

Sex, HIV/AIDS and “Tribal” Politics in the *Benga* of Okatch Biggy

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Introduction

In this article I argue that the celebration of sex in the music of Okatch Biggy is ultimately political. A Kenyan Luo artiste, Okatch Biggy (1954-1997) became successful (Oywa, “Okatch Biggy”) in the 1990s while celebrating sex. Paradoxically, this was the time when HIV/AIDS, first identified in Kenya in the early 1980s, was doing very great damage in Biggy’s country. The Kenyan government’s response to the disease in those years before affordable antiretrovirals were available was more or less restricted to the strident advocacy of change in sexual behavior. The government argued that such behavior change would minimize the possibilities of HIV transmission. The Christian church in the country saw in the government advocacy a validation of its sexual mores. So, too, did traditionalists of the different ethnic groups in the country, who base their beliefs on interpretations of their people’s pasts. The reinvigorated profession of “the correct sexual morality” by these two groups contributed significantly to the construction of the stigma that quickly attached itself to the disease. Okatch Biggy’s popular and commercial success indicates that a significant number of people agreed with or found interesting what he was doing at the time he was doing it. Most of these people were the same Luo people that, of Kenyan ethnic groups, were most affected by HIV/AIDS at the time (Minorities at Risk Project, “Luo”), for the Luo constituted the primary audience of Biggy’s DhoLuo (that is, the language of the Luo) music. Most Luos identify themselves as Christian, while at the same time many of them—those who profess Christianity included—observe remnants of pre-colonial Luo culture and beliefs. That a significant number would agree with Biggy’s celebration of sex at the time suggests their support for a force they interpreted as being more important than “religion.” In the following pages I argue that Biggy’s celebration of sex in the 1990s was, beyond being a manifestation of psychological denial, what is defined as that “ego defense mechanism that operates unconsciously to resolve emotional conflict, and to allay anxiety by refusing to perceive the more unpleasant aspects of external reality” (*The Columbia Encyclopedia*), also a response to the ethnicized politics of the post-colonial Kenyan state.

I have found an enabling theoretical instrument for this study in the notion of the political unconscious as elaborated by Fredric Jameson. Subscribing to the Marxist understanding that “[t]he history of all ... society is the history of class struggles” (Marx and Engels, *Manifesto* 81), where conflicting classes wage “an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight” (Marx and Engels, *Manifesto* 81), Jameson urges “the recognition that there is nothing [in human interactions] that is not social and historical: indeed, that everything is ‘in the last analysis’ political” (*Unconscious* 20). In other words, politics totally permeates human life; it is embedded even in the most “individual, personal and private” of experiences. The reading of all texts, including the songs of Okatch Biggy, therefore demands an investment in the “detecting [of] the traces of that uninterrupted narrative [of the struggles that make up history], in restoring to the surface of the text the repressed and buried reality of this fundamental history” (Jameson, *Unconscious* 20). Working within Jameson’s notion, I amplify the ethnic struggles that to my mind are very significant in African (and specifically Kenyan) post-colonial history and that are generally part of the class struggles in the continent. Even in the most superficially apolitical of texts, then, according to Jameson, there is politics; and, in my view—in the context of post-colonial Kenya and the time of the production of Okatch Biggy’s songs—that politics is significantly ethnic.

The ethnicized politics of the state in Kenya

The politics of the post-colonial state of Kenya is ethnicized. The control of state resources is fought over by (alliances of) “tribes.” This practice has very deep roots. It was planted in the colonial era, when “tribal” loyalties and suspicions were engineered in a divide-and-rule strategy designed to manage the colonial subject’s challenge to oppressive colonial authority. The successive governments of independent Kenya have nurtured the idea as presidents have used ethnicity as a criterion for resource allocation, favoring their ethnic groups and excluding those ethnic groups they perceive to be enemies of their own.¹

Since independence, the Luo, who are today reckoned to be the third largest ethnic group in Kenya, have been losers in the ethnic competition for the political power to control state resources. Consequently, they have had to endure economic marginalization. The traditional “tribal homelands” of the Luo in Kenya on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria fall under the administrative province of Nyanza, which has its headquarters in the lakeside city of Kisumu. The region is not totally lacking in natural resources that can be exploited for the purposes of wealth creation. The most visible of these resources is Lake Victoria, the third-largest freshwater lake in the world. But in the 1990s the fishing industry in “Luo Nyanza” remained undeveloped. Despite the obvious

