

**THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN MUSIC AND POLITICS IN UGANDA:  
A CASE OF BY-ELECTIONS IN BUGIRI, JINJA EAST  
AND KYADONDO EAST CONSITUENCIES**

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## **DECLARATION**

I Dhikusooka Peter declare that this dissertation is my original work and that it has not been submitted to any other institution of higher learning for any academic award.

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## **APPROVAL**

This is to certify that this study is an original work of Peter Dhikusooka and that it was conducted and completed under close guidance and supervision. The research dissertation meets the required standards to be considered as a basic requirement for the award of Master of Arts degree in Music at Kyambogo University.

**Sign.....**

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**Sign.....**

**Date .....**

**MS. KATASI SOLOME DDUNGU**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my dear father Dhikusooka Estone and my mother Mineva Kyangwa, my wife Davinah Sanyu Stella, together with my children Palton Angelo Dhikusooka, Dhikusooka Arianna, Dhikusooka Divine for their unconditional love and inspiration throughout this task. You will always be my heroes.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

DP	Democratic Party
EC	Electoral Commission
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
LCs	Local Councils
MPS	Members of Parliament
NRM	National Resistance Movement
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UCC	Uganda Communications Commission

## **ABSTRACT**

This study set out to understand the interplay between music and politics in Uganda, particularly focusing on by- elections of three places. For this case of by- elections in Bugiri, Jinja East, and Kyadondo East, the study specifically, sought to establish the different types of popular music that have been used in by- elections, determine how popular music and politics influence each other and identify challenges facing the interplay of popular music and politics in Uganda. A mainly qualitative research design was utilized to find out answers to the major problems. While both qualitative and quantitative research tools were employed in the data collection process, the research was mainly situated in the qualitative domain since the nature of the subject called for a critical, and analytical interpretation of the data collected from the field, consequently influencing the reporting of the findings. The study established that music and politics have always existed side by side playing a complimentary role. The study therefore concluded that music and politics exhibits an unlimited relationship, ranging from social, economic, political and academic which has existed for long in a hidden inactive mode that deserved study.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Overview**

In this study, the researcher investigated the interconnection between popular music and politics in Uganda, particularly focusing on two case studies. The study primarily considered how music and politics influence each other, putting into focus the by election in Bugiri municipality and Jinja municipality East. On one hand the study involved understanding what popular music is in Ugandan context and how it has been changing over the past few years mainly due to political factors, and on the other hand the study also looked at how popular music has shaped and influenced politics and political figures in the two elections that I critically analyze.

The study has been arranged in five chapters each of which has a central theme of music and politics in Uganda. The current chapter provides an over view and an understanding of the main question of how music and politics influence each other in Uganda.

#### **1.1 Introduction**

The definition of popular music in this generation have been very diverse and focused mainly on its production, distribution and consumption. In this case, popular music has always been defined in terms of its mass production, mass consumption, and mass mediation. For example, Peter Wafula Wekesa notes that, “popular music is a form of musical entertainment that is mass produced or one that is made available to a large number of people Imani Sanga has noted that, “Popular music is usually considered to be the music of the people, not of elite, appealing as a wide spectrum of people as possible (see also Barz 1997, p.268; Willoughby 1999, p.113; Manuel 1988, p.1). This basic definition has been used to different popular music from art music and from traditional music, (Sanga, 2006, p. 284). In the last section we note that popular

music does not have any conventional definition that has been agreed upon by all scholars but rather can only be understood by looking at the focus of each definition and why it is good or has been critiqued so as to build an earlier knowledge that any scholar has at the time of reading about this concept.

Scholars have focused on “the role played by popular music in the political process as a means of political mobilization and resistance as well a means of articulating, and maintaining identities there by providing alternative readings of history that is usually ignored in various intellectual discourse” (Wekesa 2004, p.96). This shows how music and politics are interrelated and serve various functions or rather have a symbiotic relationship which this study set out to understand.

In this study, the researcher investigated the interconnection between popular music and politics in Uganda, particularly focusing on three case studies. The study primarily considered how music and politics influence each other, putting into focus the by elections in Bugiri municipality and Jinja municipality east and Kyadondo East. On the other hand, the study involved understanding what popular music is in Uganda context and how it has been changing over the past few years mainly due to political factors. On the other hand, the study also looked at how popular music has shaped and influenced politics and political figures in three elections that I critically analyze. The study has been arranged in five chapters each of which has a central theme to focus, which contributes to the overall understanding of the central theme of music and politics in Uganda.

### **1.1 Background of the study**

Edmonton and Jacqueline (2013, p.4), define music as an art of sound in time that expresses ideas and emotions in significant forms through rhythm, melody, harmony, and color. This definition, like many other definitions has concentrated on only the sonic elements of music

that leaves out the social aspects that mostly contribute to the music understanding. These are elements that describe what western music is and what it is not. In other words, this definition lets us understand music from a western perspective, excluding important social functions of music like the inclusion of politics. According to (Lee 2009, pp.10), notes that the connection between music and politics, particularly political expression in songs, has been seen in many cultures. Scott (2009 pp.153) observes that historical records present songs that laud the achievements of nations, dating back to ancient Egypt. Scott is just one of the scholars who pay attention to this element but there are others. According to Keith & Caulfield (2009), from protest songs to voter campaigns, campaign rallies to musical endorsements and musicians campaigning, there has been no shortage of love between music and politics. King (2017, pp.5) established that although music influences political movements and rituals, it is not clear how or to what extent general audiences relate to music on a political level. Lee (2009) noticed that music can express anti-establishment or protest themes, including anti-war songs, but pro-establishment ideas are also represented, for example, in national anthems, patriotic songs, and political campaigns.

Thompson (2016, p.3-8) reports that most of the sixties saw America at war, and the music world was the symbolic centerpiece of an anti-establishment movement. A study by Chris Thomson Novell indicates that the promise of the beginning of the decade was silenced by gunfire, and the effect that constant strife had on the psyche of the budding musicians across the nation was immeasurable. (2012, p.22), On the same proceedings of gunfire period, Chris Thomson novel (2018, p.231) reports that voices were raised from every gender, every race asking for equality, freedom and peace and songs used to communicate the message posed an unprecedented leap to the top of the charts, catcalling or the people of America to let go of their old ways; to learn and grow.

In Uganda, popular music is presumed to have risen mainly out of traditional Buganda music dominated by Kadongo Kamu from the early 1970s till the early 90s, by musicians such as Peterson Mutebi, Dan Mugula, Ssebadduka Toffa, Fred Sonko, Livingstone Kasozi, Fred Masagazi, Baligidde, Abuman Mukungu, Gerald Mukasa, Sauda Nakakaawa, MatiaLuyima, Herman Basudde, Livingstone Kasozi and Paulo Kafeero, who made the genre one of the most influential on the Ugandan music scene that time (UBOS, 2016).

Joseph B Onyango Okello (2014) noticed that due to Uganda's turbulent political history, there was never enough time for there to be a thriving popular music industry until relative peace was restored in the late 1980s. Okello continues to explain that by then, musicians like Philly Lutaaya, Afrigo Band, and Elly Wamala were among the few Ugandan acts to have had mainstream music success. Mulumba (2018) establishes that Jimmy Katumba (RIP) and his music group, the Ebonies were also popular, especially towards the 1990s.

After Jimmy Katumba's times and other artistes in the 1980s, Kimbugwe (2016) note that the 1990s saw Jamaican music imitated by Ugandan artistes like Shanks Vivi Dee, Ragga Dee, and others influenced by Jamaican superstars like Shabba Ranks, Chaka Demas, Peter Tosh and Pliers, the Ragga and Rastafari music culture into Uganda. However, Kimbugwe reports that Jamaican music faced stiff competition from other African music styles and music like Soukous from Congo, Lingala music from Congo and Kwaito from South Africa, which genre dictated the pace of Uganda popular music industry.

UBOS report (2016) indicates that the 21st century therefore brought in musicians like Jose Chameleon who set pace for the emergence of visible pop music scene really began.

According to Akello (2014, p.4), the popular music industry sought currently thriving under the efforts of musicians like Iryne Namubiru, King Saha, Ronald Mayinja, Nince Henry, among many other artistes. Besides, Odeke (2016, p.42) reports that in June 2015, Eddy Kenzo won



the award for "Best new international artist" at the 2015 BET music awards. This continues to put popular music at the height of other genres because as pop artistes win awards, they gain fame and win support from more and more citizens.

On the same note, Achiro (2015) established that popular musicians in Uganda are the biggest local celebrities. Based on this, politicians have strong desires to move with popular musicians so as to win massive support for votes from community. On realizing that popular music works for society, popular musicians increasingly use their music, to relay a message and encourage social and economic change (Andrew, 2015). This is where the interplay between music and politics starts from.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

For quite a long time, popular music has been used as a dispensable tool to woo the voter's attentions becoming a weapon for various politicians. In Bugiri, Jinja East and most parts of Kampala, notable artistes have been actively participating in helping politicians to capture voters support through the messages they use to compose lyrics of these songs. However, since popular music is a genre consisting of Jazz, country and western music, rhythm-and-blues music (R&B), rock music and hip-hop, there is no clear picture as to which of these has done much in promoting politics. Whereas popular music and politics tend to have a significant influence on each other, the Ugandan case has not had ample time to exhaustively address this big question. This has led many people in authority to confuse the two besides miss using them, hence the numerous bans on popular musicians from holding shows. This study therefore seeks to find out how popular music influences politics and how politics in turn influences popular music. If this study is not carried out, there is most likely to be a knowledge gap, and may be misusing of the two erroneously.

### **1.3 General Objective**

The study sought to investigate the different types of popular music used in by-elections, and how it influenced politics and vice-versa.

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

1. To establish the different types of popular music that have been used in by-elections particularly in Bugiri, Jinja East and Kyadondo East.
2. To find out the influence of popular music on politics and vice versa
3. To identify the challenges faced by the musicians and politicians due to the interplay of music and politics.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What types of popular music have been used in by-elections particularly in Bugiri, and Jinja East?
2. How do popular music and politics influence each other in objective (b) above?
3. What are the challenges faced by artists and politicians in Uganda?

### **1.6 Scope of the study**

This included Geographical, content and time scope

#### **1.6.1 Geographical Scope**

This study was conducted in three constituencies in Uganda, they included Bugiri municipality in Bugiri district, found in Busoga region found on Iganga Busia high way, and neighboring Mayuge, Namutumba, Namayingo and Bugwewri districts. Jinja municipality East found in Jinja district, covering areas of Masese landing site, Walukuba East and West Jinja main street, jinja central market and the taxi park. Kyaddondo East constituency in central Buganda where Farming, fishing and trade are most of the economic activities done in these areas. These

constituencies were considered for the study because they had all conducted by-elections where music and politics played a vital role in determining a final winner.

## **16.2 Content Scope**

The study focused on establishing the different types of popular music that had been used in by-elections, why they were used, and analyzing the impact of this interplay on both music and politics in Uganda.

## **1.6.3 Time scope**

The study considered a period of 2011-2019. This period was observed and the gravity of the problem was explored.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This study is a contribution towards the discipline of ethnomusicology's quest to study the relationship between music and politics.

By studying how social relations of politics construct popular music in Uganda, the study accentuates the fact that music and politics are indeed related.

This study will therefore act as a point of reference for students, Musicians and other scholars interested in such a study. In addition, the study will also be useful for educational institutions as a point of reference.

This study is also intended to make an informed scholarly contribution towards the definition of popular music, a theoretical issue in popular music studies and ethnomusicology.

This study is a contribution to political science's theorization of power because it deals with the appropriation of hegemonic control beyond the constituencies sampled.

Popular music has partially been viewed as the kind of music that is trending at a given moment, and it has helped in the advocacy for change in health, economic and social transformation of society, among many other cases.

The government and ministry for cultural and gender as well as corporate companies managing music have to regulate popular music and the stakeholders get sensitized on what it is, and what it is not and why. In turn it will inform them on what needs to be regulated, how and to what extent.

Finally, the researcher has realized that available literature is still inadequate especially in explaining the general relationship between popular music and politics.

## **1.8 Justification**

Uganda has gone through periods of political changes and at present, Musicians have had the greatest influence in communities. This is because lyrics in their music either reports or addresses problems of the community. Politicians have thus started moving with these highly influential musicians to woo support of communities.

This study is intended to document the ways in which popular music, an independent discipline, influences politics. If this study is not conducted, points of weakness will not be ascertained and it is likely that one of the two will soon override and lead to decline of the other. Some songs such as “Situka *Tutambule*” by Robert Kyagulanyi A.K.A Bobi wine can be totally misunderstood unless the voice of its composer is heard regarding the lyrical implications.

## **1.9 Definition of Key Terms**

**Ethnomusicology** is the study of music in its cultural context. Ethnomusicologists approach music as a social process in order to understand not only what music is but why it is: what music means to its practitioners and audiences, and how those meanings are conveyed.

**Hegemony** is the political, economic and military control, or dominance of one group of class.

**Social movement**, is an organizational structure and strategy that may empower oppressed population to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The review was obtained from relevant journals, magazines, seminars, presentations, newspapers, textbooks, internet and Acts that have relevant information about politics and popular music. This section discussed the different Theories, social movements and reviews of literature on study objectives.

#### **2.1 Theories related to Music and Politics**

Popular music and social movement theories were employed to guide this study and the details of the theories will be explained next.

##### **2.1.1 Keith Negus Theory**

Negus, K. (1992, p 66 – 67) developed his theory on popular music mediation, whereby he presented the idea of mediation, considering in more details how the press, radios and television come in between the process of music circulation, mass production and influence the mass consumption of popular music. Mediation in the sense of intermediary action according to Negus refers to the practices of all people who take part as popular music is produced, distributed and consumed. This includes staff with record labels, disc jockeys, journalists, video directors, revenue collectors for copyright organizations and retail staff in record shops.

Considering all the stages where popular music goes through from its production to the last consumer, the message in the music will be disseminated to the masses. Therefore, if the music has any political message it will go viral. Music radio programming connects the artist with audience by listening to the music broadcasted and the listener gains access to the sounds from distant locations.

Journalist and Academicians have often searched for political meanings in the lyrics, sounds, and images of popular music, this is the same with the artists who have often attempted to communicate political ideas through their song's melodies, rhythms, lyrics and images. This has left a big anticipation how music and popular songs encode particular political messages.

