

Challenges Inherent in Employing Political Mobilization Music Towards National Cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya

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Abstract

The paper examined the the challenges encountered in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. Methodologically, the study adopted descriptive research design with mixed method approach, utilizing both primary and secondary data. The study was based on the conceptual framework informed by the critical race theory (CRT). The study population consisted of 1015 citizens/ teachers, political mobilization musicians and government officials. The sample size was 156 respondents. Data for the study was collected using questionnaires, FGDs and in-depth interviews with key informants. Data was gleaned and analysed by descriptive and inferential statistics using Statistical Package for Social Science. From the findings, it was concluded averagely 75% (n= 156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that; political songs portray bias support, political mobilization music been used as a tool to cause conflicts among communities. That national and integration commission was not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks, Kenya Music Festival Composers has failed to adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions, Permanent Political Music Commission has not fully maintained a pro-active music policy, Permanent Presidential Music Commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion and that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains .

Keywords : Political mobilization music (PMM), challenges, inherent employing national cohesion

Introduction

Political mobilizations have been more successful than other existing political systems in safeguarding various common goods, such as protection of basic human rights, personal freedom, wealth and equalities of opportunities. However, the historical record also shows numerous examples of unstable democracies. These have been replaced by authoritarian dictatorships (such as the Weimar Republic in the 1930s and Chili in the 1970s). Other countries were formally represented as democracies, but where opportunities for opposition groups are constrained to such an extent that most observers do not consider them to be "true" political mobilization, such as contemporary Russia, Egypt, Indonesia and Kenya. These examples underline the relevance of one of the classic themes in political science: what are necessary and sufficient conditions under which political mobilization can maintain stability and safeguard basic principles of democratic accountability, representation and legitimacy. The study first sought to find out from all categories of respondents if there were any challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music in Nairobi.

Problem of the Statement

Globally, regionally & locally PMM had two fold impact on national cohesion by fostering peace or causing conflicts e.g. in America, Nigeria, & Kenya (Collins & Ace, 2003)

Study objective

Study objective was to examine the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

Literature Review

Globally, in the USA, ‘We Shall Overcome’ by Peter Seeger became the anthem of the civil rights movement, evolving from a spiritual religious song into a social protest song first used in 1945. It later crossed over from the black community, inspiring a new generation of white protest singers such as Joan Baez and Bob Dylan (Whitehead, 2008). Bob Dylan composed the song “The Times They Are a-Changin’”. Ever since its release the song was influential to people's views on society, with critics noting the general yet universal lyrics as contributing to the song's lasting message of change. Bob Dylan wrote the song with an attempt to create an anthem of change for the time, which was influenced by Irish and Scottish ballads (Whitehead, 2008)

In Israel, and in the context of Israel's relationship with the Palestinians, Karen Abi-Ezzi has shown how the jazz music of Gilad Atzmon challenges Israel to rethink its treatment of Palestinians and their political claims, by reinterpreting traditional Jewish/Israeli music and musical themes through a fusion with Arab-Palestinian styles and Israeli-Palestinian musicians (Abi-Ezzi, 2008). The emergence of the highly popular world musical genre epitomized by Peter Gabriel's WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance) had its own effect. It started with its first festival in 1982 with the aim of bringing together the musicians of the world to excite, to inform, and to create an awareness of the worth and potential of a multicultural community. It demonstrated the power of music to unite and inspire in a way that both acknowledges and transcends national and ethnic divides and traditions (Boyce Tilman, 2008).

African perspectives: Over the catchy beats of Afropop, artists are increasingly tapping into the frustrations of young Africans. Leaders, threatened by this musical momentum, are trying to silence it. For example, D.O, Miasian disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when he composed a song in Luo. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power (Douglas, 2010). The song translated in English; In Uganda, musician Bobi Wine's popularity among his fans was enough to catapult him from self-styled “Ghetto King” to an elected lawmaker (Wallenstein, 2007). In 2017, Wine beat out the ruling party and opposition party candidate to win his seat. Moving from stage to parliamentary benches, Wine's message has remained the same, “speaking out against corruption continued grip on power. He composed the song “Time Bomb” saying freedom come for those who fight. When Wine's supporters clashed with those of president Yoweri Museveni's, state security arrested him in what seems like an attempt to neutralize him (Appadurai, 2007).

Laura, (2018), argued that in Tanzania, even when songs have no overt political message, they are viewed as subversive by governments using conservative values to keep a country in check. Tanzania's highest selling artist, Diamond Platnumz, had two of his songs banned earlier in 2018 (Waka and Halleluja) and was detained a month later for a social media post deemed indecent by the country's authorities.

Waka

Waaaasafi May back Music The black
 Bad voice Hoooh Fking like nobody
 Sucking your whole body Fking everyday at party
 Clean bi--h playing dirty Ooh! Before the light cut
 Light up the prey And them we pop bottles
 Malaysian things Cause love is the thing that I have in ma heart
 And it's there for you African queen that I need that I want everyday is all you

(Diamond Platnumz)

As Tanzania enacts an internet crackdown, arresting the country's biggest musician sends a clear message to ordinary young Tanzanians (Askew, 2002).

In Nigeria, Osiebe (2016), often, banning a politically charged song only serves to reinforce its message. Inspired by Childish Gambino's audacious hit This is America, Nigerian rapper Falz thumbed that gaze on his own country. Yet, while the American version provoked debate and cultural acclaim, Falz's critique of Nigeria's ills was silenced by an embarrassed state.

Regionally in general, the decolonization period in Africa marked huge growth in the African film industry. Individuals such as François Mitterrand led efforts that encouraged filmmakers and producers to integrate cultural, political and economic development of the continent into African film production. In spite of the successes, the African cinema industry lacks support and investment, which is much needed in order to support the industry in all its spinoffs, including film festivals. These festivals and events alike act as awareness-raising mechanisms.

They also foster an increase in distribution of films that will permit the African film industry to attract a lot more genuine interest from the international film going and investing community (Makobi 2017).

Musicians need to be alive to changing and catchy trends of composition so that their songs are not dismissed from the beginning but are embraced by a larger majority of the population. Other challenges may include reaching remote sections of the country with the music, Language of composition and mobilization resources. The issue of composing songs and singing them without consultation of Music Copyrights and in other cases politicians using songs without consent of composers have been a challenge and have been observed in different parts of the country and in other continents after pre-colonial period Hornsby (2013). In Kenya, in daily magazine published on Saturday November 19 2005 revealed that, then lawyer and theatre personality Stephen Mwenesi, who was also a copyright expert, warned that the politicians who were using the songs without consent of the composers could be sued for breach of copyright.

