



SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Sister Fa and Nneka - 21st Century Global Diplomats

The symbiosis between music and politics explored through female

West African artists

Harpreet Kaur

Candidate Number: 43449

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This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my late father, and to my mother, who have given me the values, strength and courage to believe in myself, and to fight for humanity, justice and love. Their hard work, sacrifice and generosity is an inspiration to me, and for that I am eternally grateful.

Abstract

In the 21st century the world is still proliferated with poverty, corruption, violence and war. Increasing inequalities within and between nations leave people in despair, revolutions erupt, and people take to the streets. Some people make music. This study is about the important link between music and politics, that when closely examined has much to reveal about human security issues suffered by a wide cross section of society, particularly those who are marginalised and will turn to creativity as a form of self expression and empowerment to have their voices heard. Globalisation and neoliberal approaches to international policy-making allow the West to remain more powerful and secure compared with developing nations, and women are faced with particular threats to their security as a result. This study is from a feminist perspective examining the link between music and politics that when combined can act as a powerful force to illustrate such human security issues pertaining to women, as well as having the potential to reduce them.

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Abbreviations

AWDF	African Women’s Development Fund
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
UN	United Nations
US	United States

Introduction

This dissertation seeks to examine the significance of the link between music and politics, that is explored through contributions of female music artists from non-Western contexts, who are contributing to issues pertaining to women relating to security and governance. It is important due to the fact that the link between popular culture and politics is often ignored (Bleiker, 2005: 180). The central argument is that music has the power to improve the security of women in the world and can provide a more liberal transnational approach to policy-making. This thesis remains essential due to the effects of globalisation and neoliberal policy making that has created a hegemonic imbalance in the world. Existing global governance structures, legislative market reforms and development practice allow states in the West to remain more powerful, and have more freedom from fear and want compared with the rest of the world. Compared with men, women have less freedom from fear and want across the world (Haq, 1999: 95, McKay, 2004: 154). This dissertation is from a feminist perspective exploring the public profiles and impact of West African female music artists in relation to the freedom from fear and want of women and girls in West Africa. This is a multifaceted interdisciplinary paper as it includes a range of literature from international relations, gender and cultural studies.

There is a relationship between music and politics that must be considered in international relations academic discourse, as when explored it has much to illustrate in terms of providing significant explanations and revelations of what is happening politically within and between nations, including actors at every level, and how power is exercised. This relationship provides the foundation for discussing the relationship between music by female West African artists, and women's human security. The focus is on West Africa as human security problems are particularly severe in this region, and there has been a lot of political music produced in West African countries.

Popular culture is too often considered merely as entertainment, so is ignored by many scholars of world politics (Rowley, 2010: 310). This relationship has been examined in much detail by John Street (1997):

‘If we fail to take popular culture seriously, we impoverish our understanding of the conflicting currents and aspirations which fuel politics’ (Street, 1997: 6).

It is a two-way relationship, as the political processes that shape the form and content of popular culture must also be considered. Popular culture is not necessarily an add-on or something to be studied only by other areas of academic discourse such as cultural, media and communication studies (Rowley, 2010: 309). It is in fact an integral part of understanding international relations. Popular culture has to be understood as part of our politics (Street: 1997:4). Popular culture neither manipulates or mirrors us, but we actually ‘live through and with it’ to the point that our lives are bound up with it (Street: 1997:4).

According to Bleiker, a self-described international relations scholar, international relations scholarly practice does not pay enough attention to creativity:

‘The key political dilemmas of our day are far too serious and complex not to explore the full register of human intelligence and creativity to understand and deal with them’ (Bleiker, 2005: 181).