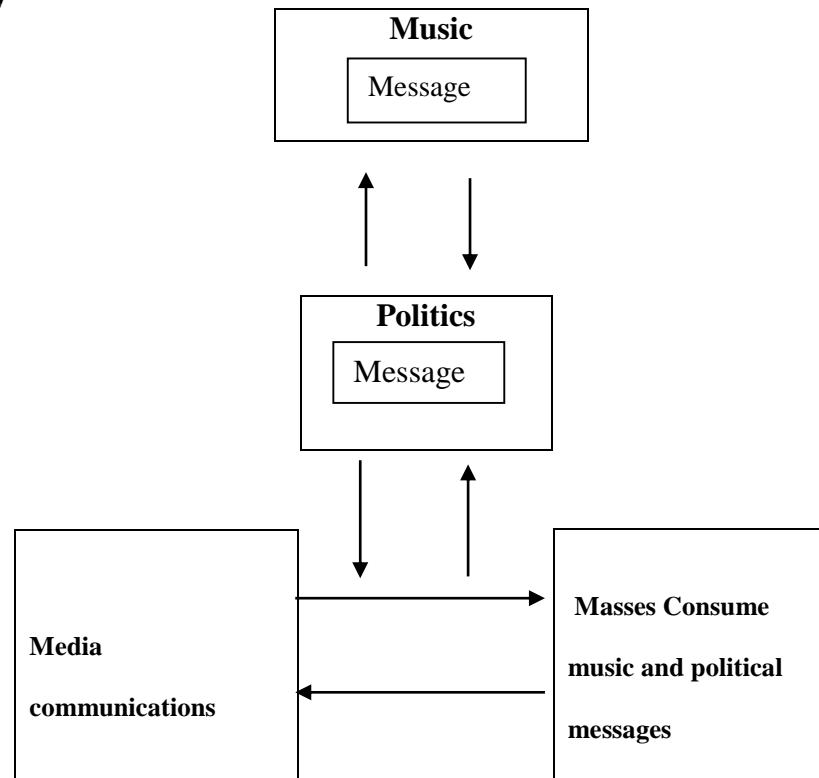
Wallis and Malm, have noted that,

Policies, of course, are no better than the people who formulate and implement them. Many politicians pay generous lip-service to ideals of national and or ethnic culture identity.... Politicians hesitate before opening the media to thoughts and statements which could weaken their own position and musical expression by virtue of its popular appeal can do just that. Politicians also usually have secret desires to retain guarantees for their own access to the media". (1992, p.256)

Such an argument draws heavily on a type of common-sense reasoning which treats 'politicians' within a universal homogeneous category and then it also views them as ultimately corrupted by egotistic 'secret desires.

## **A two-way Mediation Model as proposed by this study following**

### **Keith Negus theory**



**Figure 1. The mediation process encompassing Politics, Music and the mass.**

The above conceptual frame shows how music and politics relate, and this can be observed by both carrying messages to be disseminated to the masses. Politics has many messages to be sent to the audience, as music does, to send to the people, but both need the media to promote their message. In other words, the process of mediation is done by the mass media in form of radio and television among others. However, while the mass media officially does this, the process of mediation starts with the songs which mediate the political message, which can either go through the mass media or directly to the masses during rallies and other open meetings. This in turn can be reported by radios and television station having a double impact on the mediation process



### **2.1.2 Social Movement Theory**

Political process theories focus on external features like changes or differences in the political and institutional environment of social movements. They argue that political environments vary over time and from area to area. The paradigm proposes changes in or differences between political structures as the main explanation for the rise and decline of social movements.

Three ideas are central to the political process approach by (Charles Tilly 1998, p.81-88), social movement is a political rather than a psychological phenomenon; second, a social movement represents a continuous process from its generation to its decline rather than a discrete series of developmental stages; third, different forms of action ('repertoires of contentions') are associated with different spatial and temporal locations. For Tilly (2006), one of the leading theorists of the political process approach, action repertoires are specific actions, such as riots, demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, petitioning or lobbying, carried out by collective actors over a specific period of time. Tarrow (2002, p.138) expands this concept and suggests that 'actions are not only what people do when they are engaged in conflict with others, it is what they know how to do and what others expect them to do'. The form of action chosen by social movements depends on several factors, among which are the structure of the political system (e.g. democratic institutions, the existence and structure of political parties, possibilities of direct participation), the level of repression, and cultural traditions. Hence, the actions of social actors are not purely random. Instead, action repertoires are shaped by structural variables and by the cultural context in which they originate.

### **2.2 Politics with in Music Literature**

According to Henry & Scott (2015, p.231), politics refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance organized control over a human community, particularly a state. In the modern nation-states, people from political parties to represent their ideas.

They agree to take the same position on many issues and agree to support the same changes to law and the same leaders (Shanon &Kegley, 2016, p.29). A variety of methods have been employed in politics, which include promoting one's own political views among people, negotiation with other political subjects, making laws, and exercising force, including warfare against adversaries of traditional Timothy and Hannah (2017, p.302). Politics is exercised on a wide range of social levels, from clans and tribes and societies, through modern local governments, companies and institutions up to sovereign states, to the international level (Hague & Martin, 2013, p.13)

A political system is a framework which defines acceptable political methods within a given society. The history of political thought can be traced back to early antiquity, with seminal works such as Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics and the works of Confucius Schmidt, Bardes, &Shelly (2011, p.143).

Politics is a multifaceted word and has a set of fairly specific meanings that are descriptive and nonjudgmental such as "the art or science of government" and "political principles", but does often colloquially carry a negative connotation. The word has been used negatively for many years: the British national anthem as published in 1745 calls on God to "Confound their politics", and the phrase "play politics", for example, has been in use since at least 1853, when abolitionist Wendell Phillips declared: "We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-jest with us(James & Paul, 2014).

Formal politics refers to the operation of a constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures (Jon &Sheppard, 2009, p.206). Political parties, public policy or discussions about war and foreign affairs would fall under the category of Formal Politics. Many people view formal politics as something outside of themselves, but that can still affect their daily lives (James & Nervzat, 2014, p.307-11)

Semi-formal politics is politics in government associations such as neighborhood associations, or student governments where student government political party politics is often important. Informal politics is understood as forming alliances, exercising power and protecting and advancing particular ideas or goals (Norberto 2017, p.89). Generally, this includes anything affecting one's daily life, such as the way an office or household is managed, or how one person or group exercises influence over another. Informal Politics is typically understood as everyday politics, hence the idea that "politics is everywhere (James & Nevzat, 2014, p.307-11)

### ***Music***

Music is sounds temporally organized by a person for purposes of enriching or intensifying experience through active engagement (e.g. listening, dancing, performing) with the sound's rhythm and its associated concepts such as tempo, meter, and articulation, dynamics loudness and softness, and the sonic qualities regarded primarily or significant measure as sounds (Levinson 1990, p. 273)

Music is an art form and cultural activity whose medium is sound organized in time. General definitions of music include common elements such as pitch which governs melody and harmony, rhythm and its associated concepts tempo, meter, and articulation, dynamics loudness and softness, and the sonic qualities of timbre and texture which are sometimes termed the "color" of a musical sound (Ncube, 2013, p. 8).

Music can be classified into genres for example country music and genres can be divided into subgenres for example; country blues and pop country are two of country subgenres, although dividing lines and relationships between music genres are often subtle, sometimes open to personal interpretation, and occasionally controversial. For example, it can be hard to draw the line between some early 1980s hard rock and heavy metal (Chris, 2018). Music may be played or sung and heard live at a rock concert or orchestra performance, heard live as part of a

dramatic work (a music theater show or opera), or it may be recorded and listened to on a radio, MP3 player, CD player, Smartphone or as film score or TV show (King, 2017).

However, it is also very important to note definitions on music that have been identified as being very subjective depending or aimed at seeing what the scholar defining it wants the reader to believe. For example, music can never be organized sounds since no one individual knows all the music on earth. Consequently, the music that this individual has never been exposed to will sound disorganized to this individual hence making that element of being organized questionable. To whom is music organized and according to which 'universal law is music organized?

### **2.3 The Various Types of Popular Music used in Elections**

Popular music as defined before, the definition mainly focuses on its mass production, mass consumption and mass mediation.

Popular music consists of different genres. However, it cannot be guaranteed that all the different genres have similar reasons of establishment. It includes jazz, hip-hop and rock music.

Silverberg (2007, p. 841-54), argues that Jazz music is a type of popular music partly planned and partly spontaneous in that, musicians perform a pre-determined tune, have the opportunity to create their own interpretations within that tune in response to the other musicians' performances and whatever else may occur "in the moment" -- this is called improvisation and is the defining element of jazz. On the political scene, it represents the contribution of music from slaves brought from Africa, and blended with European music (Donald, 2018, p.1).

Another popular music type is country music enjoyed by people all over the United States for decades (Williams, 2018, p.25). Famous singers from this genre include Johnny Cash, Patsy Cline, the Judd's, Dolly Parton, Glen Campbell, George Jones and Tammy Wynette, Kenny Rogers, Loretta Lynn, Randy Travis, Garth Brooks and Toby Keith (Atlassian, 2018, p.9).

At its inception, commercial country music was deemed nationally marketable precisely because of its regional specificity (Kurt, 2016, p.11-61). The genre tag "country" comes from the Billboard chart designation of "country & western," as a sort of catch-all meant to somehow differentiate music from a more urban, citified sound. Before "country," the music was called "old familiar" or "hillbilly," both of which get at a similar quality that's essential to country music. "Old familiar" ties the music to a sense of the past, of a culture based on tradition rather than on hit records. And "hillbilly" likewise tags the music as homespun and decidedly rural in way that sets it apart from the sound of urban, industrial America. (Fleming & Smith, 2015, p.1908-12)

Rhythm-and-blues (R&B) popular music genre combines elements of rhythm and blues, pop, soul, funk, hip hop and electronic music (Shipley, 2014, p. 42) The genre features a distinctive record production style, drum machine-backed rhythms, lots of pitch corrected vocals, an occasional saxophone-laced beat to give a jazz feel mostly common in contemporary R&B songs prior to the year 1995 and a smooth, lush style of vocal arrangement (Androids, 2013, p.198).

In 1948, RCA Victor was marketing black music under the name "Blues and Rhythm". In that year, Louis Jordan dominated the top five listings of the R&B charts with three songs, and two of the top five songs were based on the boogie-woogie rhythms that had come to prominence during the 1940s. Jordan's band, the Tympani Five (formed in 1938), consisted of him on saxophone and vocals, along with musicians on trumpet, tenor saxophone, and piano, bass and drums. (Bart let 2015, p. 34).

Rock is a broad genre of popular music that originated as "rock and roll" in the United States in the early 1950s, and developed into a range of different styles in the 1960s and later, particularly in the United Kingdom and in the United States. Rock Music suits anyone's

preferences; rock music has so many choices in it. There is metal, punk rock, rap metal, heavy metal and much more. Rock Music saves lives; problematic people who spend their time listening to disturbed asylum album songs tend to forget their suicidal thoughts. In fact, many songs urge people to desist from committing suicide (Atlassian, 2018, p. 100-106)

Hip-hop is another genre of popular music cherished in politics. Hip hop culture has spread to both urban and suburban communities throughout the United States and subsequently the world (Chang & Kool, 2015, p. 8-45). These elements were adapted and developed considerably, particularly as the art forms spread to new continents and merged with local styles in the 1990s and subsequent decades (Androids 2013, p. 98). The lyrical content of hip hop is confronting, and in many instances, it includes the glorification of violence, substance use, and gender discrimination. Because of these values, it's increasingly being used as a therapeutic tool when working with young people (Androids, 2013). Marginalized communities the world over resonate with the ethos of resisting exclusion or discrimination and fighting for equity and justice. Others just love the beats and lyrical flow. Beyond beats and rhymes, there's also something for everyone: B-Girls and B-Boys dance, DJ's scratch and mix, and graffiti artists draw and write. Combined with emceeing, or rapping, these are the four basic elements of hip hop, with the fifth being Knowledge of Self, the drive for self-awareness and social-consciousness (Cole, 2017, p. 2-7).

Gravity Omutujju composed a song called "*Tokigeza nolimba emyaka*" literally meaning don't lie to people your years and among the people he mentioned in this song were Desire Luzinda, Halima Namakula, Willy Mukabya and president Museveni who by then, the issues of age limit was leading the top stories of all newspapers and radios that may have not been good to him.

Gospel music did not just leave the space for other music genres to flourish, Wilson Bugembe with his '*Bilibabitya*' had a logically hidden message for the leaders who fight here on earth

and he was asking how it will be when some members of the ruling government meet their rivals in heaven.

Particularly songs like *Staminaby* Eddie Kenzo, was also a moving factor for the president of Uganda and other members of NRM who used this as a way to show how they are still strong. Among others were *Another Rap* by president Museveni, *Amelia* by Hilderman and then *Basimaogenze* by Dr Jose chameleon

## **2.4 Influence of Popular Music on Politics**

The influence of popular music in its various forms on politics is multifaceted. A study by Androids (2013, p.56) indicates that Hip hop, a genre of popular music has a lyrical content characterized by confrontation, violence, and substance use and gender discrimination. In this case, hip hop is viewed as a genre set to criticize government systems which are not serving well enough to cater for needs of ordinary citizens.

In this study, the researcher is realistic of the fact that hip hop is a genre of popular music prevailing among Ugandan Artistes and Just like Androids (2013, p.69) notices, the lyrical content always portrays either negative or positive criticisms to the government. However, these results do not refer to events in Uganda though Uganda appears to be one of the countries where similar situations manifest.

The fact that music is composed by someone based on experience or to communicate some message, the study intends to engage hip hop musicians in Uganda especially those who normally participate in political events. The purpose to establish the lyrical content in their musical development and then find out whether it is intended to develop political institutions or not.

In the United States, Marvaridi (2013, p.88-9) established that the song "We Shall Overcome" is a political folk music with lyrics pointing towards a rallying-cry for the US Civil Rights Movement. Pete Seeger and Joan Baez were involved in the popularization of the song in the early part of the 20th century as a way of raising public concern about the poor working conditions and class struggle which resulted into the growth of labor movement and numerous songs advocating social and political reform. Later, from the 1940s through the 1960s, groups like the Almanac Singers and the Weavers were influential in reviving this type of socio-political music. In this case, music was used as an instrument to fight poor working conditions, and class differences, issues still existent in many societies even here in Uganda. Uganda is characterized by similar conditions whereby in some factories, workers are underpaid, no allowances in the midst of overtime work, and yet employees try as much as possible to please their bosses. At the moment, the music industry is selling a lot and it is important to figure out whether artistes have such thoughts as poor working conditions which they can equally use as lyrics for their music. In this study, the researcher will figure out songs such as "*Africa*" by Ronald Mayinja and interact with him to find out the intentions of the Artiste then create ground for upcoming and already existing long-time artistes to follow suit.