According to Mwenesi (2008), the politicians were affecting the perception of the artistes by the public who saw them as supporting a particular political course when the opposite could be the case or, when they may as well be neutral. "Singing the songs in campaign rallies as has been the case, constitutes a public performance and requires a license from the relevant administrator of rights of the affected song or the composer. Short of that, the composer has every right to sue the 'infringer' and seek compensation for the unauthorized use of their intellectual property," says Mwenesi. Keith (2015) adds that efforts to get comment from the Music Copyright Society were fruitless but Mwenesi, who has served as representative to the Performing Rights Society, says the unauthorized use of songs for campaigns is an indication of the abuses that artistes have endured over the years, worse still from law makers who should know better.

John Katana of Uyoga believed that Kenyan musicians "had been so badly bartered" economically that they may not have the resources and energy to pursue matters legally but Mwenesi thought that composers had to look at copyright violations seriously as they deprive them of income. "It is a clear breach and any court should be able to offer due compensation and stop use of the song, if asked to do by the artiste". Mwenesi (2008) added that copyright violation is a rights issue that touches on the business of composers and their political rights.

Former US Secretary of State Collin Powell ranked the African American civil rights song We Shall Overcome as his favourite and offered the basic ingredients for an effective campaign song: "It has the simplicity and eloquence that ensures easy adaptability as a mass rendition at rallies". The former British Chancellor of Exchequer Kenneth Clark cited

For Americans especially, the culture of protest songs provides an easy choice of music for political campaigns. In the year 2005, Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry had an appropriate choice picking Bruce Springsteen's No Surrender whose title was a good rallying call even after he lost. This was not so especially in Kenya where this genre of politically inspired music has dwindled and politicians have to re-word the songs or contract artistes to write songs specifically for the campaigns (Karlstrom & Mikael, 2003).

An existing song has obvious advantages because the audience is familiar with the tune therefore the fact that more of popular songs will be used in future campaigns is not in doubt. In November 2004, Bush presidential campaign had to apologize for unauthorized use of John "Hall's Still the One" after the composer issued an open letter protesting the use of the song without his consent. Hall explained that his concern was as a songwriter who made his living writing songs and would have reacted the same way had it been used by the Democratic Party.

The adaptation of pop songs for political campaigns has created a new dimension in politics. New age researchers are now taking interest to intervene and analyse the use of songs in political campaign (Lesiuk, 2005).

In the pre-modern tradition, the aesthetics of music or musical aesthetics explored the mathematical and cosmological dimensions of rhythmic and harmonic organization. In the eighteenth century, focus shifted to the experience of hearing music, and thus to questions about its beauty and human enjoyment (Plaisir and jouissance) of music. The origin of this philosophic shift is sometimes attributed to Baumgartner in the 18th century, followed by Kant. Through their writing, the ancient term 'aesthetics', meaning sensory perception, received its present-day connotation. In recent decades, philosophers have tended to emphasize issues besides beauty and enjoyment. For example, music's capacity to express emotion has been a central issue. Aesthetics is a sub-discipline of philosophy.

According to Von & Ralf (2007), in the 20th century, Peter Kivy, Jerrold Levinson, Roger Scruton, and Stephen Davies made important contributions. It is often thought that music has the ability to affect our emotions, intellect, and psychology; it can assuage our loneliness or incite our passions. The philosopher Plato suggests in the Republic that music has a direct effect on the soul. Therefore, he proposes that in the ideal regime music would be closely regulated by the state (Book VII).

There has been a strong tendency in the aesthetics of music to emphasize the paramount importance of compositional structure; however, other issues concerning the aesthetics of music include lyricism, harmony, hypnotism, emotiveness, temporal dynamics, resonance, playfulness, and color (Von & Ralf, 2007).

Like conflict, music can be found in every society around the world without exception (Levitin, 2006). It appears that making music is an innate human trait that dates back to the beginning of civilization and knows no limits in its reach to this day. The beat and melody might vary from one place to another, but regardless of these variations, music plays part in some of the most important customs and ceremonies of life across cultures, including weddings, funerals, recreational events and important holidays. Due to advances in technology, music is more accessible around the world than it has been at any other time in history of Music Experience and Behavior in Young People. According to Fischlin (2003), musical sounds are interwoven into the warp and weft of virtually everything. They mediate the world, as we know it through being linked in astonishingly diverse ways with images, words, and the formation of community.

Music is something that nearly every person on earth is involved in at some level, as listeners and performers, in ritual and religion and for fun and relaxation. Lopez-Vinader (2008) goes so far as to say that our own bodies are made of a huge combination of vibrations, and we could say that we are not matter, nor energy, but music, highlighting how fundamental music is to simply being alive (Lopez-Vinader, 2008). According to Wallensteen, (2007). Music in general is adaptable, so the melodies, beats, and dynamics can be adjusted to reflect its message and enhance its impact on the listener.

Music can stimulate a whole range of emotions and perceptions, some forms of it uplifting and likely to work in favor of peace and harmony, other forms quite the opposite. Urbain (2008), in one of the few studies that has comprehensively explored the conflict transformation potential of music, provides many examples where it has been used to promote peace, including the concert organized by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said in 1999, uniting Israeli and Palestinian musicians. This event developed into a permanent program, the West Eastern Divan Orchestra, where Israeli musicians play and study with musicians from other countries in the Middle East and combine this with 'the sharing of knowledge and comprehension between people from cultures that traditionally have been rivals' Wöllner, (2012). In this case, music provides the opportunity for contact, and therefore the potential for better understanding.

Music in general is neither inherently good nor bad, neither positive nor negative, in its impact on conflict resolution. Yet there are many examples where music unites peoples, to promote our self-awareness and self-esteem, mutual tolerance, sense of spirituality, intercultural understanding, ability to cooperate, healing (Lawrence, 2008), and there are many studies that illustrate how music can have these effects in certain places and contexts. One of the tunes of the South African, national anthem of the post-apartheid 'NkosiSikelele Africa', was sung as a song of liberation in the era of apartheid and inspired many in the struggle for freedom (Gray, 2008).

Perhaps the most established use of music for peace is in the field of music therapy, which also, according to Maria Elena Lopez Vinader, has the potential to be used not only to alleviate illness in individual and group therapy, where it has been highly successful, but also as 'social music' therapy. Music therapy has matured as a recognized and effective form of psychotherapeutic intervention since its emergence in 1945. There are a variety of acknowledged and tested methods, but Lopez Vinader points to the emerging work of a new network, Music. Therapists for Peace, whose members are working on combining a specific therapeutic method (Logotherapy) with the peace building training methodology of Galtung (Lopez, 2008). An example of a more case tested approach is the GIM model (Guided Imagery in Music), which has been used, under the guidance of the therapist, to put clients into a deep state of relaxation, which gives the possibility of entering into another state of consciousness, (allowing) the person to heal wounds from the past. The method has been used by Vegar Jordanger as part of a reconciliation workshop between Chechen, North Ossetian and Russian participants. Jordanger described how music was used in the workshop to create a response of 'collective vulnerability' among the participants, which creates the space in which negative emotions, particularly unacknowledged shame and anxiety, may be transformed into positive emotions and possibly a state of flow in group (Jordanger, 2008).