Bleiker (2005) explains the significance of creativity, and music is the specific form of creativity that is closely examined. The political dimensions of music are explicit. Conflict resolution and the quest for peace have inspired composers throughout history, and much more has come on the scene following the attacks of September 11 2001 (Bleiker, 2005: 179). Music not only broadens our understanding of political phenomenon, but also our capacity to deal with such problems and issues, as will be explored in the case study section in chapter 4. By examining the nature and impact of music we can have a more interdisciplinary understanding of international relations by including musical knowledge alongside traditional forms of analysis (Bleiker, 2005: 180). To do otherwise in

political discourse and practice is to fail to acknowledge the varied causes, interrelated and interdisciplinary factors involved in making better-informed political decisions (Franklin, 2005: 12).

So, music as a form of creativity and popular culture has:

- a) not been given enough recognition and attention in international relations discourse, and
- b) must be explored within international relations discourse to provide a thorough analysis of the different factors involved in political processes.

This dissertation will defend the argument that music is related to politics and has the power to improve and reveal the human security of women through a series of chapters. In chapter 1 popular music and its powerful roles are examined. Firstly, popular music contributes to the formation of the identities of individuals that form the basis of political thought and action. Secondly, popular music is a political tool for (i) governance that can be used in positive or negative ways to exert power and influence, and (ii) for creating change through humanitarian and social activism, and demonstrates (iii) the symbiosis between music and politics results in populism that is created and administered.

Chapter 2 explains how cultural imperialism developed allowing the West to dominate particular cultural values and ideals universally by dominating popular culture market forces to the non-Western world. This is linked to neoliberal universal decision making that is born out of Western discourse and more beneficial to the West, as states such as the US will still often make decisions from a state perspective, even within transnational agendas, allowing the West to remain hegemonic. The effects of such policies are evident in West African music, which explores the impact on society and how it affects their human security.

Chapter 3 explains why human security is critical alongside state security approaches which are more often constructed from a Western perspective in alliance with globalization that allow growing inequality and poverty. Women's security is explored specifically, as women suffer specific types of fears and wants such as structural violence that can use gender to hide patriarchal and imperialist

politics of war. Women's leadership and empowerment is examined next, as a solution to overcome freedom from fear and want. Finally the relevance of the relationship between music, politics and gender is explained to bring together chapters 1-3, that build a theoretical framework that leads to the case study section.

In chapter 4 the theory from earlier chapters is explored in practice in two case studies about female musicians from West Africa, to demonstrate the central argument of the dissertation; that music has the power to improve the security of women in the world, and can provide a positive liberal transitional approach to policy making. Case study one examines Sister Fa's public profile and work, the importance of political music in Senegal and how these can work to eliminate the practice of Female Genital Mutilation in Senegal, and other West African countries, to increase their freedom from fear. Case study 2 examines Nneka's public profile and work, oil extraction in Nigeria causing poverty specifically for women in rural areas, and the effects of neoliberal policy making that prevents freedom from want and on-going poverty in Nigeria. Examples from music and Nneka's profile as a leader are explored.

In Chapter 5 recommendations are provided based on the theory and practical examples of how music and politics should be combined from chapters 1-4 to improve the security of women; (i) there is a need for more academic research and discourse about music and the human security of women, (ii) an increase in music and development projects, and (iii) increased recognition and distribution of music and artists from non-Western states by actors in the West. Limitations to these suggestions are also considered.

Chapter 1

Defining popular music culture in politics

This chapter will explain in more detail the role of popular culture in relation to politics, and demonstrate how music fits within this. This is critical to my argument as I will be focussing on music specifically and how it has a role in helping us understand and improve women's human security. Firstly it is important to look at how popular culture is interpreted. Popular music culture more specifically refers to 'the ways of making, disseminating, and consuming music' (Shuker, 2013: 3). Its availability is linked to social barriers to access and enjoy it (Street, 1997:7). In this dissertation I will take the stance that popular culture is conditioned by history, ideologies and institutions, and these in turn affect the relationship people have with popular culture, we must then address how it engages with politics and vice versa.

1.1 Popular music culture and identity

Firstly, popular culture has a significant role in forming our identities, sense of belonging and citizenship that are linked with the basis of political order, and political thought and action. Images and symbols from popular culture shape our identities, sexuality, class and nationhood by producing and articulating feelings in us. We see ourselves as certain types of people, and attach identity and interests to this, establishing our claim in the political order (Street: 1997: 11).