In addition, music is known to be a vehicle for social change. A study by Marvaridi (2013, p.165) on how music influences politics found out that music helps individuals to express social and political discontent, as an outlet for those that are marginalised within society to make their voices heard. Marvaridi (*Ibid*) quotes from Joe Strummer who famously said, "every generation has to work out its own way to sing the blues" because music has the ability to bring people of different backgrounds together, through its capacity to deliver a shared, pleasurable experience. In Uganda, we have Artistes like Bobi Wine who believes in each regime having leaders who do things matching the generation. With such artistes, who have even joined politics, this study has come to establish that music is one of the most important campaigning



tools used to bring people together or to collect bid numbers of people after which politicians can address these big groups with their campaign strategies. Here music is used as a way of bringing people together to listen to political messages. Therefore this study has established a lot of information which can be published and used to strengthen the interplay between music and politics.

Therefore Marvadi's study connects well with mine in that it presents related issues to the ones I intend to address. His study is carried out in the US unlike the current study which is to be done in Uganda by a native scholar. Again this study's aims are very different from Marvadi's for this study's concerns are more particularised to a given region while Marvadi discusses issues in a general case. This study will however benefit from Marvadi's findings in that it uses a similar approach as well as using his findings as important backdrops for this study.

The genre tag "country" comes from the Billboard chart designation of "country & western," as a sort of catch-all meant to somehow differentiate music from a more urban, citified sound. The label attempts to acknowledge a stylistic as well as geographic and cultural difference between the East—particularly the music publishing mainstays of Tin Pan Alley in New York—and the rural South and West. Before "country," the music was called "old familiar" or "hillbilly," both of which get at a similar quality that's essential to country music. "Old familiar" ties the music to a sense of the past, of a culture based on tradition rather than on hit records. And "hillbilly" likewise tags the music as homespun and decidedly rural in way that sets it apart from the sound of urban, industrial America (Fleming & Smith, 2015).

In his critically acclaimed book, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, Jacques Attali also emphasizes that music articulates the need for change by acting as a conduit for expressing the plight of oppressed people, or protesting against exploitation and power (Attali, 2013). The hip-hop community's response to police brutality is testament to the idea of political music as

a vehicle for protesting against exploitation and abuse. John Coltrane's 'Alabama' was a fully conceptualised live instrumental piece based on the flow of Martin Luther King Jr's 'I Have A Dream' speech and written in response to the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church by the Ku Klux Klan (Atlassian, 2018, p. 67). Putting into Ugandan context and considering that singers like Robert Kyagulanyi commonly known as "Bobi Wine" and Ronald Mayinja composed songs such as "*Situka Tutambule..*" and "*Africa teli Ayamba*" which locally means, stand and move, and that in Africa there is no one to help. The researcher therefore believes these artistes and many others of their type can help to explain more about how music influences politics in Uganda.

Music may support political organizations and governmental institutions since, it has the power to discipline the behavior of groups and individuals, but it can also act as a form of protest against a political status quo (Corsera, 2018, p. 204). Due to music's irresistibility and ability to change people's ideas, it has an integral part in public; therefore, music is used by various political sides to promote their beliefs. National anthems are highly respected by their citizens and boost nationalism, for instance. Governments also benefited from other songs, especially in war times. American government frequently has songs to raise support for troops in war, as in "God Bless America", which was used in WW2 (Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum, 2012).

In the UK, the rave music of the 90s was given an arena for political expression in which the government felt 'threatened' by a sudden rise in free parties, as people danced the night away on cheap narcotics to acid house and techno (Lee, 2009). The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 was brought in to prevent people enjoying the music and therefore the act of consuming the music was politicised, despite being mainly instrumental (Campbell, 2017, pp.10-8). In such examples, the researcher observe that the interplay between music and politics points towards a realization that if music becomes a threat to the political leaders, there

is a possibility of thwarting efforts of artistes to go to higher levels in their industry. Such occasions have happened in Uganda where songs have been criticised by politicians owing to lyrical discomfort. An example can be a look at Sebatta's song. In Ssebatta's song "Doll W'omwana" song, politicians were so concerned and almost banned the artiste from performing. In the current "Tuliyambala Engule" song by Bobi wine, the artiste seems to express dissatisfaction about the way government is handling public affairs but the government has started being uncomfortable. The researcher believes that when an artiste comes up with an issue of concern and informs the government, improvement has to be observed. With this study, such information will clearly explain the interplay between music and politics.

According to Donald (2018), the lyrical content of jazz and hip hop is confrontational, and it specifically brings out messages to encourage violence, substance use, and gender discrimination. But while many people struggle to look past the profanity, materialism, and high-risk messages often celebrated within mainstream rap music, hip hop culture at its core, is built on values of social justice, peace, respect, self-worth, community, and having fun. And because of these values, it's increasingly being used as a therapeutic tool when working with young people (Androids, 2013). In this case, the researcher believes that at certain points, even artistes go astray when they produce songs to create disunity and which are against the country's order policies. In Uganda, there are singers like Cindy and A Pass who perform Hip Hop music after consuming some substances. There was need to find out why they make this kind of choice. It might be in one way helpful especially after obtaining their views. In the end of it all, the researcher will generate balanced responses that will create a favorable space for interplay between music and politics.

Powerful songs have always been the engine behind the greatest social movements, it is the marching soundtrack that unites the people and gives them focus and resolve, and it's not limited to the U.S. In 1970s Nigeria, FelaKuti invented Afro Beat music as a way to protest the

oil company regime of Nigeria. His song “Zombie” became a global hit that railed against Nigeria’s military dictators. In South Africa, the indigenous Mbatanga music helped bring about the end of apartheid and it spread a message of peace and reconciliation in that nation. In Chile, Victor Jara wrote songs about his country’s struggles, sparking the Nueva Cancion (New Songs) movement that caused South Americans to rise up against their military dictatorships and replace them with democracies (Arnold, 2017).

Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited," Plato warned. "When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them. In America, music as a form of protest could be heard on the cotton fields of the South during times of slavery, with biblical songs that depicted themes of freedom and servitude, such as "*Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*" and "*Go down Moses*"(Asante & Molefi, 2008, p.77). In this study, the researcher’s intention is to find out whether there are artistes who compose songs the cabinet or parliament are forced to respond by making some laws to better certain situations in society. The unavoidable reality is that artistes throughout Uganda have tried to compose songs though many of them, have lyrics which seem to be confrontational. Politicians need to hear voices of these artistes and in turn artistes also need to hear from politicians. This is the reason this study is viewed as a necessity.

## **2.5 The Influence of Politics on Popular Music**

Many times, politicians respond to musical programs when confronted either positively or negatively. According to Atlasian (2018, p.8), some songwriters expose social and political unjustness, and lead to composition of songs that seek to shine a light on the perceived inequities of the day. These protest songs and voter campaign songs have always inspired individuals who want to woo people’s support. As a result, politicians hire Artistes to move with them during campaigns to criticize unfair policies in incumbent government. At times, these artistes are at risks of being hated by ruling parties. Against this observation, the

researcher intends to directly interface with politicians to find out what they think about some songs produced by different artistes and how politics has helped to enhance the music industry.

On the other hand, Campbell (2017) established that most of the sixties saw America at war, and the music world was the symbolic centerpiece of an anti-establishment movement. Voices were raised from every gender, every race asking for equality, freedom and peace and these songs made an unprecedented leap to the top of the charts, calling for people of America to let go of old ways learn and grow (Campbell, 2017). In the same way, bush war songs like “*Moto Nawaaka*” song was regularly used during their guerilla war to take over power from Idi Amin. The power of the song empowered rebels to sustain the struggle till they came into power in 1986. At this point, singers started having awareness that there is power in music and many started composing songs like “*Stamina*” to show that some leaders have power and the ability to continue leading. The question here is how politicians in turn help musicians to maintain a positive interplay between music and politics. Eddie Kenzo composed Stamina, a love song which suddenly turned into a political song for NRM during the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections.

The American counterculture war veterans were slowly getting lost in the “Me Decade” of self-indulgence in the seventies. In England, a wave of anarchic music gave voice to the growing sentiment of disillusionment and distrust among the increasingly angry youth. Jobs were scarce, especially for the young and untrained. The combination of youthful energy and lack of positive release turned the country into a simmering stew of resentment. Protesters took to the streets, as an increasingly radical populace carried out acts of building aggression towards the elite (Campbell, 2017). In this case, we see political situations giving ground to artistes to formulate songs which criticize the government and later lead to composition of songs. The present study directs the researcher to find out from politicians the kinds of situations which the government gets involved into and later invite negative reactions of singers. As a result of

this study, there will be a way how politicians can give ground to favorable music in the music industry other than inviting criticisms.

Some of this integration of music and social justice has become so deeply embedded in the identity and culture frameworks of specific groups that it is understood today primarily as culturally constitutive (Asante & Molefi, 2008). The tradition of the blues is widely recognized as a distinctively African-American contribution to music, but is not always recognized for its role of helping to shape the political consciousness of African-American communities emerging from reconstruction in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and migrating out of the American South in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Frith, Straw, & Street, 2010). In East Africa and specifically in Uganda, there are songs which fight social injustice, but most of them advocate for fairness on the side of women. Whereas Americans were concerned with social injustice between blacks and Americans, there is a whole lot of tribalism, sectarianism, and nepotism and gender discrimination in Uganda. In this study, we want to find out what politicians have always done in response to songs like “*Abakyala bazira*” by “Jamal, meaning that women are heroes”, so that these Artistes are motivated to continue with their creativity in that direction.

The same is true of the interplay between the free jazz of the 1960s and the black-nationalist movement it helped to nurture. Other moments in music and social justice appear in our social and historical narratives less as integration than as accidental convergences which we do not always notice or remember (Androids, 2013). Examples of music dropping out of the politics, rather than politics dropping out of the music, include cultural inattention to the role music has played in later social protests taking place under the banners of the Occupy movement and UK-Uncut, and to the crucial role that music played in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. The paradigm for reciprocity of musical expression and commitment to social justice, on the other hand, is the political protest culture of the United States in the 1960s: The Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement, in particular (UBOS, 2016). On several

occasions, Artistes have mobilized groups to confront government over its public unfairness through songs. Songs like “Jennifer” by Bobi Wine was intended to advise Jennifer Musisi (then the executive director of Kampala capital city authority) over her unfair treatment of vendors and other categories of people in Kampala City. However, we fail to get views of politicians to determine whether such interplay between Artistes like Bobi Wine and the Kampala City authority has any bright future on both sides. This is what the study intends to ascertain.

On 12<sup>th</sup> November 2007, the charismatic Venezuelan conductor Gustavo Dudamel led a youth orchestra in Caracas to celebrate the 39th anniversary of El Sistema, the government-supported program that has organized hundreds of thousands of children across Venezuela into instrumental ensembles, serving as a model of using music education for social uplift. As the performance was underway, a crackdown on peaceful demonstrations was being enforced in the streets. People were protesting the policies of President Nicolás Maduro’s government, along with the pervasive crime, crippling inflation and scarcities that plague Venezuela today (Corsera, 2018). In a country like Uganda, the leader has started openly taking sides among musicians in favor of Artistes like Bebe Cool at the cost of Bobi Wine’s performances. Whereas it is good for a top leader to sponsor and support individual musicians, if it comes out in public, it is accompanied by various challenges which ought to be ironed out. In this case, the president may not be easily reached but the researcher intended to interact with Bebe Cool and some members of parliament like Hon Musoke Robert, who may be of relevance and provide information which could have been given by the president. Unfortunately, the researcher did not meet Bebe cool due to his very busy schedule but met with other people who provided useful information for this study. The intention is to tally make the music industry free of any corners which threaten its existence.

## **2.6 Challenges of Popular Music and Politics**

It is difficult to predict how audiences will respond to political music, in terms of audio or even visual cues. For example, Bleich and Zillmann (2009, P.351) found that "counter to expectations, highly rebellious students did not enjoy defiant rock videos more than did their less rebellious peers, nor did they consume more defiant rock music than did their peers", suggesting there may be little connection between behavior and musical taste. "It is not clear to what extent the political messages in and around music motivate fans, become a catalyst for discussion, or function aesthetically (Akello 2014; UBOS, 2016).

According to news reports, Venezuelan security forces have been using excessive force to put down continuing anti-government protests, including beatings and shooting into unarmed crowds. More than three dozen people, including protesters, bystanders and soldiers, have been killed and there have been widespread injuries. The events of Feb. 12 proved too much for the self-exiled Venezuelan pianist Gabriela Montero, who was an outspoken critic of Mr. Maduro's predecessor, Hugo Chávez, and is a vocal opponent of the Maduro government. She released a letter on social media explaining that out of respect and affection for Mr. Dudamel and José Antonio Abreu, the founder of El Sistema, she had kept quiet until then (Fleming & Smith, 2015, p. 89).

Campaigns can procure blanket licenses from performing rights organizations such as the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers and Broadcast Music Inc. While performers may have no legal recourse, public attacks on the politicians using their music – such as Neil Young's onstage denunciation of Trump over the latter's legally cleared use of "Rockin' in the Free World" – can lead to the song being dropped (Campbell, 2017).

Musicians struggle with mental health and drug problems in greater numbers than the general population, while women in the music industry face discrimination and harassment, Krueger



said. For example, 48 percent of female musicians reported feeling down, depressed or hopeless for at least several days, compared to 52.5 percent of male musicians, according to the report (Edmondson & Jacqueline, 2013).

Nearly 80 percent of musicians reported having at least one drink per week, compared with just under half of the general adult population, according to the report. In addition, musicians are also more likely to be frequent drinkers, almost twice as likely as the general population to report that they drink alcohol on four or more days per week, researchers found (Atlassian, 2018).

Over the years, critics have slammed entertainers for using their celebrity to promote policy views, calling on them to “stay in their lane” or “just shut up and sing.” Such criticisms were aimed most recently at this year's Grammy Awards on Sunday night. After 2016 Democratic rival Hillary Clinton mocked Trump in a sketch during the show, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, tweeted that some “of us love music without the politics thrown in it” (Eugene, 2018).

The unfair killings of public as a result of concerts put up by singers. Country artist Maren Morris sang a rendition of Eric Clapton’s “Tears in Heaven” at the Grammys, along with Eric Church and the Brothers Osborne. The three acts were on the bill at the October country music festival in Las Vegas where a gunman killed 59 people in one of the largest mass shootings in U.S history (Manuel, 2010).

Many examples indicate politicians who use music without permission of singers (Hebert, Welzel, & Alexandra, 2012). In the Dandy Warhol’s, not one but two artists angrily protested against Theresa May’s use of “Bohemian like You” before becoming prime minister. Primal Scream initially went ballistic, having assumed that it was their “Rocks”. When it turned out it was the Warhol’s tune made famous by Vodafone’s advertisements, Courtney Taylor-Taylor

of the Warhol's said: "Why don't they have right-wing bands make them some right-wing music for their right-wing politics?" Thanks to James Moore. Tom Petty disapproved of George W Bush using "I Won't Back Down" for his 2000 campaign. Bush received a cease and desist order from Petty's publisher, and backed down (Rentoul, 2018).