¹ See Oyugi “Inter-ethnic Relations”; Ochieng’ *Kenya* 214-217; Ochieng’ “Afterword” 224; Ng’weno, *Making of a Nation*; Nangulu, “Resource Allocation.”

tourism potential of the lake environment, and the importance of tourism to Kenya's economy, there was no attempt to insert the region into the country's tourism circuit. Historically, "Luo Nyanza" has exported labor to the rest of the country. But in the 1990s there were problems here, too, given the ethnicization of the recruitment practice of the country's biggest employer, the government. At different points in time the inhabitants of "Luo Nyanza" have taken up cash crop agriculture enthusiastically. Cotton, pineapple and groundnut have been grown in the area. By the 1990s this cash crop agriculture had basically ground to a halt due partly to changes in global trade and to the deliberate discouragement of the farmers by the government via the establishment of practices that made engagement in the production economically unjustifiable.

To these economic challenges must be added the related fact of the political marginalization of the Luo which began when the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, who was Kikuyu, fell out with his—and Kenya's—first Vice President, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who was Luo, in 1965. The assassination in 1969 of Tom Mboya, an important Kenyan statesman who was also Luo, further distanced the Luo from the government and the political mainstream, and turned them into disenchanting citizens. Luo disenchantment with the government continued into the presidency of the country's second president, Daniel Arap Moi, who is ethnically Kalenjin. Little wonder, then, that most of the junior Air Force officers who were at the heart of the attempted coup against Moi in 1982 were Luo. Taking into consideration the murder, in 1990, of the articulate Foreign Minister, Robert Ouko, who was Luo, and adding it to the collapsed infrastructure and the lack of new development projects in "Luo Nyanza" (even the much trumpeted government Nyayo hospital wards of the Moi era skirted the area) it is not difficult to be sympathetic to the perception that the poverty of "Luo Nyanza" in the 1990s was politically manufactured. In the words of James Ogude:

[The] perception of a manufactured political exile of the Luo has been so strong in the psyche of the community ever since Odinga broke ranks with Kenyatta in the 1960s, and murders such as that of Ouko and Mboya before him merely served to lend credence to this myth. Besides, when Kenyatta vowed never to visit Luo Nyanza after the Kisumu riots of 1969 and died without visiting the area the fears of Luo isolation from mainstream politics were confirmed in the minds of many. As if this was not enough, any form of economic development in the region, came to abrupt halt. As the infrastructure collapsed ... Luos became synonymous with opposition politics. ("The Cat" 180)

The Epicurean hedonists

In the 1990s, then, the part of Nyanza province inhabited by the Luo was a very strong opposition stronghold, and in Kenyan politics, given the ethnicized politics of the state as explained above, "opposition" often means the rejection of government and all its works. After all, government is sometimes equated with the president and, by extension, his ethnic group, so that if an ethnic group "that is the government" at the moment is

an enemy, then members of enemy ethnic groups must be suspicious of government's intentions toward them. Thus it happens that even such "scientifically verifiable" facts as disease, methods of its transmission, and strategies of its prevention are rejected: for as long as these are seen as coming from government.

In the case of the Luo and HIV/AIDS in the 1990s, there was historical justification for the skepticism members of the group adopted towards state-sanctioned measures to counter the disease in Kenya, a skepticism that extended to the data on the prevalence of the disease that came out of the government's Ministry of Health and which showed that the Luo were the hardest hit ethnic group in the country, for in an earlier political epoch the Luo had been characterized by government officials as dirty and carriers of cholera. Indeed, when there had been a cholera outbreak in Nyanza in 1974, the then Attorney General Mr. Charles Njonjo, a powerful member of President Jomo Kenyatta's inner cabinet, reportedly made the statement that he would not shake hands with the dirty Luo (Ogude, "The Cat" 187 and Wa Wamwere, "Political marriage" 2003). At the time, the ruling Kikuyu (Njonjo is Kikuyu) perceived the Luo as the main threat to their political dominance in Kenya, and Njonjo's statement is understood to have been calculated to further marginalize the Luo politically by diminishing them in status. And so for the Luo in the 1990s HIV/AIDS had quickly become, besides the medical and moral problem that it clearly was for all Kenyans, a political issue.