When the Third World sees an increase in youths in society this often leads to major youth unemployment with the youth becoming marginalised from political processes. Hip-hop music can often be the only way to articulate their interests and passions, and is used as an example here as both artists examined in Chapter 5 are hip-hop artists. Hip-hop began in urban America, and now has commercial international popularity, promoted and distributed by powerful multinationals that dominate the music market all over the world. Hip-hop has been popular in Britain, Germany, Japan, Bulgaria, Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, as well as other remote areas (Lock, 2005: 143).

There is a link between youth and hip-hop world over as it is a 'means of expression about their inner state, their thoughts and feelings' (Lock, 2005: 141). It gives youth a platform to talk about 'concerns of everyday life, social ills, rejection, frustration as well as drug abuse, sexual experiences and bragging'; all of these things are in hip-hop. The hip-hop narrative is generally true to life, with sub cultural and communal knowledge the sources for what is being communicated, this can make it difficult for other audiences to access (Lock, 2005: 142). A variety of political messages from hip-hop eventually make their way into public discourse. This music is playful and direct way of identifying particular social situations and power structures (Lock: 143).

Moreover these identities created through music are in relation to how nations define themselves thorough rituals, sporting events and in newspapers. The press for example is critical in drawing distinctions between 'us' and 'them' (Street, 1997: 11). These may be within and between nations, as the news is always locating people, telling stories about their behaviour, then providing explanations for such behaviour. What is interesting is what people will do with the various images and identities offered.

1.2 Popular music culture as a political tool

(i) A political tool for governance

Secondly, popular culture can also be a form of resistance, defiance and to deny power, as well as to exert it. It is this power that enables states to enforce particular view and influence on it's people, and using popular culture is a way of doing this. Governance is a 'historical process in which boundaries are imposed, and people are accorded varying degrees of cultural coherence and political eligibility – not on the basis of natural divisions, but as a result of the exercise of power' (Shapiro, 2004: xvii). There are numerous examples of composers being asked by governments to

deliver a piece of music for specific events and political causes (Bleiker, 2004:181). During the French revolution, competing factions would compete to tell their story to the world through songs that were heard all over the country (Street, 1997: 12). The power to influence has been used all over the world as propaganda, to encourage specific ideologies and to encourage followings towards particular political parties, for both positive and negative ends. So, in this way music is used as a powerful political tool.

In West Africa politicians will often turn to hip-hop to reach young voters; this happened in 2000. In Senegal the Abdou Diouf party tried to pay hip-hoppers to write about the wrongdoings of the opponent. Fada Fredy from Daara J (a band from Dakar) in 2003 states that the Democratic Party got their manifesto across to the youth through hip-hop. Pee Froiss a singer from the band was an activist getting people to go and vote at the stations (Lock, 2005: 152). Hip-hop is also used to disseminate sensitive information; corruption and thorny political issues. Electoral procedures and results may be the content of many songs. The lyrics criticize social elites in their own society who are trying to expand their power and highlighting issues between religion and politics. They denounce the relations between some religious leaders and politicians that result in corruption and undermine the democratic process (Lock, 2005: 153). An example from a Senegalese music artist will be explored later.

(ii) A political tool for humanitarian and social activism

As well as some debates over perceived negative 'effects' and influence of popular music;

'there have always been attempts to harness the music to social and political ends, and arguments around the validity of notions of music as an empowering and political force' (Shuker, 2013: 187).

Popular music culture becomes a form of political management through its ability to focus passion and express defiance. Live Aid (1985) by Bob Geldof used music to organise a spirit of universal humanitarianism. 'Here was a pop star acting as a global statesman, not speaking for 'youth', but for

'us' all' (Street, 1997: 13). In 2006 Geldof visited New Zealand, and his existing fame linked with his actions previously enabled him to again exert power when he described the country's foreign aid as 'shameful and pathetic' (Shuker, 2013: 1). With the support of Bono he was then able to progress his Make Poverty History campaign, using his musical celebrity status for social activism. Widespread public debate and activity sparked by this made both the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of New Zealand keen to defend their country's foreign aid record. According to Cooper (2009):

'The global capabilities of celebrity diplomats should not be undervalued or dismissed. Bono and Bob Geldof have become significant, ascendant diplomatic actors in a global system that is open to their inclusion in ways that very few would have anticipated' (Cooper, 2009: vii).