Insulated by their fame, celebs sometimes exhibit violent behavior, and, unfortunately, they don't always face consequences for their actions (Silverberg, 2007). From freak accidents, to vehicular manslaughter, to brutal beatings over perceived slights, many innocents' lives have been affected after merely being in the vicinity of a chart-topping star at the wrong time (Silverberg, 2007).

Concerts are meant to be fun events that allow people to enjoy live music. But if they aren't well planned or if someone comes with ulterior motives, they can easily get out of hand. Sadly, there have been several huge events thrown together in a hurry and lacking adequate preparations that led to many deaths. On other occasions, elements out of anyone's control have made circumstances very dangerous for concert attendees (Androids, 2013).

Most importantly, each musician has a specific lifestyle and conditions they operate under. The political structure, political systems and economic systems of a country dictate the level to which musicians enjoy their field and the nature of problems they undergo. At the moment, Uganda is one of the countries with very many musicians both old and upcoming. In this study, the researcher believes that challenges these musicians face while dealing with the political structure of Uganda are diverse and differ by place. This study will explore related problems faced by musicians and on the other side politicians.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research design, study population, sample size, sampling techniques, instruments, data quality control, and procedure to data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

#### **3.1 Research design**

This study adopted a qualitative design, with some tools of quantitative data collection. According to Casadevall & Fang (2008), a descriptive research is used to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied. Casadevall and Fang add that a descriptive research does not answer questions about how/when/why the characteristics occurred. Rather it addresses the "what" question (what are the characteristics of the population or situation being studied?). The qualitative design was important in this study because it helped to explore the interplay between music and politics.

#### **3.2 Study Population**

The study population included artists, local council one chairperson, voters, MPS, and electoral chairpersons. The musicians were conveniently selected having observed that not all musicians participate in politics. Besides, the researcher carefully recalled and found out that these are the very people who participated in the three by-elections of Bugiri, Jinja East and Kyadondo East.

#### **3.3 Sample Size**

The sample size of the sample depended on musicians and politicians who showed up interest in participating. Each musician who was accessible was asked to participate in the study. For this cause, a sample size of 106 respondents was considered for the study which included 3

MPS, 42 voters for interview, 33 voters for focus group discussion, 20 artists, 15 LC 1 and 3 electoral commission bosses in all the sampled areas.

### 3.4 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method and it occurs when “elements selected for the sample are chosen through the judgment of the researcher. The researcher believes that can obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment, which usually results into saving time and money (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2012). Most of the musicians can easily be accessed through their managers, and this is exactly what the researcher did.

Purposive sampling technique was used to sample MPS and chairpersons electoral commission were sampled using purposive sampling because of the positions that they do hold the researcher believes that they have the information in line with the study objectives Amin (2005, p. 236). Artists, voters and LC1 chairpersons were sampled using simple random sampling because it was hoped to give every respondent chance to participate in the study (Croswell, 2003). The methods of sample selection were guided by Morgan and Krejcie (1970, p .3-8) of sample size selection.

**Table3.1: Shows Sample size, sampling strategy and research instruments that were employed for the study**

Category of respondents	Sample size	Sampling technique	Research Instrument
MPs in the constituency	3	Purposive	Interview
Voters	42	Simple Random	Interview
Voters	33	Simple random	Focus group
Artists	20	Simple random	Interview
LC one chairpersons	15	Simple random	Questionnaire
Chairpersons electoral commission	3	Purposive	Interview
Total	116		

**Guided by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) method of sample selection**

### **3.5 Research Collection Instruments**

The study employed four tools; Questionnaires, interviews and Focus group discussions.

#### **3.5.1 Questionnaires**

Questionnaires consisted of a set of questions to which the participants responded. It is a “form consisting of interrelated questions prepared by the researcher about variables for the study,” (Amin, 2005, p.256). It enabled the researcher to gather information about variables of the study. Questionnaires were used because information could be collected easily from large sample and diverse groups at a short period of time (Croswell, 2011, p.146). Closed and open-ended questions were administered to enable respondents give their views easily. Already established semi structured questionnaires were used for data collection from voters and they were the researcher’s main respondents.

#### **3.5.2 Interviews**

An interview is an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest Morrison, (2000). “Interviews allow participants to discuss situations from their point of view” Cohen (2006). An interview guide was used to gather qualitative data on study topic. The interview respondents included MPS, Chairpersons electoral commission, Artists.

**(Kadongo kamu singer, Willy Mukabya and the researcher at Kawempe for an interview)**



### **3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion**

This instrument was conducted on some group of voters from all the constituencies. It enabled the respondents give their views freely, these instruments were conducted with some group of voters from every constituency



**From left; Ronald Mayinja, the researcher (Dhikusooka Peter) and Kazibwe Kapo at Bugembe Stadium**

### **3.6 Research Procedure**

The researcher obtained a letter from the Dean graduate school introducing him to the respondents in the constituencies permits him collect data. The letter was presented to each category of the respondents that were involved in the study. Information was availed to the respondents that the research would not endanger them directly or indirectly and that participation was voluntary.

### **3.7 Data Quality Control**

This consists of validity and reliability of the research instruments

#### **3.7.1 Validity of the Instruments**

According to Amin (2005), validity is the ability to produce findings that agree with theoretical or conceptual values, and in the case of this study design the objectives and research questions.

Validity refers to the ability by an instrument used in research to collect information that is true, correct, accurate and meaningful. It therefore has to do with how accurate the data obtained in the study represents the variables in the study.

#### **3.7.2 Reliability of Instruments**

Reliability refers to a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent data results after repeated trial (Kuthari 2004, p.27). Hence reliability implies stability or dependability of an instrument or procedure to obtain information. Reliability was ascertained by ensuring consistence and clarity of the questions. Interviews and Focus Group Discussions were systematically checked, maintained, identified and corrected errors to ensure accuracy of questions. The strategies that were used to obtain reliability are peer debriefing and prolonged engagement. Peer debriefing involving the researcher working with colleagues to examine the instruments and giving their views about their correctness. With prolonged engagement, the

researcher spent sufficient time in the field to learn or understand the social setting. Data was systematically checked focus maintained and there was identification and correcting errors (Morse et.al, 2003). This helped to ensure establishment of accuracy of data collected.

### **3.8 Data Presentation and Analysis**

Analysis involves organizing the data into manageable themes ,patterns, trends and relationships( Amin, 2005).This was done to help in ascertaining whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data. The researcher used in field type of data analysis. With in-field data analysis, the researcher involved all his respondents in interactive dialogues in order to make them interpret their own experiences.

The researcher later transcribed, coded and encoded all data to identify the major themes which were relevant to the study. This was possible by listening to all dialogues one by one as the researcher was transcribing them verbatim. After transcription, data was coded through highlighting the necessary information that suited the study and leaving out irrelevant data. Data was then encoded by putting together all necessary information under specific themes. Data was discussed and thereafter conclusions and recommendations made. Content analysis method was used to analyze data as suggested by (Amin, 2005).

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

To be ethical is to conform to accepted professional practices (Webster's Dictionary, 2014). Before interviews and administration of questionnaires the researcher fully explained the objectives of the study to all the respondents.

In addition, their consent was sought and their right to confidentiality assured before interviewing and distributing questionnaires. Furthermore, the researcher fully observed their right to privacy and anonymity by not asking them to write or mention their names and names of the schools. The researcher also thanked the respondents for their participation in the study.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The study was carried out to establish the interplay between music and politics in Uganda; a case of by-elections in Bugiri, Jinja East and Kyadondo East constituencies as the points of reference. The study was centered on the responses to the three research questions; however, background information about the respondents was presented because it was also important in interpreting the data collected.

This chapter is divided into four sub sections namely response rate, background information about the respondents, and research questions that the study sought to answer.

#### **4.1 Response Rate**

Interviews were conducted with members of parliament that is (3MPs), Artists (20), district Chairpersons Local council one). Questionnaires were conducted with local council one member in the sampled constituency (LC1) who totaled to (15), voters were 42. A focus group discussion was also done with 30 voters from all the sampled constituencies. A total of 116 respondents were targeted for the study and were all sampled.

##### **4.1.1 Participants' Gender Inclination**

The findings from the respondents showed that there were 75 male participants, while 41 were female giving us a percentage of 66% male and 34% female. This implies that both sexes participated in the study at a ratio of 2:1. Though, as it is clearly from the ratio, male respondents were more than female. This was because, traditionally in Africa, men are more involved in leadership positions than women.

#### **4.1.2 Academic Qualification of Respondents**

The findings on academic qualifications of the respondents revealed that 30 were PLE certificate holders and were mostly voters, 23 UCE holders, 20 UACE, 15 had attained diploma certificate, 13 had degrees and 5 had masters' degrees. This was important in knowing the extent to which respondents were knowledgeable about the variables that were involved in the study and the extent to which the data they provided could be generalized to the population.

#### **4.1.3 Findings on the Age Category of the Respondents**

Findings indicated that 21 respondents were in the age bracket of 20-30 years while as 40 respondents were between 31-40 years old and they were the majority. Twenty-eight respondents were in age brackets of 41-50 and 17 were above 51 years of age.

This shows that the study was got from mature and knowledgeable respondents therefore the information they gave was important in the study. Therefore, they were able to give valuable information.

### **4.2 Presentation of Findings**

This section presents data from all the instruments used starting with survey data followed by interview data and documentary review data respectively. Data presented below addresses the various objectives and research questions of the study that the researcher set out to find out, as the subsection / headings that follow indicate.

#### **4.2.1 Types of Popular Music genres used in Elections**

This study's primary objective was to establish the different types of popular music that had been used in by-elections in Bugiri, Jinja East, and Kyadondo East. This question was given to a number of respondents using interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions with the voters.

The study revealed from most respondents that *Kindandali* was one of the music genres that were used towards political campaigns in these constituencies of Bugiri, Kyaddondo, and Jinja East. This kind of music was mostly played during registration of party candidates, political mobilization and on rallies. The respondents especially the voters and artists revealed that, this kind of music was mostly enjoyed by the youth who were the majority voters. The public danced to Kidandali rhythms from different artists like Jose Chameleon, Ronald Mayinja, David Lutalo and many others.

From the interviews with the MPs, chairpersons of electoral commissions and artists, they revealed that during political competitions, traditional music mostly played with traditional music instruments in traditional rhythms of Bakisimba, Tamenhaibuga, and Nalufuka among others. This was mostly performed by local traditional groups like the Nile Beat artists, Geobless, Afande, Kadabada and Abadongole. During field work, the researcher got a chance to interact with one of the musicians who sung for him one traditional tune.

Kidandali music is a stylistic music genre featuring the use of native sounds and samples from Uganda. Kidandali is a word from the Luganda language which in translation means “local party” or “celebration, that originated from Kadongo Kamu style.

**Table 2: The table below shows one of the traditional music songs performed in Bugiri constituency during MP elections.**

<b>Lusoga version</b>	<b>English version</b>
Twesiimile omwana omulenzi omutoono	We have appreciated a young man
Niwomuvuma tayomba agololansonga x2	Even when you abuse him he doesn't
Basalirwa wange taidhikuyomba	quarrel but just counsels you
Niwomuvuma tayomba agolola bwa nsongha	Basalirwa doesn't know how to quarrel

Source: primary data

The lyrics above are one of the traditional genres of music performed in the sampled constituencies, according to the Nile beat artists. This music is always accompanied with traditional instruments; however, some had been recorded and was always being played in case they were moving in the villages looking for support.

As I listened to the tune, I realized drums, xylophones, tube fiddles and wind instruments had been used to accompany the song.

Some of the singers like Walusimbi Haruna with his Nile beat band which was hired to sing and dance for people in Bugiri district. In Kyaddondo East the local music bands included Fire Base crew, Da new eagles' production, among others. These were hired to stage during political campaigns for the candidates. The voters reported that during political campaigns, they dance to different rhythms of musicians as many singers are hired to communicate to the masses.

According to one artiste, the traditional genres of music touched the minds of the people especially during performances as it was touching their day to day concerns.

Traditional music has been sometimes referred to as native or indigenous music to represent its close association with people's cultures. It reflects the people's cultures, identity and linguistic inclinations and if used by politicians, this music helps politics to re-align the masses with the music that is being used.

Furthermore, the study discovered from the artists and voters that R and B is another music genre which was highly used in the bye - elections of these constituencies. This was a kind of music from the western world which would be played on loudspeakers to entertain the voters, the music of Babe Cool, Robert Kelly, Boys 11 men, Spice Diana. The voters revealed that at rallies they listened to a variety of music genres from all over the world.

In an intensive interview with some artists the researcher was inquired on the types of music that they could sing or play for the public especially during election time, majority of them revealed that they could sing very many genres of music.

'If the public is interested in R&B, traditional or hip hop then I just organize myself and sing for them one of my compositions' (Sandra Sanja, interview 03<sup>rd</sup> – June – 2019).

The above was not any different from interviews conducted to the MPS who reported that they hired Discos and the DJs could mix plenty of music; sometimes this was the time when you could communicate to the audiences when they are happy after being entertained.

Rhythm and Blues, commonly abbreviated as R&B, is a genre of popular music that originated in African American communities in 1940s, with funk and hip-hop characteristics, but mostly associated with black culture of being melodic and steady beat.

It was discovered from the respondents that in all the three constituencies, the public listened to Jazz music. According to the voters and artists, this type of popular music was partly planned and partly spontaneous in that, musicians performed a pre-determined tune, which gave them

the opportunity to create their own interpretations within that tune in response to the other musicians' performances and whatever else might have occurred in that moment. In my own interpretation this genre of music was improvisation, characterized by swing and blue notes, call and response vocals, polyrhythms, which is the defining element of jazz. My interaction with the artists at the same time that played a role of DJs, they had this to say,

At these constituencies especially at rallies, you play for the audience a tune, as you talk about your candidate. Sometimes these tunes are in form of 'Jazz, blues and soul styles not only associated with Afro-Americans, the styles have also emerged and developed among Afro-Americans, who also regard the music as theirs. (D.J Whickie; interview 1<sup>st</sup> 5 2019) Nile View Casino

Music can function as an identity, and music can be a sign of specific identities. In particular, this holds for collective group identities. I mark my identification with a specific group by listening to a specific kind of music, for instance hard rock, hip-hop, or 'early music'. In many such cases, music has given rise to a group identity, maybe even a *subculture*, that didn't exist before the music. But the contrary may also be the case.