According to Appadurai (2007), meaning is not always inherent in a text, but is negotiated, made and remade as the text moves through a set of overlapping 'scapes' and presences. Moreover, music is a travelling text whose multiple meanings are contingent upon the politics of its production and consumption. Production and consumption entail creative expressions and appreciation that further require some appreciable amount of musical intelligence and wisdom to achieve. However, it is important for peace-making musicians to take a neutral stand and create songs that can be used to change the mind-set of the public to uphold patriotism that is built on peace and national cohesion.

The musician in this case must take the position of a psychiatrist or a therapist to be able to prescribe the best of all effective songs to drive out the desire for violence and inculcate the feeling of peace and harmony. Khaemba (2012) asserts that, in Kenya there has been stiff competition in the Social, Economic and Political space. As a result, conflicts have arisen, including those involving religious and ethnic interests. Amidst such competition and conflicts, the people of Kenya have needed constant reminders that the course of our nation must still be inclined towards values that promote peaceful coexistence and social cohesion. Successive political leaders have called for unity and patriotism. This leads us to analyses specific challenges under political parties, media Citizens and voters

Political parties play an essential role in democracies. Parties are the only type of organization able of aggregating interests and opinions in different areas into a coherent political program: "... political parties created democracy and modern democracy are unthinkable save in terms of parties" (Vershbow, 2010). Yet, parties are currently experiencing a crisis, which possibly affects the functioning of democracy at large (Makobi 2017). In the first place, political parties can no longer count on the stable support of particular segments of the electorate, which makes election results uncertain and increases the impediments to talented people who might otherwise choose to pursue a political career. A second, but related point is that parties are less distinct than previously in terms of their traditional ideological denominations. This, in turn, makes it easier for voters to switch from one party to another. This opens up possibilities for new populist parties to arise. In addition, due to the relentless process of privatization and globalization, national states (and political parties as their main democratic agents) have fewer capacities to determine public policies, particularly in the economic sector.

One question is how these developments can be theorized in a coherent framework. The concept of 'audience democracy' (Marks & Fischer, 2002), may be one useful way of charting the interactions between political parties, civil society groups, the media and the citizens under the conditions broadly outlined above. The concept may also prove useful for re-assessing the relationship between prominent normative features of democratic governance, most notably representation and accountability. In terms accountability, a salient feature of contemporary governance also entails an analysis of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that operate within the so-called 'audience democracies,' since both political parties and the media tend to construct and fragment audiences for particular political purposes. For us, the guiding issue is what empirical research can tell us within such a framework about the implications for both the quality of democratic rules of the game and the outcomes generated by these rules.

Theoretical framework

The studies theoretical framework was grounded in the Critical Race Theory. The critical race theory (CRT) is a theory of the study that involves a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Harris et al, 2012). The critical race theory provides a compelling framework by which hate speech can be analyzed in the extent to which the hate speech dehumanized vulnerable groups by establishing the sameness between two unrelated things or ideas. Phrases used to refer to other ethnic groups form metaphors that are not merely rhetorical but pedestals on which hate flourishes. Such metaphors reflect an insight through which coherent organization of experience are modeled to understand another potentially revealing the rhetorical strategies and underlying conceptual systems by which vulnerable groups are understood and perhaps even acted against ((Harris et al, 2012). In Kenya negative descriptions of certain ethnic communities through hate speech led to their killing, maiming and displacement in 2007 showing that hate speech through political mobilization music promotes violence, discrimination and anarchy which are enemies of national cohesion.

The tenets of critical race theory hold that restrictions on hate mongering are necessary in order to protect minority groups from pain and suffering and in order to promote inter-group harmony in the society. From the egalitarian view, all persons and groups must be protected equally against the promotion of hatred and against defamatory attacks through political mobilization music that deny their right to human dignity. Additionally, hate propaganda has no redeeming social value and is inherently harmful both to target groups and the societal order. Therefore, restrictions on freedom of expression explicitly designed to curb the hate mongering represent reasonable limits.

The theory was adopted in the study to explain how bodies charged with regulating political mobilization music compositions restricts and punishes hate speech. These bodies include Kenyan music festival Permanent Presidential Music and National Cohesion and Integration Commission. They protect the society, promote national cohesions and promote societal order by regulation the kind of compositions. The role of these entities is to protect minority groups in Kenya to promote cohesion and to prevent clashes and ethnic turmoil in Kenya. Additionally, they promote equality by protecting even the minority communities and groups and by prosecuting those who perpetrate these crimes. Therefore, the role of the bodies charge with regulation of music composition is to restrict the freedom of speech in Kenya to the extent that it is hate speech negative expressions and that it endangers minority groups.

However, this theory does not come out clear on regulation of political mobilization songs that cause conflicts or promote patriotism hence the need for the second theory.

Research methodology

This paper adopted a mixed methods approach, using qualitative and quantitative research methodology. The target respondents (music composers, teachers, electorates and official from NIC, KMF, PPMC and groups from 4 slums working towards peace initiatives were sampled. Data was analysed by descriptive and inferential statistics using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS v23).

Study area

The study was conducted in Nairobi County, Kenya because since the urbanization of Nairobi which dates back to the colonial times, Nairobi has a unique and natural cosmopolitan nature. All the various Kenyan ethnic communities are present because Nairobi is still the hub of commerce. Many Kenyans come to eke a living because of its development which has incessantly attracted the rural to urban migration. Policies to reverse this trend have not yielded much fruit. Nairobi is microcosm of Kenya as a nation, Africa and the rest of the world (world embassies and international organizations have their headquarters in Nairobi.) This study involved how humanity reacted to the challenges inherent in political mobilization music towards enhancing national cohesion in Kenya.

