from two brothers who quarrelled and parted

*Kitunkole age amande anai nguko chomo*

One day one of the *chorwenyu* brothers decided to find out if his friend really loved him

*Kibar muryat ak konte teret eng tabut*

He killed a rat, put it in a pot and hid it in the garret

*Kingie kanun muriat ak kon'guu*

When the rat began to rot and produced a stench

*Kowaach chepoyosenyu, kole kikome chinyi*

The wife wailed and shouted that the husband was dead

*Kikosom bik kotoret komi chorwenyi*

He asked the people including the friend to help

*Makany kotoret kochoor*

Nobody was willing to touch a stinking dead body

<i>Kole alake osor werit kam konyo sikochoor</i>	Others suggested that the brother of the dead be fetched
<i>Kilany tabut netupcho, kikwo – ipkochor</i>	The brother came and climbed up the garret to bring down the body
<i>Kiyeit tabut kolenji netupcho, choru teret</i>	But instead he found the <i>sikikatke</i> brother alive who told him to take down a pot of beer

Although Kipchamba may have used the allegory of the two brothers to illustrate the deeper meaning of the proverb that constitutes the title of the track, the song as played by Kass FM radio is contextualized within the political project of building a Kalenjin block that would then bargain for power under one political leadership in a post-Moi arrangement. Under these circumstances, dissenting voices, especially those that seek to question the credentials of the emerging ethnic leadership, are admonished while the regular squabbles between the Kalenjin sub-ethnicities are engineered to provide grounds for stronger bonding. The Kalenjin perception of uncertainty and persecution in a post-Moi era demands that differences be overcome and unity be sought. The moral lesson in the allegory is best illustrated by Rennan's assertion (though made in a different context) that "suffering in common unifies more than joy does [and] where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties and require a common effort".<sup>20</sup> The brother's obligation in the face of grief brought them closer than their estrangement during the times of joy.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, one would say of recent Kalenjin popular music that its sudden interest in the revalorization of Kalenjin ethnic identities and contestation of national space is a response to the increasing ambivalence of a national politics that no longer seems to guarantee affiliation and inclusion. However, the desire for distance from the space of the nation creates its own anxieties when the emphasis upon the local sometimes seems to reproduce similar ambivalences. The solution to these anxieties may be seen most clearly in the lyrics of Koskei, whose music attacks the unitary logic of the nationalist discourses of the nation-state but without returning to the essentialisms of local Kalenjin cultures.

## Notes

1. Nyairo and Ogude, "Popular Music," 383–400.
2. The term Kalenjin is derived from the Nandi word meaning "I tell you," and was coined by students in the elite Alliance High School in the late 1940s to refer to the Kalenjin as a collectivity: see Kipkorir, *Marakwet*, and Anderson, *Eroding the Commons*, introduction.
3. The Nandi were the best known Kalenjin sub-ethnic group, due to their protracted resistance against British conquest. Nandi resistance, under the leadership of Koitalel Samoei, lasted from 1895 to 1906: Matson, *Nandi Resistance*.
4. Ogot, "Mau Mau and Nationhood," 15. The Sabat of Mt Elgon are excluded from Ogot's list.
5. See Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.
6. Ogot, "Mau Mau and Nationhood," 12.

7. This is not to imply that a homogenous Kalenjin community exists. Kalenjin dialects are not mutually intelligible over the entire region, although a pan-ethnic Kalenjin consciousness does exist and is often articulated in broader Kalenjin projects.
8. The Kibaki government made several attempts to withdraw the Kass FM's broadcast licence, and twice in one year broadcasts were suspended for several days.
9. Sambu, *Was Isis Asis?*
10. On the history of the *orkoiik*, see Anderson, "Black Mischief," 851–77, and Anderson, "Visions of the Vanquished," 164–95.
11. Connell and Gibson, *Soundtracks*.
12. Titlestad, "Listening to Bloke Modisane," 579.
13. Kotut, *Rift Valley*, audiocassette. Land tenure was amongst the most contentious issues in the 2003 draft constitution, many Kalenjin understanding it to mean that land would be redistributed.
14. Kotut, *Keiyo*, audiocassette.
15. Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity," 154.
16. This is not to deny the fact that political mobilization of Kalenjin ethnicity was highly effective in the 2007 general elections, when they voted in support of the Orange Democratic Party (ODM).
17. Tapotuk, *Muren*, audiocassette.
18. The administrative district of Mt Elgon is in Western Province, not Rift Valley. But this has not alienated the Sabaot from Kalenjin ethnic consciousness.
19. Yewah, "The Nation as a Contested Construct," 47.
20. Rennan, "What is a Nation," 19.

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