The youth in Uganda have identified themselves as supporters of Bobi wine, mainly because of the music done by the candidate that is said to be communicating their message especially unemployment and over staying in power by some old regime.

Another Popular music type used for the election campaign was country music enjoyed by many people in Uganda, though the music comes from western world. By definition, Country music is a form of popular music originating in the rural southern US. It is a mixture of ballads and dance tunes played characteristically on fiddle, banjo, guitar and pedal guitar. Many singers try to mime these songs as a form of entertainment to a certain group of audiences especially

the elite class. Songs of Jim Reeves, Dolly Patron could be played for people in these constituencies during voting time. Songs like *Vote for love* (1996), *Coward of the country* (1979) by Kenny Rogers.

One of the voters is quoted to have said, ‘country music reminds of my times at *Iganga* moon light club, I recall all the fun, the music we used to listen to, the dressing style of bell bottom at our youth times at that great night club; (David Ndiwalana, interview 29<sup>th</sup> May 2019, Bugiri Town)

Hip-hop is another genre of popular music cherished in politics. Hip hop culture has spread to both urban and suburban communities throughout Uganda. These elements were adapted and developed considerably, particularly as the art forms spread to new continents and merged with local styles in the 1990s according to hip-hop singers/ artists.

The lyrical content of hip hop is confronting, and in many instances, it includes the glorification of violence, substance use, and gender discrimination. Because of these values, it’s increasingly being used as a therapeutic tool when working with young people. The youth had all it takes to jump, dance their legs apart – together on the hip hop style which sounds their interest and age.

Kadongo Kamu, was another music genre that was played for the public during election time. This kind of music has some traditional rhythms and a beat of western music. Mathias Walukagga, with his popular song ‘*Parliament Yaffe*’ literally meaning our parliament, and Fred Sebatta, with his ‘*Vva kubyo bufuzi*’, that my son leave politics, and others were some of the traditional local musicians who would be hired to come and sing for the people.

*Kadongo Kamu* is a music genre native to Uganda and is the oldest mainstream music genre in the country. “*Kadongo Kamu*” is a terminology in the Ganda language that means “one little guitar” It is not music meant for dancing but rather storytelling, and a popular genre among peasants, where poverty levels are much higher. This genre because its themes attracted

political problems in the lyrics, the genre was used during the by – elections for purposes of reaching the message to the people.

Jazz music genre was also seen to be embraced and liked in the campaigns. The results established that the audiences listened to jazz band songs, the politicians hired bands as they moved around soliciting for votes in their constituencies, Afrigo Band, Da new eagles, amongst others. From the chairpersons they revealed that they let them enjoy the music, because music was talking to crowds of people, they composed and sung for the audiences' disco, concerts on rallies.

Gospel Music, a style of music that is defined according to the Christian message in the lyrics. Early Gospel music in Uganda was the genre modeled mainly after praise and worship music, practiced by church choirs or bands particularly the Pentecostal church, the born again locally referred to as *Balokole* (saved). Judith Babirye and pastor Bugembe performed their Gospel music for the crowds, after being hired by the NRM Party

‘Music provides a platform to control or dominating influence by one person or group over others with the possibility of the dominant authority to project their own views onto the subordinate, a position of authority that is not static because of the struggle from the subordinates to take control and the dominant to retain it.’ (Mwiru Paul, interview 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019) Walukuba

The findings from the respondents established that Reggae music was also played and performed by the artists in the three constituencies. Reggae is a music genre that originated in Jamaica in the late 1960s, characterized by swing time, drums, Bass guitar, Piano, and French horn. Very many reggae artists like Bebe cool, Maddox Ssematimba with his *Namagemebe Oliwa*, were always hired to perform for the audience. Maddox Ssematimba a local musician from Uganda, whose music was recorded from Sweden performed a number of reggae songs



at Walukuba east primary school, during Hon Mwiri Paul's campaign during the by – election in Jinja municipality east constituency.

Reggae, a style of music that is founded on the rhythm of the bass guitar and drum is in quadruple time, moderate in tempo, and uses texts about the suffering Diaspora and love. This included songs of the great legend Lucky Dube, Bob Marley in which the youth associated themselves so much. Regional music that is produced and performed by musicians based in the region with traditional rhythms.

From the focus group discussions with the voters in all the constituencies, they disclosed that there were different types of music which was performed during elections, the research revealed that the type of music played depended on what the audiences liked and what the artists had composed or arranged to be played by the moving disco bands and on concerts that had been staged. They all agreed that they listened to their traditional music from their places, Rand B, Hip-hop, Jazz, band music. (Sharif Lumbeeke, Lumuli Haruna, Tezikya Adam and Geoffrey Owensebeyi, Group interview 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2019) at Main street primary school,

The bye election of Jinja east constituency between honorable Igeme Samson Nabeeta of NRM and honorable Mwiri Paul, of FDC party, music was the biggest form of entertainment from morning to evening but sometimes there was interruption by police who were in favor of NRM candidate, unfortunately they couldn't do much as voters were much interested in FDC candidate.

#### **4.2.2 How Popular Music and Politics Influence each other**

This section explains findings of objective two basing on the research question; how does popular music and politics influence each other. The researcher created themes from the responses of the informants and fieldwork conducted as explained below: -

The findings from most of the respondents established that there had always been a relationship between music and politics which existed for centuries, sometimes harmoniously, and other times not as much. Historical records are full of examples of songs that laud the achievements of nations, dating all the way back to our ancestors. On the other hand, however, songwriters have turned to their craft when confronted with social and political unjustness, and given birth to songs that seek to shine a light on the perceived inequities of the day. From protest songs to voter campaigns, campaign rallies to musical endorsements and musicians campaigning, there's been no shortage of love between music and politics.

From the interviews with the members of parliament and district electoral chairpersons, all revealed that music had been used to allow political ideologies, politicians have paid musicians to compose songs like anthems, campaign song to pass on their political ideologies to the masses. From the voters it was revealed by some of them that sometimes they attended rallies to get chance to see those great musicians they had never seen,

Honorable Mwiru brought great musicians like Bob wine of fire base crew whom I had never seen because they charge a lot of money to see them performing, this was a great chance to be entertained by these musicians. (Godfrey a voter at his barbers' salon, interview 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019) Walukuba Danida.

This was not far different from the interviews conducted with the politicians MPS, LC 1 chairpersons who reported that towards voting day, their party presidents like President Museveni moves with a group of musicians soliciting and campaigning for their party candidates.

'Here in Bugiri as the NRM secretariat and president Museveni were campaigning, musicians were entertaining the public while as People power movement was as well campaigning for Mr.

Basalirwa for MP Bugiri municipality. The public stopped working and were on campaign rallies listening to candidates and music. (Abasa Munda, 13<sup>th</sup> - July – 2019)

This implies that music was being used to communicate the big masses of people audiences. Some voters enjoy the fraternity of music to begin with singing out of politics and this gives chance to voters to make their own personal judgment about the message in music on politicians.

From the musicians, it was revealed that this is the time when politicians need them to compose for them very good melodies that they use during their companies but it's also a time for the musicians to make some money through performances at the rallies.

‘I was asked to compose a campaign song for the MP Busiirwa south, after which I moved during the campaign time with honorable Amelia, now minister for trade. That song up to date is a great hit, a song by Dr. Hilderman for Amelia Kyambadde, who subscribes to NRM. This was the time when I got money to build my first house and paid for bride wealth to my in-laws. These campaigns empowered me because I got a lot of money that I had never touched, (Dr. Hilderman, interview, Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June 2019).

The above implies that music has been used to benefit both musicians and politicians, in one way or another.

The study findings from the voters and artists established that music has been used during liberation struggles “liberation songs are not only historical records of popular memories shared by the people,” but reflects deteriorating socio-economic conditions. Songs like *Tuliyambala Engule* by Bobi Wine and, *NRA Amba tunayingiya*, *ambayioyio Aamba* others.

From the interviews with the members of parliament, most of them reported that in Africa, traditional songs and music have often been used to enhance the importance of socio-political structures as a similar view about the role of music in Africa Uganda in particular. The MPS

acknowledged that in Uganda the medium of song plays a significant role in expressing personal and communal views on how life affects the country. According to the politicians especially the MPs and LC chairpersons, they reported that musical taste in Uganda has often followed political events.

Similarly, the voters in all the sampled constituencies agreed with the above observations when they stated that “music and song liberate listeners to express emotions without a need to disclose their inner thoughts. Based on the above observations, it was as well revealed by the voters and artists that some songs criticize the ruling government. Therefore, it appears that this may be the reason for the National Party banning certain struggle songs prior to presidential elections. Songs like “*Toka Kwa Barabara*’ by Adam Mulwana, a Kiswahili term, “Meaning that leave the way for others to pass” is one of the examples.

The chairpersons’ electoral commission and voters described musicians as “particularly gifted in the subtle use of praise texts designed to enhance the prestige of their clients while castigating the clients ‘opponents.’”

From the retired politicians they argued that, In Uganda’s context, the opposition supporters tend to be ignored by the seating government and majority of opposition supporters don’t benefit. The opposition resort to use of one of the transforming forces of the extensive use of liberation or protest songs. Of recent there is *Tuliyambala Engule* by popular musician and politician MP Robert Kyagulanyi, this song is being used wherever there are any, bye elections in universities, constituencies and its winning the hearts of voters, for the message of hope which it carries to the voters.

In interviews still, majority of the informants told the researchers that both politics and music have a number of similarities and compromise is also the heart of the political process, trying to find common ground and consensus solutions to problems of society through open

communication. Both seek to inspire their targets, and both have made great use of the other to advance their ideas. While we encourage you all to go out and vote today, music and politics have become strangely entwined. Geobless, a popular traditional singer of ‘*Abakodo Tubepene*’ political song in Busoga region, which literally means we should stay away from the mean politicians, had that to say.

The researchers also discovered that as a form of communication, music has always been used to express opinions about matters of the day. There have been plenty of songs, and jingles mostly endorsing individual candidates and causes, but it seems rather than turn this into a history lesson.

Though some singers like Ronald Mayinja, Fred Sebata and some gospel singers like Bugembe Wilson managed to sneak issues of civil rights and institutionalized racism and government corruption into the conversation through songs like “*Bilibabitya*”, those were rare occasions. Meaning that music is primarily a tool of patriotism. Hannington Basakana informed the researcher that;

‘Music is used to reflect the political history and future of a country, thus why we have anthems, inspiration songs among others. Such music helps the regimes to emphasize their political messages and ideologies to the citizens’, (Hannington Basakana, interview 15<sup>th</sup>, June 2019).

The Uganda national anthem features the fear for God, Unity and love, using uplifting arrangements and calls to national pride. In such songs, voices were raised from every gender, every race asking for equality, freedom and peace.

Music is such a key element of swaying the hearts and minds of people that quite often campaigns will rush to play songs they don’t have permission to play.

All of these efforts by artists to speak their minds politically is powerful force. Their millions of fans can be shown just how powerful their vote can be. If musicians and their work can use their influence to bring more people into the political process, then we all benefit. (Mwiru Paul, interview 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019, Walukuba)

The voters went on to reveal that musicians have a terrible track record in getting themselves elected to a public office. Many musicians have contested for the elections and been voted for political offices, good examples are Judith Babirye, Kato Lubwama, and Kyagulanyi Robert. These have benefited from the interplay of music and politics.

Popular music might sometimes be able to shape a country's politics as was most recently the case of *TokaKwa Bara Bara* and *Tubonganawe* played a crucial role in the election campaign of 2016 elections. But the fact that popular music can shape politics does not justify the assumption that it necessarily has to work as the 'voice of for all the voiceless'.

In a face to face interview at different intervals with two of the MPs Katali Loy and Mwiiru Paul, they reported that the leaders in African continent have used in their attempts to seek or maintain themselves in power. Especially in the decades following independence, many African governments used music as a tool for Nation-Building and development.

In this context, the practice of transforming 'traditional' songs into 'propaganda' songs were often used, a practice which is however far from outdated in contemporary Africa. It is certainly not a phenomenon limited to 'traditional' songs but also occurring with songs that can be categorized as 'popular'. Appropriation of popular music by politics in the sense of inviting musicians to play at political rallies is rather frequent and examples are numerous.

Music has been used for lobbying local support says electoral commission boss, Kasede, who suggest that the Society for Ethnomusicology should consider hiring a professional public

relations firm or a professional lobbying firm (or both) to better represent our society and our goals publicly to the world and to our elected officials.

Music and politics have long been connected. One of the most recent examples was in the last presidential elections and bye elections for MPs, when a series of concerts were used to secure the voter's support.

‘Political action of this kind hardly bears comparison to drudging through city streets with a banner, chanting slogans and listening to speeches. ‘Music reveals constituent elements such as beliefs, assumptions, and commitments that define the character and shape of the community.’ (Hoi Omudongole, Interview 31<sup>st</sup> June 2019)

Music ‘provides a form of communication’. And although he talks of music as both discovering and creating the commonalities of community, it is evident that its main purpose is communication. It serves to communicate or convey what the political context requires. (Hoi Omudongole, Interview 31<sup>st</sup> June 2019)

While the explicit use of popular songs or the remixing of songs through politicians or political parties is not that common after all, appropriation of popular music by politics in the sense of inviting musicians to play at political rallies is rather frequent and examples are numerous.

The study discovered that musicians react differently to invitations by political parties, with some of the artists rejecting these invitations and others viewing them as “an ideal opportunity to attain greater social recognition and respectability”

urged that ‘this almost total isolation of the artist from his audience must result in his or her music becoming, no matter how good, somewhat irrelevant to what is going on in the outside world’. Legitimated and promoted the idea that musicians had a right and a responsibility to engage with politics, and in doing so fused the worlds of musical and political performance.

In conclusion therefore, this study has explored the idea that music and musicians can create forms of political participation especially on how popular music and politics influence each other.

#### **4.2.3 Challenges facing the interplay of popular music and politics**

The objective of the study set out to identify challenges facing the interplay of popular music and politics in Uganda; this was tested using a research question three that was given to all respondents who participated in this study, starting with questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions.

The study revealed that many political regimes throughout Africa and Uganda especially, have responded with repression to pieces of popular music which they perceived as containing criticism, fearing that the music would otherwise become a site for resistance amongst the public. Majority of the artists revealed that their music had been repressed and banned plus giving them time without composing or singing for the people yet music is livelihood for the artists. (Mayinja Ronald; interview; 1<sup>st</sup> – May– 2019).

*‘My song Africa was banned for three years, it was only by God’s grace that the public liked it because of the message it contains’*

From the interviews with Katali Loy, she reported that sometimes the artists are paid to compose and sing music which criticizes the sitting government. This is sometimes done by the opposition, so in this case government has to come up with a strong position to protect the state by banning the artists and their music, sometimes they are even charged and sentenced to prison. (Katali Loy, Interview 31<sup>st</sup> – 5 – 2019).