Results and Discussion

The study sought to examine the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. All categories of respondents were asked to indicate the challenges encountered based on seven subtopics including, various variables. The findings are discussed in the subsequent sub headings. Data collected was gleaned, coded and analysed through Excel and SPSS and the results were as follows:-

Political Songs Portray Biased Support

The study sought to investigate whether political songs portray bias support. The kind of songs majorly focused here were idolizing, demonizing and praise songs due to the fact that patriotic songs historically were used to bring about togetherness of its citizens. The question for research therefore questions if all political music portray biased support. The results are as shown in table 5.1

Table 1 Percentage distribution on whether political songs portray biased support

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	6	4.0
Disagree	17	11.0
Neutral	27	17.0
Agree	51	33.0
Strongly Agree	55	35.0
Total	156	100

The study findings indicate that 4% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagree that political songs does not portray biased support, 11% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed, 17% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral, 33% (n=156) of the respondents agree that political songs portray biased support while 35% (n=156) strongly agreed that indeed political songs portray biased support. This can be interpreted to mean that most political songs are based on an individual and in so doing brings about biased support in favor of that politician. Averagely the study revealed that 68% (n=156) of respondents agreed to the fact that political songs portray biased support. These included praise and idolizing songs. For instance tawala Kenya (Rule Kenya) song composed by Tomas Wasonga during Moi's era. The President was being urged to rule "tawala" and lead Kenya to greater heights Commenting on the biasness in the above song, one of the Key informants from Kenya Music Festival commented; It was hard for political music to give hate speech during this one party rule. There was National cohesion exercised here and anyone found singing music to ridicule an individual or government, the music was destroyed or musician banished. For example D, O, Miasian disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when he composed a song in Luo. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power. (Key informant KMF 2019). A similar study conducted in Nigeria by Olusegun and Abayomi (2012) had concurred to the fact that political music portrays biased support when the People Democratic Party gubernatorial candidate in Oyo state Alao Akala Christopher had a team of singers that campaigned for him one of the song's relic's; All- A egbe mi ewa sia PDP lonfe lele, Alao Akala eni Olorun yan kose lekeji, Egbe olomburela egbe PDP, egbe onire tide kire wole wa, Solo-Efibo gbe debe kowole, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o, Solo-Eni olorun yan lawanfe, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o, Solo-PDP, Chorus- power to the people.

Translation in English

Oh my comrades see the flag of PDP flying, Alao Akala is the person God has chosen to go for second term, Its umbrella party, it Peoples Democratic Party, Aparty with a good will, Please use your vote and let him win, Alao Akala is God’s anointed (**Alao Akala Lo’lorum Yan**)

Political mobilization music has been used as tool to cause conflict

Music in general is neither inherently good nor bad, neither positive nor negative, in its impact on conflict resolution. Yet there are many examples where music unites peoples, to promote our self-awareness and self-esteem, mutual tolerance, sense of spirituality, intercultural understanding, ability to cooperate, healing (Lawrence, 2008), and there are many studies that illustrate how music can have these effects in certain places and contexts. One of the tunes of the South African, national anthem of the post-apartheid ‘NkosiSikele Africa’, was sung as a song of liberation in the era of apartheid and inspired many in the struggle for freedom (Gray, 2008). Kenya faces the challenges when it comes to general elections where political mobilization music seem to have a thin line on whether it promotes national cohesion or it causes conflict among communities. O’Connell et Al., (2010) suggests that, Music and Conflict reveals how musical texts are manipulated by opposing groups to promote Conflict and how music could be utilized to advance Conflict and resolution.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement on the statement that political mobilization music has been used as a tool to cause conflicts among communities. The Result is as shown in figure 1

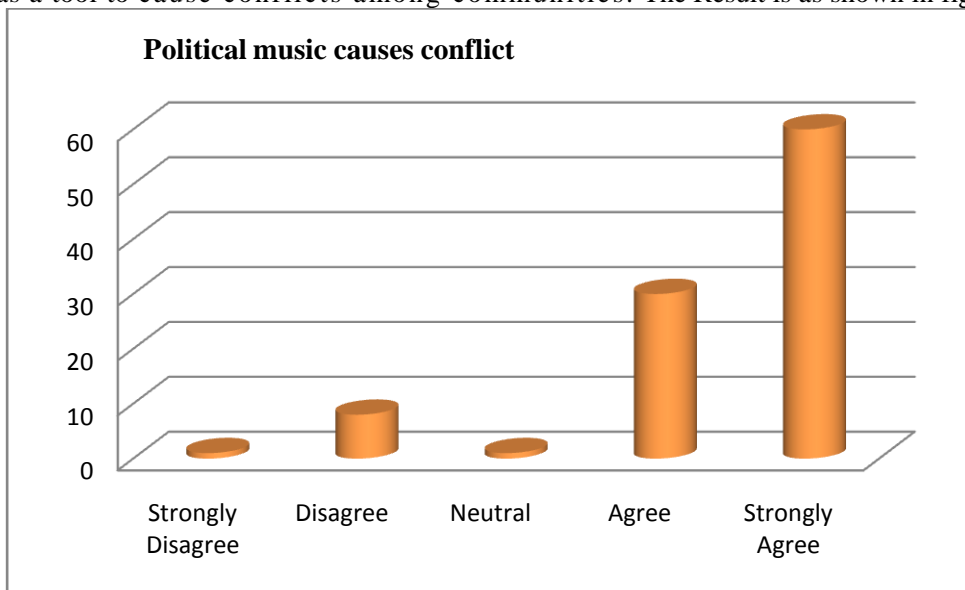


Figure 1 Percentage distribution on whether political mobilization music causes conflict

According to O’Connell (2010), conflict can be viewed negatively as the logical outcome of economic equality and social disparity leading inevitably to violent rupture where the status of dominant elite is called into question. This can be because of many causes one being political mobilization music. Similarly, study’s finding Figure 6.1 above shows that 60% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agree that some of political songs causes political animosities leading to conflicts among communities as they in most cases are full of propaganda to mud sling opponents. 30% (n=156) of the 8% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral, 1% (n=156) disagreed with the notion while another 1% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagreed. Averagely 90% (n=156) of respondents agreed that political mobilization music causes conflicts among opposing parties. For instance in Bungoma during one of the campaigns, a song was composed to demonize the then incumbent Senator. (Wekulo omundu omubii ahaaa Wekulo Omundu Omubii huuuu) To mean (Wekulo is a bad person...) these findings go hand in hand with those undertaken from other counties especially in Nigeria by Olusegun and Abayomi (2012) were a song was composed during political mobilizations for elections in 2011 to demonize presidential candidates for example; All- A egbe mi ewa sia PDP lonfe lele, Alao Akala eni Olorun yan kose lekeji, Egbe olomburela egbe PDP, egbe onire tide kire wole wa, Solo-Efibo gbe debe kowole,

Translation in English

He is mentally deranged He is mentally deranged The Governor who turns a market sweeper He is mentally deranged (**Alaarun Opolo**)

Similarly, Kawangware Peace Initiative Focus Group Discussion had the following to say on whether music causes conflict: Some songs were sung for money to be against the opponent e.g. Dagoret .North it was sung against Jubilee while Dagorret South against NASA but they tried to bring people together. However, Esikuti Youth Group took advantage of the situation they sung and robbed from people (FGD 1, Kawangware Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

A key informant from permanent presidential music commission commented; Songs really contributed to people's thoughts and actions therefore influencing their choice of their candidate. (Key informant PPMC 2019)

A member from Korogocho slum peace initiative complained; Songs like tibim put people in the political zone, for NASA supporters so those against NASA were not happy therefore, breeding conflict and a kind of political demeanor brought a feeling of loss. Sometimes the songs influence negatively on peoples way of behavior e.g. some are abused through songs (FGD 4, Korogocho Slum Peace Initiative, 2019).