As we can infer from what was going on when Njonjo characterized the Luo as dirty, in the ethnicized political environment in Kenya the competition for power is accompanied invariably by the generation and circulation of "tribal" stereotypes. These characterizations are used as political weapons, sometimes to rally members of an ethnic group, at other times to mobilize members of such a group against the competition (see, for example, Wa Mungai, "Riverwood"), or to do both simultaneously.

Since colonial times, the Luo have been characterized by members of other Kenyan ethnic groups, and indeed by British colonial functionaries, as a people who love "*raha*" (Odinga, *Not Yet Uhuru*; Odhiambo, "Makambo Mibale"; Ogude, "The Cat"). "*Raha*" is originally a KiSwahili word for "pleasure," but it is now widely diffused into Kenya's other languages, DhoLuo included, in which it signifies a lifestyle characterized by a love of music/dance, liquor, fashion and sex: what E. S. Atieno Odhiambo describes as "Epicurean hedonism" ("Makambo Mibale" 162). This characterization of the Luo as a people of "*raha*" is usually perpetuated with insidious intent, the logic being that not being "serious"—being more concerned with "trivia" than with weighty matters of "development"—the Luo should therefore not be entrusted with the political leadership of multi-ethnic Kenya. The 1990s was the decade of the reintroduction of competitive multi-party politics in Kenya, with the real and imagined opportunities that the development afforded for ethnic groups to secure control of the country's resources. A logical consequence of the political development was the heightening of ethnic awareness,

including the “tribal” loyalties and suspicions, and the characterizations they spawn, in Kenya’s citizens.

Aware of his people’s characterization as “a people of ‘*raha*,” and the political undertones of that characterization, the Luo ethnic nationalist musician Okatch Biggy engaged in a deconstructive strategy not unlike that which the Negritudists undertook when they picked up the term used by “white” racists to abuse the “black” person (*negre*, “nigger”), accepted it as a proper term that refers to the “black” person, and infused it with positive values (Loomba 211-212). In his *benga*, Biggy agrees with those who characterize the Luo as ‘a people of “*raha*,” and then defends that enjoyment of “*raha*” by presenting it as the sensible way of living.²

The insistent celebration of sex that is pervasive in Biggy’s oeuvre indicates his endorsement of the characterization of the Luo as a people of “*raha*,” as the enjoyment of sex is an important element of this. The celebration of sex is most direct in the love songs. Biggy was the first practitioner of the *benga* genre to focus determinedly (some would argue, explicitly) on sexual play. Biggy delights in describing aspects of romantic love-play (“intense petting,” including kissing, pinching, touching, biting). These lines from his “Adhiambo Nyakobura” are typical of the “naughtiness” one encounters in Biggy’s lyrics:

Toti na ma ong’eyo hoyo

My babe who knows how to calm me

Toti na ma ong’eyo kora

My babe who knows my personality and character

Toti nena ayweyo, Atwech ong’ega mula

Babe watches me relax, the smart one who knows how to touch me

Nyathi maber adimba, Toti ong’ega nyodha

Beautiful child, babe knows how to kiss me

Bi ane nyar ka ocha

Come now, daughter of my in-laws

...

Oromo neno duk, nyathi maber

She is worth seeing naked, the beautiful child

Kata Atoti onge gi handa

Even when babe is not wearing panties

Ka jathum oriambo nyathi gi Sila

If the musician has lied, younger sister of Sila

To lony lepi mama, one

Then undress so that it can be seen

...

Namuli kama obuto

I will touch you in the hidden place

To ibe nimula kama obuto

You will also touch me in the hidden place

To dendi to ing’e ni toti tinde mara

Your body, you know babe, is nowadays mine

² Biggy’s ethnic nationalism in his music goes beyond the line I am following in this article to include the (re)construction of Luo ethnic identity and the pushing of an ethnic political agenda. But even though these complement the celebration of sex that I focus on here, they are outside the scope of the present argument.

To denda to ing'e Toti tinde mari
And my body, you know babe, is nowadays yours

All of Biggy's love songs construct the body as an object of sexual desire and a site where sexual pleasure is achieved. So prevalent is the celebration of sex in Biggy's songs that the phrase "*sianda madongo/mabeyo*" [big/beautiful buttocks] becomes in these songs metonymic for "beautiful/sexually desirable woman." The phrase is used in "Helena Wang'e Dongo," "Nyathi Nyakach," "Agutu Nyowila," "Okatch Pod Angima" and "Adhiambo Nyakobura."