The study revealed from the majority of the respondents that very many musicians have been sent to prison for producing music which the ruling government thinks sends messages with



bad impression about them. Such musicians have been denied access to perform on concerts, sometimes their performances are cancelled, yet the music sung is only playing a role of advisory role to the government. This has led many artists to live the music industry to other areas, take politics for example.

As stated before, popular songs with a political content expressed more or less explicitly, have certainly played a role in different moments in history in various African countries. Note that musicians tended to take up political themes which were situated outside their respective countries and were rather of Pan- African nature (such as the anti-colonial struggles in Southern Africa or the exploitation of Africa by the French and the West)

The voters in Bugiri argued that songs which comment on social virtues or social ills, or songs which are in praise of the political regime are much more frequent than explicitly political songs. An observation which can also be extended to other African countries.

Furthermore, its often the same musicians who write political praise songs at one occasion and songs in which they criticize aspects of the political system or attitudes of the elites at another, thus making it difficult for the critic to upkeep neat categorizations of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ musicians in the sense of ‘critical’ and ‘uncritical’ or even ‘pro-establishment’. (Abasa Mundu, interview, 1<sup>st</sup> July 2019)

In many studies concerned with the politics and popular music the analysis is confined to its lyrics, which actually reduces the song to a piece of poetry. By neglecting other aspects such as rhythm and arrangement, the analysis of the political dimension remains necessarily incomplete. Musicians react differently to invitations by political parties, with some artists rejecting these appropriations and others viewing them as “an ideal opportunity to attain greater social recognition and respectability” an aspect which is also discussed in the contributions by many artists. (Asuman Basalirwa, Interview 12<sup>th</sup> – July – 2019).

From the artists it was revealed that sometimes it becomes very hard to afford producing and promoting your music, it requires a lot of money which we don't have, this makes you lag behind with your music till you get the money. Even playing your music on radio sometimes it requires you to pay the DJs and program presenters especially when you are an upcoming artist, (Steven Malagala, interview 21<sup>st</sup>

The findings from the interviewees especially the artists revealed that ruling government wants you to sing in their favor even when what you are singing is not the truth, this makes the public misinformed about what you are singing.

The local council chairpersons revealed that there are musicians who sometimes sing music which spreads hatred amongst the people, others music widens divisions and tribalism amongst the public. So as a good politician and a leader you don't allow such music in community.

‘Popular music is not only subject to censorship but also to interpretations,

And sometimes interpretation is the basis for censorship. This was the case with the song which was originally not intended to be political by the artists but was read as such by politicians whose reaction, i.e. censorship, made the political reading of the - Song common place.

(Abasa Mundu, interview 1<sup>st</sup> July 2019).

From the interviews with focus group, it was established that increased interest in songs which have been censored is a well-known phenomenon also outside the narrower political context. Examples are songs which become popular with young people because they have been marked with the “Parental Advisory – Explicit Lyrics/Content” tag which aims to inform parents that the language used in these songs is considered offensive for minors.

The study results from the artists mostly revealed that they are always challenged by theft of their music which is mostly caused by lack or insufficient implementation of the Patent Rights Law, patent law- failure to implement it and sometimes some politicians are discriminatory

NRM, DP etc. It can be argued that the articulation of copyright laws should not result in limitations on either output of participation in musical activities. (Mulebeke Moses, Interview 3<sup>rd</sup>- 6– 2019)

‘Sometimes you go and seek for permission to stage a music concert or performance but because you don’t subscribe to the ruling NRM, even the police keep dodging you, telling you order from above, this is very disgusting because we have families that need school fees, medical care just like other professions. (Willy Mukabya, Interview 7<sup>th</sup> – May – 2019).

In the interviews with focus group discussion, they established that letting music fulfill its specific cultural role as outlined above would help to see cultural practices that enhances reflexivity on both collective and individual levels. Music may not be something we would want to live without.

As artists, we have faced many challenges for instance if you belong to FDC party, singing on another party’s forum becomes hard, you are not given opportunity to sing because you are not a member of that party forum, the other party members begin to hate and isolate your music like *Tubonga nawe*, by some musicians especially NRM diehards’ they begin de-campaigning your shows for the public not to attend and u end up making loses. (Ronald Mayinja Interview 1<sup>st</sup> – May – 2019).

Chameleon a famous DP member who wrote some of the most influential resistance songs in the early years of walk to work has been sidelined by the government and other parties.

‘There is great Fear into singing some political music, fear to criticize the music yet MDD is meant to communicate to the people, therefore what musicians are doing is to sing other social spheres of life, love, money etc.’ says (East World Fodaman Interview 4<sup>th</sup> – 8 – 2019).

The findings showed that politics sometimes also gets to disintegrate prominent music groups for example; Eagles production, Golden band, Afrigo band. The groups get problems which are political and then get divided because of politics for example; Catherine Kusasira visits Museveni this creates envy amongst others who belong to other parties. Which gets worse when the public gets to know, even the audience hates and abandons the music group.

A case in point was the musicians who sang '*Tubonga naawe*' for president Museveni. The public sidelined them and they get very few people to attend to their shows till some of the musicians came out and apologized publicly for participating in the *Tubonga naawe* project

The researcher for example has observed during fieldwork that, in Uganda, most politicians own certain radios for example 87.7 Baba FM in Jinja is owned by MP Balyeku Moses of Jinja west constituency, who in turn belongs to NRM party. If he finds out that you belong to another party especially opposition parties like FDC or UPC then your music is not played satisfactorily because of political differences, yet music is music and not politics. Regarding this, my informant *Mutengu Umar* noted that; '*Music should not be played because of political differences but because of the purpose and roles it plays in society*'.

(Mutengu Humaru, Interview 28<sup>th</sup> May 2019)

But also, as a voter, sometimes musicians sing messages that are not useful to the voter but because Bobi Wine has sung, then it is consumed. Because may be the sides with the ruling party. Sometimes voters are convinced by the big audiences that have been mobilized by the music power. They turn into political trust sometimes lies.

The researcher also established that some politicians hate musicians. They discriminate the musicians basing on the kind of music you are playing, if music is for FDC, NRM will hate you. Some politicians go ahead not to give employment to the musicians because of party

colors. They hate the musicians plus his music which affects his career. For example, Bobi Wine, Pastor Wilson Bugembe, and Jose Chameleon with Tubonga nawe. As the government is praising you, the public on local ground will ignore your concerts, music and performances. In this manner politics affects music.

Every musician is a politician in one way, therefore if one musician has aside to support, he will not compose music criticizing his party. This denies Music fans to get any messages against the party, and the audience will be disintegrated basing on political parties which are many in Uganda.

‘As musicians sometimes, they don’t give permission to have musical shows in some areas you want to stage a show but because you sung ‘*Tokakwa Bara Bara*’, a song that praises Besigye, police become partisan and stops you because of the ruling party, protecting her support’.(Adam Mulwana, interview 20<sup>th</sup> June 2019) Calendar Guest house

Understanding of popular culture as partly a means of expression of the marginalized masses was developed further, especially with regard to popular theatre where activist/theorists such as Bobi Wine who has become influential far beyond this country.

Below, I analyze one of the popular songs by Ronald Mayinja, which expresses views of the marginalized Ugandans.

### **Bizzemu by Ronald Mayinja**

#### Verse one

*Mu gye kinana Mzei yajjaye emundu...*

*Agende alwanyise, ebyali binyiga ensi eno...*

*Omwali efuga bbi wamu n’okutta abantu*

*Okusosola mumawanga wamu n’okubba obululu*

*Okuteega abantu nebabajjako ebyabwe*

*Nokutwalibwa mumakomera nga tebalina misango*

*Abakuumi be ensi okozesa obubi Emundu*

*Bye byanyiiiza Mzei nagenda munsiko*

### **Chorus**

*Naye nga Bizzemu, ebyamulwanya Byazzemu, Mzei mumugambe nti ebintu Bizzemu*

*Abange Bizzemu, ebyamulwanya Bizzemu, abeyo mumugambe nti ebintu Bizzemu*

### **Verse two**

*Ebyalwanya mzei oyo mwalimu obwavu, naye esente enabuuse nyo apaana ....*

*Owa akeedi ezobupangisa agamba zimpe mu Ddolla, mbu kuba sente yawano egwa gwa gwa  
nyo ebbeyi, abantu badduka mumalwaliro bafire ewabwe*

*Nga biiru yedwaliro esusse nyo, eh eh.*

*Mpozi omugenzi gundi bwebamusaba enyingi, nti oyo twabonga naye awo nebawereza esente*

*Ebintu byani akumanyi, sibya buli munansi, kati ffe abayimbiliza, onalaba jebinatukomya.*

### **Chorus**

### **Verse three**

*Ne panda Ggali alinga eyazzemu ntidde, kuba ab' oppozisoni bakwatwa nga Nsonzi*

*Bawamba omwanawo nebakusaba esente, bwolwawo oziwereza nebamujjako ensingo*

*Okuwolereza gwebabbako ettaka otwalwa ng'omubbi, mbu oba olemesa abnene okukuza ensi  
eno.*

*Nagenze ekiboga mbimugambe juuzi, naye banaku banange banvumye nyo; nyo; nyo;*

*“Nti kasajja gwe akasiru, kawunzuumya embaliga, muleke atufuge*

*Alikowa natuleka, ffe twamukwasa omu, mukama yalimanya, kati bwebabinganye kwekuwereza  
obubaka.*

## Translation

### Verse one

In the 1980's Mzee (Museveni) grabbed the gun to go and fight in the bush against bad governance of former leaders of Uganda that was full of discrimination, segregation, vote rigging, High way robberies and people in power misusing their weapon, this is what angered Mzee to go and fight.

### **Chorus**

But now, all these have come back; what took him fighting recurring

Go tell Mzee that these things have returned x 2

### Verse two

Among the things that made Mzee to fight was poverty, yet now money has lost value

Arcade owners want their rent in US Dollars, because the local currency keeps fluctuating

People run away from their hospitals to go die at home, because the Hospital bill is too expensive.

Yet the late so - and – so (maybe he meant Mowzy Radio) when he was billed that amount, they said “Oyo Twabonga naye”, and they paid the bill.

Ronald Mayinja on the left with president Museveni after singing 'Bizemu', a song that criticizes the NRM.



All in all, therefore, popular music might sometimes be able to shape a country's politics as it has always done globally. But the fact that popular music can shape politics does not justify the assumption that it necessarily has to work as the 'voice of the voiceless'. In this study therefore, the interplay between politics and music is on both grounds, approached from both sides and also done by two. Politics provides a forum for music to blossom or musicians to gain popularity as explained earlier while music also provides politics with space and context. Politics and music are so intertwined that both mutually support each other and have a level of influence on each other that cannot be overlooked. This study has therefore explained and presented the music that have been used in the political campaigns in the case studies and how these musics were used to carry or influence the politics of the day. Most importantly, a political candidate who is a musician will be far more popular than ordinary candidates since by virtue of being popular music artiste, the artist's popularity can never be called to question. Music and politics are therefore inseparable and mutually influence each other though the level of influence differs given the context in which this influence is happening.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed after which the conclusions and recommendations are drawn. For clarity and chronology, the chapter is arranged guided by these contents and then by the three research objectives that the study sought to find out. Thus, the chapter is divided into subsections namely, discussion which is related to the theoretical frame work and the literature review, conclusions and suggestions.

#### **5.1 Discussion of study findings**

The discussion was arranged according to the three objectives of the study. The discussed findings were empirically got from the field using a self-administered questionnaire, interview guide, focus group discussions and observation guide. The section was subdivided into the following subsections. Different types of popular music that have been used in by-elections, how popular music and politics influence each other and challenges facing the interplay of popular music and politics in Uganda.

##### **5.1.1 Different types of popular music that have been used in by-elections**

The objective of the study set out to establish types of popular music that has been used in by-elections particularly in Bugiri, Jinja east, and Kyaddondo East.

The study found out from all the respondents that Kindandali was one of the music genres that were used towards political companies in the sampled constituencies of Bugiri, Kyaddondo and Jinja east. This kind of music was mostly played during registration of party candidates, political mobilization and on rallies. The public danced to Kindandali rhythms from different songs like *Tubonga nawe* project, Ronald Mayinja's *Bizzemu* song, David Lutalo and many others. This finding was in line with David Basoga (2004) who argued that Kindandali style

was being integrated into gospel music in Uganda. However, Cole (2017) revealed that others just love the beats and lyrical flow. Beyond beats and rhymes, there's also something for everyone.

The study revealed that Traditional music mostly played with traditional music instruments and with traditional rhythms of *Baakisimba*, *Nankasa*, *Tamenhaibuga*, and *Nalufuka* among others was another genre performed in the sampled constituencies. This was mostly performed by local traditional groups like the Nile beat artists under the management of Walusimbi Haruna, Geobless, Afande Kadabada, and Abadongole. People got a chance of dancing to their traditional music.

Kadongo Kamu, was another music genre that was played for the public during election time, this kind of music has some traditional rhythms and beats of western music. Mathias Walukagga, Fred Sebatta, and others were some of the Traditional local musicians who would be hired to come and sing for the people. That finding is in line with Fleming & Smith (2015), "Old familiar" ties the music to a sense of the past, of a culture based on tradition rather than on hit records. And "hillbilly" likewise tags the music as homespun and decidedly rural in way that sets it apart from the sound of urban, industrial America.

The results established that the audiences listened to jazz band songs, the politicians hired bands as they moved around soliciting for votes in their constituencies, The AfrigoBand, Golden band of Meseach Semakula and Elgon band of Senior Gazampaamongst others were hired to perform on rallies, concerts, and campaign victory/ celebrations.

Reggae music was also played and performed by the artists in the three constituencies, very many reggae artists like Bebecool, Maddox Ssematimba with his *Namagemebe* song, were always hired to perform for the audience.

Reggae, a style of music that is founded on the rhythm of the bass guitar and drum is in quadruple time, moderate in tempo, and uses texts about the suffering Diaspora and love. This included songs of the great legend Lucky Dube, Bob Marley in which the youth associated themselves so much. However, it was established that these audiences that listened to reggae called themselves Rastafarians.

R and B is another music genre which was highly used in bye elections of these constituencies. This was a kind of music from the western world which would be played on loud speakers to entertain the voters, the music of babe cool, Robert Kelly, Boys to men, spice Diana. A variety of music genres from all over the world. The MPs reported that there was music which was played at rallies, Discos and after parties of elections mostly by (Bazungu). During this time, they could communicate to the audiences when they were happy after being entertained.