However, in the traditional Yoruba society, songs and music occupied a unique place in the preparation, mobilization and prosecution of war. The importance of songs in instigating conflict is aptly captured by a Yoruba proverb that says "orin ni isaaju ote", meaning songs herald hostilities (Olawaju, 2011). Scholars such as Olutoye and Olapade (1998) and Ilesanmi (1998) examine the importance of drums, chants and songs among the Yoruba and aver that more than their entertainment roles; they perform religious, social and military purposes. As a communicative device, songs are employed for inspiring warriors and for launching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts. In many instances, verbal assaults often result in physical assaults such that thought is provoked about the linguistic process that accentuates a conflict. Song of assaults are usually accompanied by cheering, laughing and savoring of the exchanges, until the conflict intensifies into brawl. What this implies is that the metaphors or linguistic devices employed in songs are not innocent and should be taken seriously. Songs of assault have a long history, and can function not only on a personal level but also as politically effective weapons. Campaign and post-election pretest song in Hausa language songs are situated within this frame, and like war songs. This communication through artistic medium opens up danger and provocation against the person the artist

Sing about. These findings are in line with what an officer from National Cohesion and Integration Commission eluted; Songs would sometimes bring conflict between different political parties leading to tribal divisions. (Key informant NCIC, 2019)

Contrary to these findings, a study carried out in Tanzania by Perullo (2005) indicated that in 2004, the Tanzanian rap artist Juma Nature released the song "Umoja wa Tanzania" (Tanzanian United), [CD track 2]. Nature was hired by the ruling party to tour throughout Tanzania with members of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) to promote the election and CCM candidates. Olanrewaju (2011) comments the song was Nature's commentary on the state of politics and ability of the country to remain united despite divisions over the future of leadership. It built on many previous nationalist songs from the socialist period, and added issues related to reforms occurring in Tanzanian society, such as multipartyism and conflict between two political parties CCM and Civic United Front (CUF). CCM was the only party or the dominant party in Tanzanian politics since independence. CUF, however, had quickly gained momentum with each of the previous multiparty elections.

Nature commented on the conflict among supporters of both parties: Siasa ukifuatisha sana unaweza hata kulia. Ubaya upo nchi zote hata kwenye familia. Tujiulize kuna nini kama sisi wenyewe tutapigana. Na katika hayo mapigano nani atakayeumia? CCM na CUF kwa sasa mmeshaelewana. Haina haja muda wote mkawa mnabishana. Tumeelewana siyo? Naomba mniazime masikio.

Translation in English

If you follow politics it can make you cry. Bad things are in every county even among families. Let's ask ourselves what happens when we fight each other And in those fights, who will suffer? CCM and CUF they have reached agreement There is no need to argue all the time. Do we agree? Please listen to me (**Juma Nature**)

The message of unification between conflicting groups was prominent in the post- independence period, particularly in state efforts to erase divisions between ethnic and religious groups. In the opening to the song, Nature emphasizes the importance of reaching an agreement in order to ensure peace and stability (mentioned later in the chorus), hallmarks of the country and its people. Kenyans always imagined that they are cohesive but when national elections come we fall apart (present this since the era of multi- party democracy since the scrapping of section 2A which ushered in multiparty politics in the mid 1990's

The bodies charged with regulating political mobilization music has minimum power in apprehending musicians on hateful compositions.

Music copyright society of Kenya aims at building, mobilizing, institutionalizing and supporting the music fraternity within Kenya, integrating, sustaining and enhancing their earning for their works. It is in pursuit of these objectives that MCSK supports artists and bands in peace activities initiated that supports various activities such as the Amka Kenya Initiative of 2013 Murimi (2013). The study sought to find out if national and integration commission, Kenya music festival, Music copyright society and permanent presidential music commission were not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. The results of the finding is as shown in figure 2

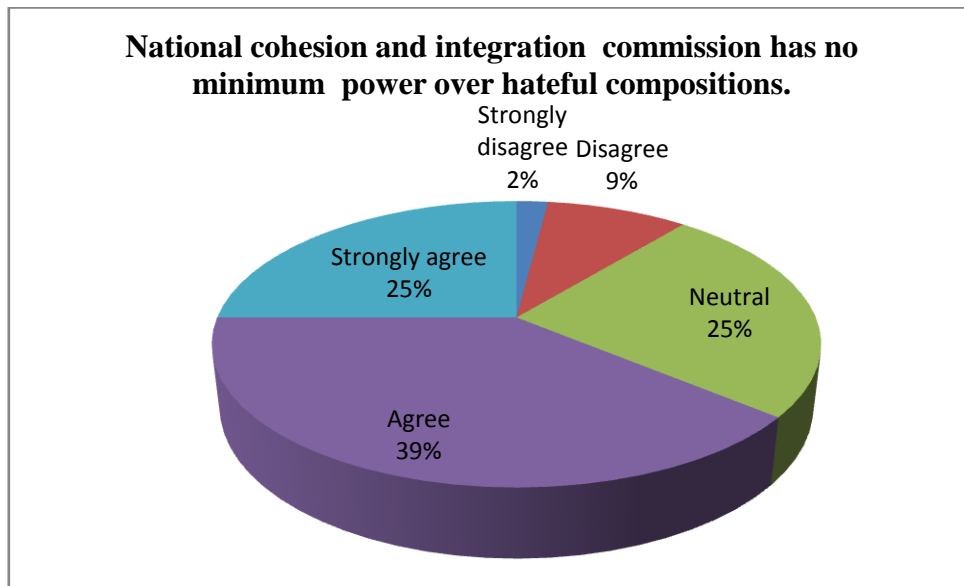


Figure 2. Percentage distribution on whether National Cohesion and Integration Commission has minimum power over hateful compositions.

The results from the study finding in figure 5.2 above shows that majority of the respondents agreed to the notion that national integration commission has failed to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. This is supported by 48% (n=156) of the respondents agreed while 14% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agreed to the statement. This is because most of the hateful songs have not been banned and their respective musicians fined by the commission. On the other hand and 22% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion, 12% (n=156) of responds disagree and 4% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagreed to the notion. Averagely, 64%(n=156) of respondents agreed to the fact that bodies charged for regulating no power over hateful compositions of music.