Similarly to a politician, Geldof was creating a following and a people, a collective conscience and identity. So popular culture in this example is the object of politics, rather than simply its subject (Street, 1997: 14). This example illustrates the symbiosis between popular culture and politics, and that it does not just happen; it is not simply inevitable, it is in fact created and administered.

Moreover Stone (2005) explains that in Africa, the arts are very closely tied to the fabric of everyday social and political life. Music in the form of highlife songs in Ghana has promoted candidates for national office, music in the form of sung poetry has helped bring down a political regime and change the course of history in Somalia (Stone, 2005: 15). Performance in many West African countries has helped to develop AIDS prevention awareness; in Africa 'The Arts are central to the flow of life' (Stone, 2005: 16).

(iii) Populism in Music as Political Arrangement

One should not assume that the popular choice is the democratic choice, that the most popular consumed mediums and products of pop culture are neutral and legitimate. Populism is as much the result of political judgements as imposed choices. Populism does not simply represent. States will

practice censorship, so can deny access to specific forms of popular culture for fear of its effects, as well as using it in some ways to maintain authority and social order through propaganda. 'The market is not a neutral instrument, it is a political arrangement' (Street, 1997:16). Popular music culture is far from simply being a form of popular expression. In summary:

'Sounds are more than incidental phenomena. But neither are they simple bi-products, functions of Politics or society writ large. Sounds and their co-requisites, silence or interval, are thoroughly social, historical – relational. As are the political economic realms with which they resonate, or clash, as the case may be' (Franklin, 2005: 8).

Summary

In determining one's identity and opinions, this is created from a range of sources, including those provided by popular culture. The people do not have a voice, but are given one by politicians, journalists and interest groups. They do not just exist, they are made, in the way they are represented and spoken for (Street, 1997:17). This demonstrates the effects of the relationship between music and politics. The power of music as a political tool specifically for the West to remain hegemonic will be examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

Cultural Imperialism - A Neoliberal Political Tool

The way popular culture is organized and made available is important, the state can control what is available in countries and regions, so how it is produced and distributed is critical to our understanding of the relationship between music and politics (Street, 1997: 19). The way that music is produced and distributed and consumed on a transnational, national and regional level can tell us much about power relations and issues within and between countries. This is significant because it has an impact on the human security of people within nations.

2.1 Cultural Imperialism through Popular music distribution and consumption

Shuker (2013) explains that music policy regarding the production and consumption of music is formulated at local, national, regional and international government level. Examining such policies reveals much about government intervention in the marketplace and the operation of cultural imperialism (Shuker, 2013: 216). During the 19th century colonizing powers mainly the US and Western Europe subjugated the history, politics and economics of the colonized developing countries. Cultural imperialism developed as a concept to go alongside this, as there was also a cultural aspect to the imperialism (Shuker, 2013: 218). International media flow came from a few dominant media production sources, mainly from the US. The dominant market force fed certain products, music, fashion and styles to dependent markets, endorsing particular cultural values, ideals, and practices. The local cultures of developing nations became invaded, displaced and challenged by foreign and often Western cultures. Therefore Anglo-American culture penetrated the market, establishing cultural norms as acceptable whilst failing to recognise that there were alternatives (Shuker, 2013:219). In the 1970s and 1980s this form of cultural imperialism was mainly concentrated from the US to the developing world.