Biggy's understanding is that human beings are sexual creatures, and—as Okot p'Bitek, who as an Acholi is a cultural cousin of the Luo, would say—that "sex is ... not ... something to be ashamed of, but ... [is] a good thing to be enjoyed" (*Horn 2*). Biggy sings that it is only natural and fair that everyone is given opportunity to express and enjoy his or her sexuality (in "Okatch Pod Angima" he sings: "*Kijana isiko ma giri, to chwo wadu sero ango?/ Nyako isiko ma giri, to nyiri wadu sero ang'o?*" ["Young man, you keep insisting that this is your thing, and what should your fellow men seduce?/ Girl, you keep insisting that this is your husband, and what should your fellow girls seduce?"]) and then goes on to "show" laughingly that even those whose stated morality is against these practices participate hypocritically in them: "*Nyathini ibernaga nyere, kikwal ilosiye koda/ Kikwal ilosiye koda, ka jalemo*" ["O child, I find you so beautiful, why don't you just steal some time and talk to me/ Why don't you just steal some time and talk to me, the way a prayer man [committed Christian] secretly talks to his potential lovers?"]. In the lines quoted above, we also perceive an advocacy for "free love," that underlines the love of sex.

The politicization of HIV/AIDS

Even as he was celebrating sex and advocating "free love" Okatch Biggy was obviously aware of the existence of HIV/AIDS, of the primary method of its transmission in Kenya (through heterosexual sex), of the government-sanctioned response to it, and also of the devastation it was wreaking on the Luo. I read Biggy's concession that HIV/AIDS is sexually transmitted, and that the sexually desirable beautifully plump body may very well be infected with HIV, in the context of the wistful fear that his love for big buttocks will lead to a personal disaster. This fear is repeated in several songs, and is often expressed comically and ambiguously. Admittedly, there is usually a hint in the songs that the disaster referred to is other than disease, more a failure to "get organized" as it is expected that a man, as head of household/home, should be. We hear Biggy sing in "Lizzy": "*Weche mon gi nimi nonega*" [This business of women will get me killed]; in "Nyathi Nyakach": "*Sianda mabeyogi nonega nono*" [These beautiful big buttocks will just kill me]; in "Agutu Nyowila": "*Sianda madongo lilo nonega nono Biggy Okatch*" [beautiful big buttocks will just kill me, Biggy Okatch]; and in "Jaber Nyar Alego":

“*Sianda madongo moketho kar Okatch*” [beautiful big buttocks have messed up the place (or fortunes) of Okatch]. More direct proof of Okatch Biggy’s awareness of HIV/AIDS in his environment is the fact that he recorded an AIDS awareness song, “Dorina.” “Dorina” takes up the promotion of condom use. And from textual evidence—the mention of a particular brand of condoms (“Trust”)—it appears that “Dorina” was “sponsored” by the condom marketers.

And yet one perceives in “Dorina” that Biggy is reluctant to endorse unproblematically the government-sanctioned anti-AIDS ABC of survival rule. The A Option, “abstinence,” is never mentioned. The B Option, “being faithful to one sexual partner,” he half-heartedly holds up. Even though he sings about a rejection of “company love”—that is, having multiple sexual partners—he does not strongly criticize sexual infidelity. Indeed, the suggestion in “Dorina” is that if the infidelity can be committed responsibly then there is no big problem. Hence the reminder to Dorina: “Condom *nyocha ang’iewoni*” [Recently I bought you condoms]. Perhaps informing this perspective was the fact that Biggy was a polygamist, with two wives. That leaves us with Option C, “condomizing” or the use of condoms, which was/is a generally reluctant concession for those who cannot control their sexual impulses and drives. It would appear that this is the reluctantly conceded option for Biggy, too, in “Dorina.”

By examining evidence in two of his songs, and also autobiographical information, we know that Biggy also had a personal interaction with HIV/AIDS. He lived and worked (more accurately, was headquartered) in the lakeside town of Kisumu, which is the provincial capital of Nyanza Province. Biggy lived among those who were dying of, were living with, and were greatly affected by HIV/AIDS. And it is not just that Biggy could not turn a blind eye to HIV/AIDS, the disease being all around him, as it were. In the last couple of years of his life (this was after he had recorded “Dorina”), rumors that he was dying, and in several instances that he had actually died, of AIDS, dogged Okatch Biggy. That such rumors were generated, and that they circulated widely, far beyond Biggy’s Kisumu base, further attests to the stature the musician had achieved. He was a public figure whose life, and in this case (impending) death was of interest to many. But this is evidently not how Biggy himself interpreted the public interest in his health and life. Biggy responded to these rumors of his death in two songs, “Okello Jabondo” and “Okatch Pod Angima.”