The ever evolving nature of our political landscape (coalitions present the historical perspective of these coalitions and the songs composed to form up support for the various coalitions hence missing out on patriotism and instead become victims of partisan songs. According to a key informant from the NCIC, this was attributed to political, economic or social- cultural challenges; Polarization and division of the country along ethnic lines that determine political opinion and positions coupled with dishonesty and selfishness among leaders who go inciting musicians to compose songs likely to divide the county. Lack of principles and ideologies to define political direction and Weak leadership in governance institutions; together with Proliferation of organized gangs and militia; and control of land, finance capital, technology and communication by the political elites have rendered NCIC toothless given that the constitution has offered too much freedom in the name of human rights hence NCIC has no power over hateful composition of music that supports the mentioned vices. (Key informant NCIC 2019)

An officer from PPMC when asked to comment on the fact that NCIC has no powers over hate composition of music lamented; NCIC is charged with overseeing a cohesive society yet Kenya has been marred by negative ethnicity, High illiteracy levels; Deteriorating morals and values - higher levels of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behavior; Weakening of the family unit; Pessimistic negative populace - failure to appreciate the good in the country and cultural insensitivity leading to a non- cohesive community. This was attributed to incitements through media and music that NCIC was unable to control through punishing composers of hateful music for lack of power. (Key informant PPMC 2019).

The picture in plate 1 during the 2007/2008 post- election violence in Kenya asserts the above statement.



Plate 1.A reflection of a non-cohesive community Kenya 2017/2018.

The plate indicated the result of post-election violence that resulted due to lack of national cohesion the major attribute being songs composed that articulated hate over some leaders and political parties.

Findings on weather National Cohesion and Integration Commission had power over hateful compositions indicated that the commission had minimum power. Ochieng (2017) in Standard who did an article accusing NCIC chair for laxity echoed this. He wrote “The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is not investigating two Kikuyu musicians accused of composing divisive music”.

According to NCIC Chief Executive Officer Hassan Mohamed, defended the commission saying the songs ‘Hakuna Deni’ and ‘Mbari ya Kimenderi’ by Kimani wa Turaco and Muigai wa Njoroge respectively do not incite ethnic hatred and only express the disorder in society.

He said the commission had keenly reviewed the lyrics and found nothing wrong with them, despite raising diverse public opinions. “One of the songs talks about repaying a debt but does not touch on a specific community and the other expresses a political point that does not amount to hate speech,” he said, adding that they were, however, investigating individuals who redid the songs to portray a particular community negatively. “We do not stifle creativity in the name of fighting hate speech but those who have changed the songs to stereotype a particular community will be brought to book,” he said at a journalists’ forum on hate speech held in Nakuru.

Vershow, (2010) on America political music disagree with the above findings carries out a study. The findings indicated that political folk traditions also allows us to explore different ideas of what it means to be political, the contours of which are made clear as we move between the two declarations below made by Charles Seeger about American folk music.

“Many folksongs are complacent, melancholy, defeatist, intended to make slaves endure their lot—pretty but not the stuff for a militant proletariat to feed upon The folk music of America [has] embodied for well over a hundred years the tonal and rhythmic expression of untold millions of rural and even urban Americans. Contrary to our professional beliefs, the American people at large have had plenty to say and ability to say it, so that a rich repertory has been built up—thousands of tunes each for the dance, for the ballad, the love song, and the religious song.” (Seeger 2015)

Seeger’s initial assessment of the American slave song—pretty but defeatist—was based on a traditional view of politics (and therefore political music) that addressed itself directly to centers of power, be they government or corporations.in relation to the findings from the study, Seeger seem not to concur that political music necessarily causes conflicts.

According to the roles of PPMC explained in literature review, PPMC is a government Commission established to promote the development and practice of music and dance, spearhead the growth and development of the music industry and to contribute to the understanding and preservation of Kenyan musical arts and expression. The constitution of Kenya had contradicted on this role basing on the fact that freedom of speech was passed on as a right. This makes it a challenge to control regulation of all the music composed.

Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions.

In venturing into Music festivals of other countries, studies shows that Music festival has a great inlet into the arts and cultures of the societies that host them, while offering great potential to local economies and countless business opportunities for African artists to grow their bands. However, not all these countries have prioritize music as part of their agendas despite the vast numbers of festival with diverse genres available all around, all over Africa.

The role of Kenya Music Festival is to nurture and develop talent, preserve culture, enhance national unity, cohesion and integration. KMF brings together millions of schoolchildren and adults in education together to sing at one venue regardless of their ethnic backgrounds bringing the element of National cohesion and integration. The teachers and choir trainers under this organization compose music on set pieces, emerging issues and patriotic songs that urge Kenyans to live together in peace and harmony. There had been an argument on whether Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions on what their objectives entail.

The study sought to find out if Kenya Music Festival Composers has failed to adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions. The result is as shown in figure 3

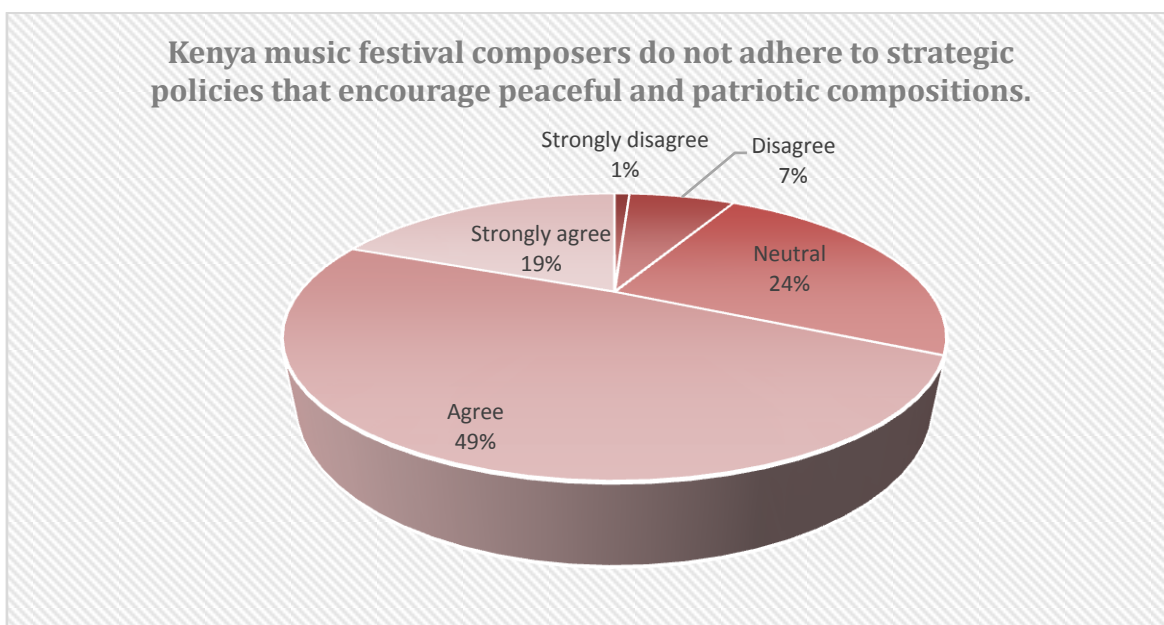


Figure 3 .Percentage distribution on whether Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic compositions