However if we return to hip-hop as an example of music that has gone global originating from the US, this reveals an interesting dimension. Hip-hop music will in fact interact differently depending on the respective countries' cultural traditions, and will be transformed by local agents. This helps us to understand the 'transcultural identification process, cultural fusions and adaptations' (Lock, 2005: 144). Although a form of music long associated with political and social struggle, the meaning and message of hip-hop may change in another country, so there is a gap between the artists in America, and the audience in say South Africa (Lock, 2005: 144).

2.2 Neoliberalism and Western Hegemony

Looking at the distribution and consumption of music from a transnational perspective provides an example of Western hegemonic dominance due to neoliberal policy making. Neoliberalism in the policy world is identified with promoting capitalism and Western democratic values and institutions (Lamy, 2011:117). This is in line with the notion of cultural imperialism discussed earlier, dominating market forces, endorsing particular values and cultures from a Western perspective, and not considering alternatives. However a neoliberal institutional approach would suggest an open trade system amongst all states with mutual interests, and seeing institutions as the mediator and means to achieve cooperation to benefit all parties, with varied views being taken into consideration. But in practice the neoliberal approach it is arguable is still more beneficial to the West, and is born out of Western discourse, and is not currently working. The UN for example, an international institution introduce numerous bills that are not agreed on by all parties. The US have not always signed specific human rights bills where there may be a potential threat to their own interests. Non-Western states such as Afghanistan are made notorious by the media as not being willing to comply, but Western states have also not agreed at times.

As more interdependent and transnational organisations have developed thanks to globalization, and non-governmental organisations within a global communications community, liberal institutionalists argue that this prevalent economic and social interdependency and connection will

reduce the potential for state conflict that would be costly to individual states, not just on economic grounds (Walt, 1998:40). Such organisations are necessary to a human security approach to security. However power is still of significance in determining state actions, as well as the creation of ideas and identities, with respect to how these 'shape and the way states understand and respond to their situation' (Walt, 1998:41). So states namely in the West will make decisions to maintain and increase their individual power.

2.3 Responses to Neoliberalism in West African Music

So how does this link back to music? Examples from music demonstrate some of these theories such as neoliberalism being put into practice, and how these affect the human security of people and nations. As the focus of this paper is on West Africa, I will return to music from this continent specifically to demonstrate specific points. Urban youth globally are marginalised through unemployment due to economic disorder as unfolded through the neoliberal paradigm – capitalism commodifying what we should have by right, leaving the poor at a loss (Lock, 2005: 145). These people become resentful as it is becoming harder for them to be absorbed into the regular labour force world over. They become criminals or casual workers. Population growth in the developing world leads to massive youth cultures. Cities in Sierra Leone, Senegal and Liberia see a growth in movement from urban to rural, hence an increase in ghettos and unemployment.). The people at the bottom have no role and turn to hip-hop. Hip-hop gives the 'lost' generation a form of self-expression. 'Hip-hop functions as a tool and in the process of identification and in the building of self-awareness' (Lock, 2005: 146). Alliances are created; the opportunity for youth protest.

The 'rape' of Africa is a strong theme in Senegalese hip-hop (Lock, 2005: 153). The African political elite were successful in exploiting and adapting during the post-independence period, the political paradigms that had been pursued by the neoliberal programs of the Washington consensus.

African society fragmented trying to survive. Much of hip-hop voices and power fell into the wrong hands during the post-colonial history of Africa, leading to large scale political corruption. The young still feel they are suffering from colonial rule-losers in the neoliberal globalization process (Lock, 2005: 154). 'Pee Froiss, Africa for Africans' sings about how their rulers make decisions with the devil, the white man and multinationals, the world bank; the hegemonic ruling powers through institutions. The music and lyrics are very socially descriptive and aware of global dimension of political and economic situation, fully interspersed with historical and political references seeking to find explanations and changing things for the better (Lock, 2005: 154).