“Okello Jabondo” and “Okatch Pod Angima” are included in *Okello Jabondo*, which is the last Biggy album released in his lifetime, and they both are direct responses to the rumors of his death. “Okatch Pod Angima” and “Okello Jabondo” are very different kinds of songs. “Okatch Pod Angima” is presented as an explanatory confessional whose “point” is the refutation of the rumor that Biggy is dead. This is clear right from the song-title, which translates as “I, Okatch, am still alive.” On its part, “Okello Jabondo,” which was Okatch Biggy’s last huge hit, is a layered

eulogy for Biggy's comrade Okello. The eulogy develops into the artiste's imagination of his own funeral, and how he would (want to) be eulogized. Even so, there are several ideas that cut across these two songs. The first is a shame-informed hostile-defensive reaction by Biggy to the suggestion that he is infected by the HIV, and conversely his active participation in the sustaining of myths and prejudices associated with HIV/AIDS. Second is the inclusion of the supernatural to explain the generation and circulation of rumors about his (impending) death. Thirdly, there is the celebration of sex, even justification of "free love." Fourthly, and related to point three, is the rejection of state and traditional culture-sanctioned sexual behavior. Lastly, there is an (almost fatalistic) acceptance of universal mortality.

When brought together, these central ideas in Biggy's reaction to rumors of his infection with HIV, and of his death from AIDS, can very easily be characterized as pieces in an elaborate construction of psychological denial. This is most obvious in Biggy's indication, via the celebration of sex, of his intention to go on living as he has been doing. The argument here seems to be that if there is no truth in the rumors then there is no reason why Biggy should mind them. And yet, paradoxically, the mere act of responding to the rumors is evidence of Biggy's minding of them. There is a sense, also, in which Biggy's response to the rumors reproduces the rumors themselves.

Denial is, of course, a complex, internally differentiated notion. But because the notion of "denial" has, over time, in popular usage, been reduced to denote the negative and irrational inability or refusal of an individual to confront reality, it is imperative to remind ourselves that it is a very human initial response to terrible circumstances. In the words of Kubler-Ross, denial is "a healthy way of dealing with ... [an] uncomfortable situation" (*Dying* 34). It is an attempt by the human organism to retain a familiar sense of its worth, its humanity, and its world. Perceived this way, denial has a ring of protest and resistance to it. In this vein, the celebration of sex in Okatch Biggy's *benga* is not a moment of suicidal blindness but is rather a protest against and an attempt to transcend a particular oppressive moment: the world dominated by death manifesting as HIV/AIDS. Denial is in this instance witness to human defiance in the face of HIV/AIDS and the certain death it meant in the 1990s. The human survival instinct, it can be argued, has always been a readiness to engage (the forces of) death in an unending war.

The insistent celebration of sex, then, appears even in Biggy's songs that refute his infection with HIV. This celebration of sex is part of Biggy's resistance to simple acquiescence to government-sanctioned understandings of HIV/AIDS. Okatch Biggy's refusal to take the "correct" state-promoted sexual morality seriously was a choice on his part. At a primary level, by celebrating sex in the 1990s Biggy seems to be suggesting that to go on enjoying sex at this time is to signal one's refusal to be cowed by death (HIV/AIDS) into accepting a less than human status and existence for oneself. This suggestion sits comfortably with my

argument that there is a sense in which Biggy's choice to hold up the celebration of sex as a counter to HIV/AIDS can be perceived as having been political, as an act of identification with his Luo people's political struggles. In this sense, Biggy was confronting multiple oppressions of the Luo.

The suspicion here is that whatever the government (read: Moi and the Kalenjin) was saying about the Luo and HIV/AIDS was calculated to attach stigma to the entire Luo community and further marginalize them. This was especially so since, in the eyes of the Luo, an association was being made between the disease and the fact of being Luo. The perception arose from the fact that cultural explanations were being given to account for the vulnerability of the Luo to HIV infection. That the Luo traditionally practiced "wife inheritance" or "widow guardianship," did not circumcise their male members, and believed that one under a certain curse ("*chira*") wastes away in the same manner as one dying of AIDS were advanced as reasons for the spread of the disease among members of the community. These practices were interpreted as risky behavior: the husband of the widow to be inherited may have died of AIDS, and the inheritor, usually a married man himself, endangered himself and his wife or wives (polygamy still being a common practice among the Luo at the time); the foreskin enhanced vulnerability to HIV infection, by trapping the viruses for long periods in its folds; and the belief in *chira* encouraged the denial of AIDS and prevented sensible confrontation with the reality of the disease.