The study findings from figure 6.3 indicates that there is mixed reaction from the respondents concerning the notion which says that Kenya Association of Music Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. 49% (n=156) and 19% (n=156) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed to the statement of the study. This is because those patriotic songs are being used during national celebrations that do not attract any financial gain unlike political music during campaigns where musicians make skills out of such songs. 24% (n=156) of the respondent neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, 6% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed to the notion while 2% (n=156) strongly disagreed with the notion. This can be attributed to the fact that they do not see the value of patriotic song has on the peace of the state. An official from National Cohesion and Integration Commission had this to say; Music copyright society of Kenya, the Kenya copyright board and music publishers association has no power in monitoring and arresting musicians with violent songs. These bodies on the other hand lack the support of music artists because of large royalty charges. On the other hand, controlling and music with hate speech and belittling other communities is not easy. (NCIC official, 2019)

According to a study findings carried out by Odidi (2013), art songs are meant for well-trained Western voices since the songs are usually a challenge to African singers in terms of tessitura and chromaticism. Nketia (2004) adds that these and more challenges are mostly because Africa has a deficiency of good voice teachers who will train students on good technique. However, these findings implies that indeed Kenya Music Festival Composers still faces a chain of challenges and therefore do not adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions as was found out by this study.

Bodies charged with regulating PMM compositions do not fully support and train musicians in composing patriotic songs that promotes national cohesion.

Lack of national cohesion and integration in the country is partially blamed on historical injustices and negligence by successive governments. For instance, policies in sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 which placed emphasis on developing high potential areas at the expense of other places was largely blamed for underdevelopment and neglect of many parts of the country by successive regimes after independence (NCIC, 2011). This policy paper led to unequal distribution of resources between the high potential areas also known as ‘productive’ and the low potential or ‘unproductive areas’ thereby resulting in discrimination in matters of developments. For the country to achieve sustainable development and growth there is need for citizens to see themselves as Kenyans first, and promote harmonious peaceful coexistence among themselves; and also respect and appreciate their ethnic and racial diversity. Much blame was on national and integration commission, Kenya music festival, Music copyright society and permanent presidential music commission. The researcher sought to find out if bodies charged with regulating PMM compositions does not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion. The results are as shown in figure 4

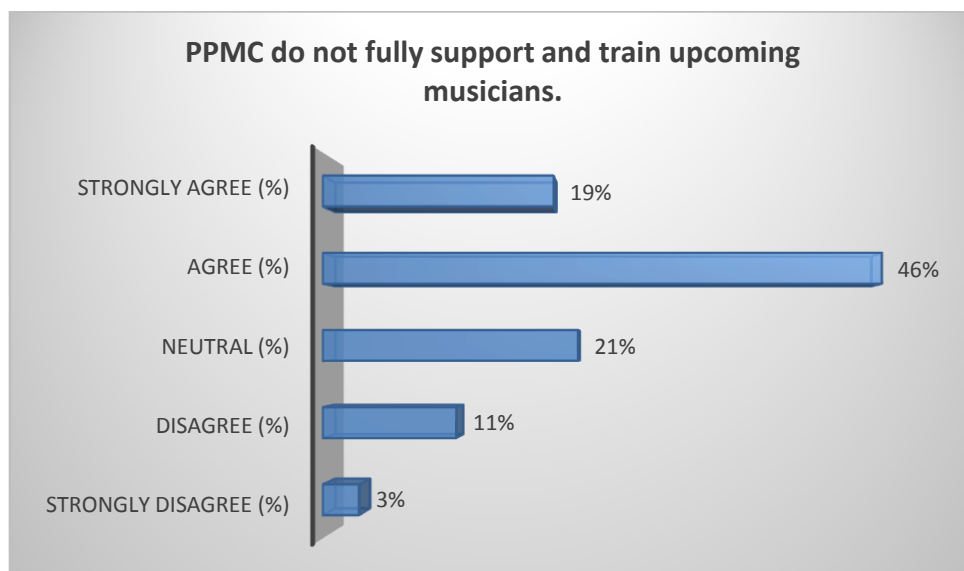


Figure 4. Percentage distribution on whether PPMC does not fully support and train upcoming musicians.

The results from the study findings as shown in figure 6.5 above shows that it was found out that permanent presidential music do not fully support and train upcoming musicians this was supported by 46% (n=156) and 19% (n=156) of the respondents who agreed and strongly agreed with the notion. 21% (n=156) of the respondents were neither in agreement or against the statement. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the respondents who were neutral to the statement had no idea of the role of Permanent Presidential Music commission (PPMC) and that it is more of individual talent than 10% (n=156) and 2% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement.

In view of the above findings, a number of factors must be thought about. Music is an important tool for societal integration. History has a host of examples of the use of music to build cohesion and direct energies towards a particular communal goal. However, a number of challenges show up in the course of using music for political mobilization (Baron 2016). Onagri and Ouida (2014) urge that political mobilization music can be interpreted as instrument for political indoctrination and brainwashing. This can make people change attitude towards music as a whole just like they have done with instruments that are thought to be pro-establishment like KBC/VoK – remember that to date, there are people who do not even listen to the radio station because of such perceptions. Therefore, PPMC should come out strongly to give support.

There is likelihood of growing monotony in melody, rhythm and text leading to reduction in creativity. This is likely to reduce interest in the music and its message in the end. Yet according to Cumm (2015), bodies charged with PMM composition do not seem to fully support and train upcoming musicians. In my opinion, without such support from bodies charged with PMM composition, it may be a challenge to find messages that cut across ethnic and political divides and therefore appealing to everyone. There is the likelihood of different political sections using the same musical strategy to achieve their own political interests resulting in lose-lose situation for everyone.

The findings from the above authors disagree with the Permanent Presidential Music Commission that was established in the year 1988, with an objective to preserve, develop and promote music and dance in Kenya; spearhead the growth and development of the music industry and to contribute to the understanding and preservation of Kenyan musical arts and expression.

Maina 2012 quotes PPMC in agreement with scholars like Ongiri and Ogida (2014), Camm (2015) and (Baron 2016) findings. He quotes “Our story is one rooted in an unwavering commitment to promoting talent in the country, with a sincere focus of helping talented individuals grow themselves. PPMC documents great works from various artists in Kenyan”. Yet according to him, bodies charged with PMM composition do not fully support and train upcoming musicians.

Music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains “They [artistes] don’t sing because they truly love those parties. They are looking for money. Personally, I don’t sing politics anymore” this was echoed by Bebe Cool, Laura (2018). Artistes were being used by politicians to compose songs to praise their political performance even if nothing had been done by them. In 2011, the trend soared. Some artistes were hired by political parties and other politicians seeking elective positions to compose songs praising them and other politicians, (Askew, 2002). Again, a study carried out in Tanzania by Perullo (2005) indicated that in 2004, the Tanzanian rap artist Juma Nature released the song “Umoja wa Tanzania” (Tanzanian United), [CD track 2]. Nature was hired by the ruling party to tour throughout Tanzania with members of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) to promote the election and CCM candidates.