It was discovered that during the time of the by - elections, the public listened to Jazz music. According to the voters and artists, this type of popular music was partly planned and partly spontaneous in that, musicians performed a pre-determined tune, which gave them the opportunity to create their own interpretations within that tune in response to the other musicians' performances and whatever else might have occurred in that moment. In my own interpretation this genre of music was improvisation and which is the defining element of jazz. This was not far from Silverberg (2007), Jazz music as a type of popular music partly planned and partly spontaneous in that, musicians perform a pre-determined tune, have the opportunity to create their own interpretations within that tune in response to the other musicians' performances.

Another Popular music type is country music enjoyed by many people in Uganda, though the music comes from western world. Many singers try to mime these songs as a form of entertainment to a certain group of audiences especially the elite class. Songs of jimmy leaves,

dolly patron could be played for people in these constituencies during voting time. In line with the above Kurt (2016) established that country music was enjoyed by people in USA during many occasions, great singers from this genre include Johnny Cash, Patsy Cline, Dolly Parton, Glen Campbell, George Jones and Tammy Wynette, George Strait, Kenny Rogers, Loretta Lynn, Randy Travis, Tanya Tucker, Willie Nelson and many others.

Rhythm-and-blues (R&B) popular music genre combines elements of rhythm and blues, pop, soul, funk, hip hop and electronic music. The genre features a distinctive record production style, drum machine-backed rhythms, lots of pitch corrected vocals, an occasional saxophone-laced beat to give a jazz feel mostly common in contemporary R&B songs prior to the year 1995 and a smooth, lush style of vocal arrangements. However, this was rarely listened to in these constituencies, it was only the few artists who could perform this genre. It was not so much given attention by the public.

Rock music as a genre of popular music is a broad genre of popular music that originated as "rock and roll" in the United States in the early 1950s; rock music has so many choices in it. There is metal, punk rock, rap metal, heavy metal and much more.

Hip-hop is another genre of popular music cherished in politics. Hip hop culture has spread to both urban and suburban communities throughout Uganda and was mostly attended to by the youth. These elements were adapted and developed considerably, particularly as the art forms spread to new continents and merged with local styles in the 1990s according to hip-hop singers.

The lyrical content of hip hop is confronting, and in many instances, it includes the glorification of violence, substance use, and gender discrimination. Because of these values, it's increasingly being used as a therapeutic tool when working with young people. The above results concur with Chang & Kool (2015) who asserts that Hip-hop is another genre of popular music

cherished in politics. Hip hop culture has spread to both urban and suburban communities throughout the United States and subsequently the world.

Gospel Music: a style of music that is defined according to the Christian message in the lyrics. Judith Babirye and pastor Bugembe performed for the crowds their music. After being hired by the NRM Party

In conclusion the study established that, Jazz band songs, Hip hop, Kindandali, country music, Kadongo kamu, reggae, raga, rhythms and blues, traditional music genres were used in the sampled areas of Bugiri, Kyaddondo and Jinja east.

### **5.1.2 How popular music and politics influence each other**

The second objective of the study was how popular music and politics influence each other. The study discovered that there had always been a relationship between music and politics which existed for centuries, sometimes harmoniously, and other times not as much. It was established that Music had been used to allow political ideologies; politicians paid musicians to compose songs like anthems, campaigns to pass on political ideologies to the masses. This finding was in line with

Timothy & Hannah (2017) who found out that variety of methods were deployed in politics, which include promoting one's own political views among people, negotiation with other political subjects, making laws, and exercising force, including warfare against adversaries. In Uganda Historical records are full of examples of songs that laud the achievements of nations, dating all the way back to our ancestors.

The study discovered that many artistes for example songwriters have turned to their craft when confronted with social and political unjustness, and give birth to songs that seek to shine a light on the perceived inequities of the day. From protest songs to voter campaigns, campaign rallies to musical endorsements and musicians campaigning, there's been no shortage of love between

music and politics. Hague Martin (2013) argued that Politics is exercised on a wide range of social levels, from clans and tribes of traditional societies, through modern local governments, companies and institutions up to sovereign states, to the international level.

It was discovered from the respondents that music was being used to communicate to the big masses of people audiences. Some voters enjoyed the fraternity of music to begin with singing out of politics and this gives chance to Voters to make their own personal judgment about the message in music on politicians. To some voters, during this time is when they got chance to see the great musicians entertain the audiences.

I interacted with the respondents and I was surprised some of them said they attended rallies to get chance to see those great musicians they had never seen. Bobi wine was the lead political campaigner of Basalirwa in Bugiri constituency and the public couldn't do any work till the campaigns were done because of wanting to see him perform his *Tuliyambala Engule* song and others.

The study revealed that during election time was when politicians needed artistes to compose them very good melodies that they could use during their companies but it's also a time for the musicians to make some money through performances at the rallies. In Uganda, traditional songs and music have often been used to enhance the importance of socio-political structures as a similar view about the role of musician particular. The respondents acknowledged that in Uganda the medium of song plays a significant role in expressing personal and communal views on how life affects the country. According to the politicians especially the MPs, voters and local council chairpersons, they reported that musical taste in Uganda has often followed political events.

The study established that music had been used during liberation struggles "liberation songs are not only historical records of popular memories shared by the people," but reflects

deteriorating socio-economic conditions. Moto Nawaaka by NRA rebels currently NRM ruling government were used to motivate the worriers and give them courage.

The study discovered that liberation songs between 1978 up to date often contained a powerful critique of the ruling government during the liberation struggle. The chairpersons' electoral commission and voters described musicians as particularly gifted in the use of praise texts designed to enhance the prestige of their clients while castigating the clients 'opponents. Who asserts that "as long as inequity between people exists, those who feel oppressed will find strength and inspiration in these kinds of songs? he further comments that; The tactics and situations of liberation singers throughout the world change over the ages, but the goals remain the same: better working and living conditions without discrimination against ordinary people. Campbell (2017) established that most of the sixties saw America at war, and the music world was the symbolic centerpiece of an anti-establishment movement. Voices were raised from every gender, every race asking for equality, freedom and peace and these songs made an unprecedented leap to the top of the charts, calling for people of America to let go of old ways learn and grow. This was not different from the sampled places.

The above shows that both politics and music Compromise is also the heart of the political process, trying to find common ground and consensus solutions to problems of society through open communication. Both seek to inspire their targets, and both have made great use of the other to advance their ideas. While we encourage you all to go out and vote today, music and politics have become strangely related.

The study discovered from most of the respondents that music is form of communication; music has always been used to express opinions about matters of the day. There have been plenty of songs, jingles mostly, endorsing individual candidates and causes, but it seems Rather than turn this into a history lesson. This finding however concurs with (Norberto, 2017) with

the view that Informal politics is understood as forming alliances, exercising power and protecting and advancing particular ideas or goals. Generally, this includes anything affecting one's daily life, such as the way an office or household is managed, or how one person or group exercises influence over another.

The study established that music is primarily a tool of patriotism. It has been used to instill love and patriotism in the masses. There has always been Music for Voting leaders, their marketing snazzy blend of big-name band and artist endorsements and political activism worked well out of the gate with their debut. Therefore, from the respondents, music industry has been a weapon in addressing the following issues in Uganda for example, Gender discrimination, Resource distribution, Tribalism/nepotism, Neocolonialism, Corruption, Electoral democracy Religion and politics. Songs like Akalulu, *Jennifer* by (Bobi wine) literally meaning that the leaders should treat the citizens well without aggression.

According to Henry & Scott (2015), politics refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance organized control over a human community, particularly a state. In modern nation-states, people from political parties to represent their ideas. They agree to take the same position on many issues and agree to support the same changes to law and the same leaders.

Marvaridi (2013) in the United States established that the song "We Shall Overcome" is a political folk music with lyrics pointing towards a rallying-cry for the US Civil Rights Movement. Pete Seeger and Joan Baez were involved in the popularization of the song in the early part of the 20th century as a way of raising public concern about the poor working conditions and class struggle which resulted into the growth of labor movement and numerous songs advocating social and political reform. This is not any different from Uganda.



The study showed that new activist group takes registering to vote to the people, setting up shop at concerts and festivals around the nation. Keeping them non-partisan, Headcount has set up registration booths at concerts and festivals all across the country, using an ever-growing army of volunteers who see the value of a politically vocal population. Audiences to participate in the election process,

The study established that from marching bands to rock anthems, candidates from every party seek to stir up the passions of potential voters using music. Any advertising executive will tell you that the right song played at the right moment will subliminally evoke emotions of trust and empathy in the listener (focus group discussion with voters). In addition, music is known to be a vehicle for social change. A study by Marvaridi (2013) on how music influences politics found out that music helps individuals to express social and political discontent, as an outlet for those that are marginalised within society to make their voices heard.

Music is such a key element of swaying the hearts and minds of people that quite often campaigns will rush to play songs they don't have permission to play. It seems like every election cycle features at least one artist having to stop an overzealous candidate with opposing views to stop using their material at their events.

The results from the respondents revealed that while some current candidates are getting blasted by bands for misappropriating songs, one candidate is experiencing an unprecedented wave of vocal endorsements from the music community:

According to Atlassian (2018), some songwriters expose social and political unjustness, and give birth to songs that seek to shine a light on the perceived inequities of the day.

These protest songs and voter campaign songs have always inspired individuals who want to woo people's support. As a result, politicians hire Artists to move with them during campaigns

to criticize unfair policies in incumbent government. At times, these artistes are at risks of being hated by ruling parties. Against this observation, the researcher intends to directly interface with politicians to find out what they think about some songs produced by different artistes and how politics has helped to enhance the music industry. Asante & Molefi (2008) found out that some of this integration of music and social justice has become so deeply embedded in the identity and culture frameworks of particular groups that it is understood today primarily as culturally constitutive.

The study revealed that music had promoted the artists to joining politics, the voters went on to reveal that musicians have a terrible track record in getting themselves elected to a public office. Many musicians have stood and been voted for political offices, a good example is Judith Babirye, Kato Lubwama and Kyagulanyi Robert popularly known as Bobi wine. These have benefited from the interplay of music and politics.

Politicians have promoted concerts as a way of campaigning and communicating their political ideologies to the voters and general public. Buying concert tickets in the end the musicians have benefited through buying their concert tickets (focus group discussion).

MPs, they reported that the leaders in African continent have used in their attempts to seek or maintain themselves in power. Especially in the decades following independence, many African governments used music as a tool for Nation-Building and development.

In this context the practice of transforming 'traditional' songs into 'propaganda' songs were often used - a practice which is however far from outdated in contemporary Africa; and it is certainly not a phenomenon limited to 'traditional' songs but also occurring with songs that can be categorized as 'popular'. Appropriation of popular music by politics in the sense of inviting musicians to play at political rallies is rather frequent and examples are numerous.

Music has been used for lobbying for local support says electoral commission boss, I suggest that the Society for Ethnomusicology should consider hiring a professional public relations firm or a professional lobbying firm (or both) to better represent our society and our goals publicly to the world and to our elected officials. Music and politics have long been connected. One of the most recent examples was in the last presidential elections and bye elections for MPs, when a series of concerts were used to lure the voters for support.

A study by Marvaridi (2013) on how music influences politics found out that music helps individuals to express social and political discontent, as an outlet for those that are marginalised within society to make their voices heard. Marvaridi (Ibid) quotes from Joe Strummer who famously said, “every generation has to work out its own way to sing the blues” because music has the ability to bring people of different backgrounds together, through its capacity to deliver a shared, pleasurable experience. In Uganda, we have Artistes like Bobi Wine who believe in each regime having leaders who do things matching the generation. With such artistes, who have even joined politics, this study can establish a lot of information which can be published and used to strengthen the interplay between music and politics.

On several occasions, Artistes have mobilized groups to confront government over its public unfairness through songs. Songs like “Jennifer” by Bobi Wine was intended to advise Jennifer Musisi over her unfair treatment of vendors and other categories of people in Kampala Central town. However, we fail to get views of politicians so as to determine whether such interplay between Artistes like Bobi Wine and the Kampala authority has any bright future on both sides.

Powerful songs have always been the engine behind the greatest social movements, it is the marching soundtrack that unites the people and gives them focus and resolve, and it’s not limited.

In conclusion therefore, this study has explored the idea that music and musicians can create forms of political participation especially on how popular music and politics influence each other.

Music may support political organizations and governmental institutions, it has the power to discipline the behavior of groups and individuals, but it can also act as a form of protest against a political status quo. Arnold, ( 2017). In South Africa, it was established that the indigenous Mbatanga music helped to bring about the end of apartheid and it spread a message of peace and reconciliation in that nation.

### **5.1.3 Factors affecting the interplay of popular music and politics in Uganda**

Majority of the artists revealed that their music had been repressed and banned plus giving them time without composing or singing for the people yet music is livelihood for the artists. Songs like “Africa” by Ronald Mayinja and “Tuliyambala Engule” by Bobi Wine because of the messages they contain in the lyrics. The above finding is in line with Campbell (2018) who asserts that while performers may have no legal recourse, public attacks on the politicians using their music such as Neil Young’s onstage denunciation of Trump over the latter’s legally cleared use of “Rockin” in the Free World” can lead to the song being dropped.

The study found out that Musicians reacted differently to invitations by political parties, with some of the artists rejecting these appropriations and others viewing them as “an ideal opportunity to attain greater social recognition and respectability”

argued that ‘this almost total isolation of the artist from his audience must result in his or her music becoming, no matter how good, somewhat irrelevant to what is going on in the outside world’. Legitimated and promoted the idea that musicians had a right and a responsibility to engage with politics, and in doing so fused the worlds of musical and political performance.

In Uganda, the president has started openly taking sides among Musicians in favor of Artistes like Bebe Cool at the cost of Bobi Wine's performances. Whereas it is good for a top leader to sponsor and support individual musicians, if it comes out in public, it is accompanied by various challenges which ought to be ironed out.

Asante & Molefi (2008) observed that any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited," Plato warned. "When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them. In America, music as a form of protest could be heard on the cotton fields of the South during times of slavery, with biblical songs that depicted themes of freedom and servitude, such as "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Go down Moses.

The study revealed that some musicians used drugs and alcohol before, during and after performances, they ended up misbehaving on stages, fighting one another and sometimes indecent dressing which was very shameful.

Atlassian,( 2018) nearly 78% of musicians reported having at least one drink per week, compared with just under half of the general adult population, according to the report. In addition, musicians are also more likely to be frequent drinkers.

Likewise, Edmondson & Jacqueline, (2013) revealed that musicians struggle with mental health and drug problems in greater numbers than the general population, while women in the music industry face discrimination and harassment, Krueger said. For example, 48 percent of female musicians reported feeling down, depressed or hopeless for at least several days.