To the Luo, these cultural explanations amounted to a political ethnic attack. Only a few recognized that a community that since the onset of colonialism had provided migrant labor all over the country was made vulnerable as a result of these travels and the sexual practices associated with migrancy and the capitalist economy it represents, as explained by for example Luise White, and Dennis Altmann who posits that "[i]t is probable that the [H I] virus was spread beyond its original home through urbanization and population shifts, and that its rapid dispersion across the world is closely related to the nature of a global economy" (70). When what an ethnic group putatively does, what it does not do, its reasons for (not) doing, and what it believes, are condemned, then there is little reason for an individual member not to perceive that in actual fact it is he or she who is being condemned. In the ethnicized and also very masculine politics of Kenya, the rivals of the Luo had always used the point of Luo non-circumcision to "infantilize" or "feminize" them. The argument would go that since they were not circumcised, and therefore were either (at best) immature boys or (the norm) women, the Luo were not fit to rule. The historian Atieno Odhiambo signals this valorization of "age" and "maturity" in Kenyan politics when he observes that "Kenyatta guarded his status as a self-conscious elder jealously, fully aware of the power that came with this generational discourse" ("Makambo Mibale" 157). Interestingly, the title Kenyatta appropriated, "Mzee" [KiSwahili: "Elder"], is today a popular marker of male power in Kenya. The title is

used to address fathers, husbands, bosses, political and business leaders and so on.³ The prevalence of HIV/AIDS among the Luo was evidence of their political vulnerability in a society where the disease was also closely associated with women and low morals. Given the importance of controlling the state, such explanations of disease incidence had to be rejected. Characterized as diseased, the Luo were being once again held out to be unfit to hold high office in Kenya.

This rejection is partly the reason why in Okatch Biggy's *benga*, "*raha*" is characterized as *the* cultural lifestyle of the Luo, and as such it must be promoted and (when necessary) defended. Those who would attack "*raha*" are perceived to be continuing—whether consciously or not—the political project of devaluation, and resultant dispossession and oppression, that the Luo community has had to battle with in the post-colonial state of Kenya.

Conclusion

From the popular acceptance of Okatch Biggy's music it would appear that Biggy's response to HIV/AIDS struck a chord with a significant number of Luo people. Without necessarily completely dismissing the possibility that the community was in denial (the Luo were going through the first phase of their encounter with HIV/AIDS, and as Kubler-Ross explains, "the need for denial exists in every patient at times, at the beginning of a serious illness" (34)), I want to amplify the point that the 1990s, as the decade of the reintroduction of multi-party politics in Kenya, was also a time of heightened ethnic awareness. To the Luo, HIV/AIDS was a health, cultural and political problem that threatened to destroy them and the world as they knew it; it even was perceived as a weapon that their rivals and enemies could use to destroy their future. It would therefore seem that by celebrating "*raha*" in his *benga* Okatch Biggy affirmed Luo ethnic pride and courageously led a significant number of Luos in "remembering," "imagining" and "dreaming" a non-oppressive, relatively familiar world in which they (could once more) live(d) as a proud and whole people.

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³ For an elaboration of the point about the feminization of the Luo see P.S.O. Amuka's "The Romance of Nationhood: Kenya as Word and Desire".

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Discography⁴

- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Dorina" in *Dorina*. (HEKA C02) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
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- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Helena Wang'e Dongo" in *Helena Wang'e Dongo*. (BIGGY 003) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Nyathi Nyakach" in *Nyathi Nyakach*. (BIGGY 00/04) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Okello Jabondo" in *Okello Jabondo*. (HEKA C04) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Okatch Pod Angima" in *Okello Jabondo*. (HEKA C04) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Agutu Nyowila" in *Okello Jabondo*. (HEKA C04) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Adhiambo Nyakobura" in *Adhiambo Nyakobura*. (BIGGY C05) Nairobi: Biggy Sounds Productions
- Okatch Biggy & Orch. Super Heka Heka: "Jaber Nyar Alego"

⁴ The publisher's details for this music—just like the other credits—are either not clear or given in the cassettes.