The state used its economic muscle to appropriate protest music by buying out artists and, in some cases, turning them into total pro-establishment praise-singers. The need for financial success and survival was enough incentive to silence voices of critics. When coercion did not work, the state was willing to “buy out” the artist speaking truth to power. Kamaru’s experience with Moi is instructive. Daniel Owino Misiani, another musician who had used his art to consistently critique the political repression by the Kenyatta regime, especially the political assassinations, was imprisoned on various occasions for his lyrics, which were deemed offensive to the state. He was also threatened with deportation from Kenya on several occasions because he was born in Shirati, which is administratively in Tanzania (Osiebe, 2016.) Are the findings reflecting the same things happening in Kenya?

The respondents were asked to comment on the questionnaire if music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains. The results were as shown in figure 5

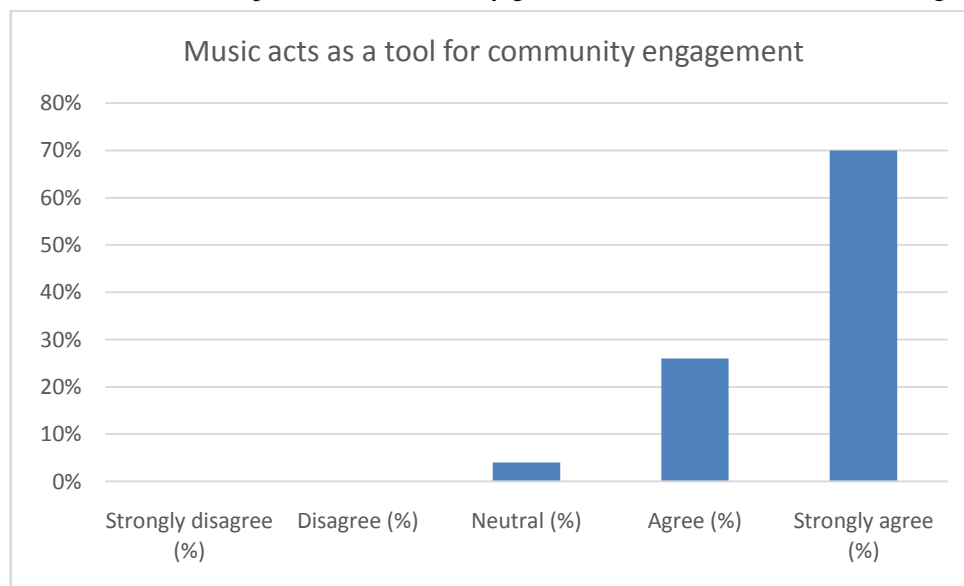


Figure 5. Percentage distribution on whether Music has power to act as a tool for Community Engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains

From the study, the findings shows that majority of the respondents agreed that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains. This is supported by 70% (n=156) and 26% (n=156) of the respondents who strongly agree and agree with the notion while 4% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion. This is attributed to the fact that most songs that are sung are communal, represents the community, and in so doing engages the community members however, they have been politicized. In view of these findings, the other question would be about the composers' own political and ethnic loyalties. Would they be able to speak in one voice in their compositions?

Kibra Slum Peace Initiative participant had the following to say on challenges encountered by Public Mobilization Music towards national cohesion: Lack of good will from politicians to encourage musicians to compose music enhancing national cohesion during and after campaigns was experienced hence posing a challenge toward national cohesion (FGD 2, Kibra Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

Basing on De Mathew song it came out clear that Kenya judiciary system lacked strict laws in regulating music. (FGD 2, Kibra Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

A music composer of political mobilization music had this to say on how music has power to act as a tool for Community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary Gains; We charge between 50k and 100k for each song depending on the candidate and the position they were vying for. It was purely business we made the songs and sold them to politicians. Simply because we sang for someone did not mean we supported him or her politically. The payment dependent on what you agreed on with the politician. He could pay in installments during electioneering period. Said a musician who composed and recorded the song for the senate candidate. (PMM composer 2019)

The Korogocho Slum Peace Initiative respondent also felt there is a challenge inherent by PMM towards national cohesion and they had this to say: There is no law to control the composition of songs or to vet the songs therefore, a lot of freedom in composition of songs through Kenyan constitution that lacks powers to vet before going public. (FGD 4, Koroocho Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

Mathare Peace Ambassador's participant observed: The musicians who change the version of their songs to suit their needs that in most cases brings negative effects in politics have abused freedom. Musicians do not out of passion and patriotism but only interested in financial gains (FGD 3, Mathare Peace Ambassador, 2019)

Korogocho slum peace initiative member had shared; Vetting of music faces challenges of freedom that is overall too much as put in article 34 of the constitution therefore musicians to be sensitization on the type of messages that should come from their songs in order to enhance national cohesion. (FGD 4, Korogocho Peace initiative 2019)

The NCIC officials had the following to say on challenges on the influence of PMM on status and levels of national cohesion: The office of Director of public prosecution in charge of investigation of cases of music being used to propagate ethnic tension and hate speech has no powers. Lack of public awareness of the NCIC act mandate. We are currently holding sensitization forums to engage the public in this (NCIC official, 2019).

Similarly, a key informant from the permanent presidential music commission observed the following Ethnicity-politics is still rampant because we have a very volatile political scene in Kenya. Limited cooperation or commitment by people who are aggrieved by insults from the songs may be reluctant to participate in court processes. (Key informant PPMC official, 2019).

Makobi (2017) observed that if this negative ethnicity could be addressed through positive compositions, music would work well to achieve national cohesion in Kenya. I therefore agree with Makobi on the fact that Political mobilization music for national cohesion in Kenya should be viewed as enhancing national cohesion and not necessarily agitating for it. National cohesion is largely promoted by peaceful and cohesion messages from influencing political leaders. The citizens religiously receive their messages and these are the messages that need to be echoed by songs on cohesion.

Main challenges of using these songs are the media of reaching the people. Such songs are played on national radio and televisions whose audience is being competed by other media. Musicians need to be alive to changing and catchy trends of composition so that their songs are not dismissed from the beginning. Therefore, innovative ways of reaching the larger population needs to be sought and be capitalized on in making sure that Music has act as a tool for Community Engagement but not being misused for political and monetary gains. This evidently revealed that politicians took an advantage of unemployment, poverty and lack of finance to lure out Kenyan youths and artists to compose songs on their favor.

Conclusion

In regards to the challenges of political mobilization music on national cohesion, political mobilization music portrays bias support and sometimes acts as a source of conflict among communities.

NCIC was not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. Kenya Music Festival composers have tried to adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. Permanent Political Music Commission has not fully maintained a pro-active music policy. Permanent Presidential Music Commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion and that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains.

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