My own observation was that, even artistes go astray when they produce songs to create disunity and which are against the country's order policies. In Uganda, there are singers like

Cindy, Shebaa, and Gravity Omutujju with his '*Luga*' flow style, who perform Hip Hop, and Kindandali music after consuming some substances.

According to Donald (2018), the lyrical content of jazz and hip hop is confrontational, and it specifically brings out messages to encourage violence, substance use, and gender discrimination. But while many people struggle to look past the profanity, materialism, and high-risk messages often celebrated within mainstream rap music, hip hop culture at its core, is built on values of social justice, peace, respect, self-worth, community, and having fun. And because of these values, it's increasingly being used as a therapeutic tool when working with young people.

It was also discovered that there were some artists who were paid to compose and sing music which criticizes the sitting government, this is sometimes done by the opposition, so in this case government has to come up with a strong position to protect the state by banning the artists and their music, sometimes they are even charged and sentenced to prison for producing music which the ruling government thinks sends messages with bad impression about them, such musicians have been denied access to perform on concerts, sometimes their performances are cancelled yet the music sung is only playing a role of advisory role to the government, this has led many artists to live the music industry to other areas. The above results concur with scholarly works of Androids (2013). Indeed, there are some songs which criticize the ruling government; therefore, it appears that this may be the reason for the National Party banning certain struggle songs prior to presidential elections. Songs like "*Toka Kwa BaraBara*" for Besigye.

As stated before, popular songs with political contents - expressed more or less explicitly - have certainly played a role in different moments in history in various African countries. Note that musicians tended to take up political themes which were situated outside their respective

countries and were rather of Pan- African nature (such as the anti-colonial struggles in Southern Africa or the exploitation of Africa by the French and the West)

The voters argued that songs which comment on social virtues or social ills, or songs which are in praise of the political regime are much more frequent than explicitly political songs. The study established that the same musicians who write political praise songs at one occasion and songs in which they criticize aspects of the political system or attitudes of the elites at another, thus making it difficult for the critic to upkeep neat categorizations of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ musicians in the sense of ‘critical’ and ‘uncritical’.

It was revealed in the study that Musicians reacted differently to invitations by political parties, with some artists rejecting these appropriations and others viewing them as “an ideal opportunity to attain greater social recognition and respectability” an aspect which is also discussed in the contributions by many artists.

From the artists it was revealed that sometimes it becomes very hard to afford producing and promoting your music, it requires a lot of money which we don’t have, this makes you lag behind with your music till you get the money. Even playing your music on radio sometimes it requires you to pay the DJs and program presenters especially when you are an upcoming artist.

In line with the above, Akello (2014) established that It is difficult to predict how audiences will respond to political music, in terms of aural or even visual cues. He argue that "It is not clear to what extent the political messages in and around music motivate fans, become a catalyst for discussion, or function aesthetically.

It was discovered from the politicians that there are musicians who sometimes sing music which spreads hatred amongst the people, others music widens divisions and tribalism amongst the public. So as a good politician and a leader you don’t allow such music in community.

The results showed that the music industry was being challenged by theft of their music which is mostly caused by lack or insufficient implementation of the Patent Rights Law. The failure to implement it and sometimes some politicians are discriminatory for example NRM, DP etc. In line with the above, Silver Kyagulanyi (2019) confessed that the articulation of copyright laws should not result in limitations on either output of or participation in musical activities. It was revealed that artists, faced many challenges for instance if you belong to FDC party, singing on another party's forum becomes hard, you are not given opportunity to sing because you are not a member of that party forum, the other party members begin to hate and isolate your music, like Muzeyi Pakalast by some musicians especially NRM diehards' they begin de campaigning your shows for the public not to attend and u end up making loses. Chameleon a famous DP member who wrote some of the most influential resistance songs in the early years of walk to work has been sidelined by the government and other parties.

However, one of them revealed that when you go through politics then you begin supporting government policies even if they don't work for the public. Some electoral chairpersons go ahead to change results in favor of the ruling party or friends. This is possible especially when the recruited staff to work sides with the candidates' party. The government puts a lot of pressure on you.

The findings showed that Politics sometimes gets to disintegrate great Music groups/ bands for example; Eagle's Production, Golden Band, Afrigo. The group get problems which are political Music groups get divided because of politics for example; Catherine Kusasira visits Museveni this creates envy amongst others who belong to other parties, which gets worse when the public gets to know even the audience hates and abandons the music group.

Concerts are meant to be fun events that allow people to enjoy live music. But if they aren't well planned or if someone comes with different motives, they can easily get out of hand. Sadly.



There have been several huge events thrown together in a hurry and lacking adequate preparations that led to many deaths. On other occasions, elements out of anyone's control have made circumstances very dangerous for concert attendees. Silverberg (2007) argued that Insulated by their fame, celebs sometimes exhibit violent behavior, and, unfortunately, they don't always face consequences for their actions. From freak accidents, to manslaughter, to brutal beatings over perceived slights, many innocents' lives have been affected after merely being in the vicinity of a chart-topping star at the wrong time.

The findings did reveal that sometimes musicians sing a message which is not useful to the voter but because Bobi has sung, then it is consumed. Because may be the sides with the ruling party. Sometimes voters are convinced by the big audiences that have been mobilized by the music power. They turn into political trust sometimes lies. Asante & Molefi, (2008) argued that any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited," Plato warned. "When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them. In America, music as a form of protest could be heard on the cotton fields of the South during times of slavery, with biblical songs that depicted themes of freedom and servitude.

The study discovered that some politicians hate musicians Discrimination the musicians basing on the kind of music you are playing, if music is for FDC, NRM will hate you. Some politicians go ahead not to give employment to the musicians because of party colors. They hate the musicians plus his music which affects his career. For example, Bobi Wine, Bugembe and Chameleon with *Tubonga nawe*. As the government is praising you, the public on local ground will ignore your concerts, music and performances. In this manner politics affects music and vice versa.

Every musician is a politician in one way, therefore of that musician has aside to support, he will not compose music criticizing his party. Music fans, audience does get intergraded basing on political parties which are many in Uganda.

As musicians sometimes, they want permission to stage shows in some areas, but because singer “Y” sung *Parliament yaffe*, police becomes partisan and stops him because of the ruling party, protecting her support. Hebert, Welzel, & Alexandra ( 2012), many examples indicate politicians who use music of singers without permission of singers.

## **5.2 Conclusions from the Study**

The study was conducted to investigate the interplay between music and politics in Uganda. For objective one, the study concluded that Kindandali was the most played music followed with traditional music, Kadongo kamu, jazz band songs, Hip hop, Raga, Lingala mostly from DRC, Reggae, R&B, country music, Gospel music plus rhythms and blues genres which were used in the sampled areas of Bugiri, Kyaddondo and Jinja east constituencies.

For objective two, it was found out that Powerful songs have always been the engine behind the greatest social movements, it is the marching soundtrack that unites the people and gives them focus and resolve. The power of the song turns power for love of the themes of the song and those themes are easily implemented by the people. For the musician whose song is a power, his income may increase due to the demand and the performances paid for.

It was discovered that music was being used to communicate to the big masses of people audiences. Some voters enjoyed the fraternity of music to begin with singing out of politics and this gives chance to voters to make their own personal judgment about the message in music on politicians.

It was established that Music had been used to allow political ideologies; politicians have paid musicians to compose songs like anthems, campaign songs to pass on political ideologies to the masses.

For objective three it was concluded that some musicians sing songs in foreign language which we don't understand, others just make noise without getting and understanding what they are singing. Others are drug addicts and can't perform when they haven't taken drugs. This has always affected their lives. Musicians are role models in society which means they should live as good examples in life. Many people have gotten spoilt because of copying some musician's behavior.

The study found out that some musicians used drugs and alcohol before, during and after performances; they ended up miss behaving at stages, fighting one another and sometimes indecent dressing which was very shameful. Examples include Top K De Ghetto weapon with frequent fights, Akiki Malepuko with Slyvia Kyansuti, Cindy and Clever J.

The study found that many political regimes throughout Africa and Uganda especially, have responded with repression to pieces of popular music which they perceived as containing criticism, fearing that the music would otherwise become a site for resistance amongst the public. Majority of the artists revealed that their music had been repressed and banned plus giving them time without composing or singing for the people yet music is livelihood for the artists.

### **5.3 Recommendations made from Study**

The study made the following recommendations:

There is need for government to formulate regulations to govern music and effectively implement Patent rights law which will regulate and protect the artistes' music.

There is need for government to set up more musical schools in the country to help provide more skills, knowledge and wisdom regarding the music performances, this will help instill more discipline in the artiste straining.

There is need to create more awareness of artist's responsibilities by government through regular workshops or seminars to the stake holders as regard politics and music

Police should be more profession enough /partisan to allow every artists permission to perform regardless of political party affiliations. This will help government collect more revenue than when it's banned or stopped.

Government through her agencies like UCC should implement rules and regulations on miss content. This would help to eliminate inappropriate songs, and ethical behavior by artists who fight all the time.

#### **5.4 Areas of Further Research**

Further research should be carried out on using Music for education to the young generation. The young people can learn a song after listening for three to four times, but they can't learn a lesson in one or two hours. This explains well that music has a power to influence many issues like education, politics, and religion.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ARTISTES**

Dear respondent, I am Dhikusooka peter conducting a study to “determine the interplay between Music and Politics in Bugiri Municipality, Jinja East and Kyaddondo East by-elections”. This questionnaire is composed of sections with subthemes and instructions.

#### **SECTION A**

##### **SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

1. Sex: Male Female

2. Tick your age group:

a) 18-30

b) 31-40

c) 41 – 50

d) 51-60

e) 61 and above

3. Current Qualification

a) Certificate

b) Diploma

c) Degree

d) Master Degree

e) Other

4. Work experience:

a) 1-5 years

b) 6-10 years

c) 11-15 years

d)  $\geq 16$

## **SECTION B: THE VARIOUS TYPES OF POPULAR MUSIC USED IN POLITICS**

5. State at least three types of popular music used during bye-elections

- (i).....
- (ii).....
- (iii).....
- (iv).....
- (v).....

## **SECTION C: INFLUENCE OF MUSIC ON POLITICS AND VICE VERSA**

1.As a musician, explain how the music industry in some way has a connection with politics

- (i).....
- (ii).....
- (iii).....
- (iv).....

2. As a musician, give some examples of themes that you could use as titles of albums to address political issues in Uganda

- (i).....
- (ii).....
- (iii) .....
- (iv).....

3. Using examples, give your views about the current music genres in Uganda in relation to political development

- (i).....
- (ii).....
- (iii) .....
- (iv).....

4.How has the music industry been a weapon in addressing the following issues in Uganda?

(a)Gender discrimination

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

(b) Resource distribution

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv) .....

(v).....

(c) Tribalism/nepotism

(i).....

(ii) .....

(iii).....

(iv).....

(d) Neocolonialism

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

(e) Corruption

(i) .....

(ii) .....

(iii).....

(iv) .....

(f)Electoral democracy

(i).....

.....

(ii).....

(iii) .....

(iv).....

(g) Religion and politics

(i).....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv) .....

5. What according to you prevent some singers from producing songs with political messages?

(i) .....

(ii).....

(iii) .....

(iv).....

(v).....

6. What major changes have you faced as an Artiste since you started your career?

(i) .....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

(v).....

7. What political challenges have you faced since you started your music career?

(i) .....

(ii).....

(iii).....

(iv).....

(v).....

8. How has music benefited from utilizing political themes

.....

.....

## **APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR POLITICIANS**

1. What is your work experience in terms of years?
2. Why did you choose to be a politician?
3. What responsibilities do you hold in government?

### **Value of Music to politics**

4. As a politician, explain how politics in some way has a connection with the music industry
5. As a politician, when must politicians bring in Musicians?
6. Using examples, give your views about the relationship between politics and music in Uganda today in terms of how politics has contributed to the development or decline of music
7. Comment about the following in terms of the influence of politics on music industry
  - (a) Mobilization of audience
  - (b) Entertainment
  - (c) Popularity (Making politicians known) and vice versa
  - (d) Winning public support
  - (e) Sponsorship Do politicians sponsor?)
  - (f) Making laws based on meaningfulness of music
8. What according to you prevent politicians from relying on messages from songs?
9. How can music affect politics in Uganda?

What general challenges occur when politicians use musicians in public gatherings?

### **APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION**

1. What types of popular music have been used in by-elections particularly in Bugiri, Jinja East, and Kyadondo East?
2. How do popular music and politics influence each other? Why, that particular music genre is used?
3. What are the challenges facing the interplay between popular music and politics in Uganda?

# APPENDIX D: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Date	Names	Position	Place of interview
15 <sup>th</sup> July 2019	Hannington Basakana	Former LC 5 Jinja	Jinja new Bridge
29 <sup>th</sup> May 2019	David Ndiwalana	Retired NTC Teacher	Bugiri Municipality
21 <sup>st</sup> August	Steven Malagala	Artist/ Lc3	Mafubira Jinja
1 <sup>st</sup> May 2019	DJ Whickie	Club DJ	Nile View Casino Club
28 <sup>th</sup> August 2019	Mutengu Humaru	FDC Cordinator	Nizam road
03 June 2019	Sandra Sanja	Baba Tv Presenter	Jinja city
31 June 2019	Katali Loy	Woman MP	Jinja District
1 <sup>st</sup> July 2019	Abasa Mundu	L.C 1 Ndifakulya	Ndifakulya- Bugiri
21 <sup>ST</sup> June 2019	Dr.Hilder man	Artist	Kampala
31 June 2019	Hoi Omudongole	Artist	Nizam Road -Jinja
21 <sup>st</sup> August 2019	Ronald Mayinja	Artist	Bugembe Stadium
20 <sup>th</sup> June 2019	Adam Mulwana	Artist	Calendar guest house Kampala
12 <sup>th</sup> July 2019	Suman Basalirwa	MP	Bugiri Municipality
03 June 2019	Mulebeke Moses	Radio Presenter	Victoria FM
04 <sup>th</sup> August 2019	Fodaman	Director East World band	Victoria FM
26 <sup>th</sup> June 2019	Mwiiru Paul	MP	Walukuba
21 <sup>ST</sup> August 2019	Ronald Mayinja	Artist	Bugembe Stadium
24 <sup>th</sup> May 2019, 3:40pm	Willy Mukabya	Artist	Kawempe



**APPENDIX E: KREJCIE AND MORGAN TABLE 2: SHOWS THE TECHNIQUES  
FOR SAMPLE SELECTION OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>S</i>
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

*Source: Krejcie and Morgan (1970)* Note.-N - is population size, S- is sample size

**APPENDIX F: THE RESEARCHER WITH WILLY MUKABYA IN AN INTERVIEW  
AT KAWMPE**