Hip-hop has become a commodity within the context of neoliberal globalization. E.g. a popular photo of a child soldier in Sierra Leone shows him wearing an image of 2pac – he is buying into hip-hop culture connecting with local fans, and joining global community of youth connected to it. The US entertainment industry continues to dominate markets around the world and cultural exchanges (Lock, 2005: 147). 2pac's music and image was a significant during the civil war. Even though the infrastructure of the country has been destroyed due to 15 years of civil war, Western entertainment industry products manage to get themselves to poor developing nations. This is a form of Western hegemony prevailing world over. Why is this boy not associating with any role models from his own environment but with an American hip-hop artist? The civil war left people homeless and poor, and displaced. The Revolutionary United Front fought with the government killing many and the economic and social structures destroyed. The child may be relating to the lyrics about ghettos and struggle for black males, or the ideal of a better life in a different part of the globe. 2pac may be more relevant to this child than someone in Berlin or London buying the record (lock, 2005:149).

Summary

It is clear that examining at music from a transnational perspective, how it is distributed and consumed in different countries demonstrates the effects of 21st century neoliberalism, globalization and Western hegemonic power. During the pre and post-colonial period, and until present, Western popular culture has made its way around the globe to go alongside the global political power the West inhabits. Therefore it is important for us to explore music coming from different countries, especially in the developing world to gain an understanding of the experiences and perceptions of people living in different cultures, and social and political climates that have been influenced by policies and actions from the West. As discovered in chapter 1, this music also acts as a powerful political tool so cannot be ignored. If neoliberal policies and institutions can be a threat to security of the underdeveloped world, leaving them with poor governance structures and lack of resources as Lock (2005) has suggested, and causing an imbalance of power between countries, it is useful to explore some of the effects of this, by looking at the concept of human security from both a state and international perspective.

Chapter 3 – Human Security and Women’s Security

3.1 The significance of Human Security

Human security shifts from the traditional state centric national security approach to making individuals the referent object, examining insecurities suffered by people inside states (Kerr, 2010: 122) combining human rights and human development (Kaldor: 2007: 182). The threat people need to be secured from is violence; freedom from fear, as well as freedom from want, arising from underdevelopment with regard to poor governance, poor state capacity, corruption and social divisions (Kerr, 2010: 125).

Security studies knowledge from a Western-centric perspective has set a standard and spread to the developing world that is parochial because it mistakes ‘Western’ experiences as universal, ignoring various different insecurities in other locales. It is also peripheral for focusing on the state (Bilgin, 2010:619). The human security perspective can turn non-Western actors from objects into subjects. If concepts such as partnership, local ownership and participation are employed in security policy, those who are actually affected by violence and security can be heard, and their needs adequately addressed. Those living with freedom from fear and freedom from want, often non-Western actors must be directly consulted and dialogue needs to take place with them to create effective solutions (Kaldor, 2007: 189). Examining the production and consumption of music is one of many aspects of exploring the relationship between state and society. Neoliberalism and human security approaches both open up discussions from being simply state centric to looking at various actors, that can also include music and popular culture. To reiterate; music can be the object of politics, rather than simply its subject (Street, 1997: 14). Globalization is unevenly benefiting the majority of humanity in terms of growing inequality and widespread poverty, to close this gap there needs to be a move from the state level to putting people first (Thomas, 2000: xi). Whilst putting people first it is essential to look at security through a gender lens, and examine the human security of women.

3.2 Security through a Gender Lens

Today we are living in a culture of violence and the worst victims of violence are most often women (Haq, 1999: 95). Women of all cultures and backgrounds suffer as a result of war and conflict within and between nations. All over the world women are beaten, mutilated, raped and sexually abused, and victims of involuntary prostitution and trafficking (Haq, 1999: 96). Freedom from fear is particularly an issue for women, who suffer more widely and globally. Hudson states that an expanded human security concept as a tool of universalist global governance has the potential to identify the needs of women in both the West and the developing world (Hudson, 2005: 157). For example, during war men and women have different roles. More men die in combat, as the majority of trained combatants are men. But women are much larger in number of civilian casualties, die from disease, malnutrition, sexual violence and accidents (Cockburn, 2010: 105). So as well as having no freedom from fear, lack of freedom from want also affects women in great numbers. Butler (2007) states that violence is perpetrated to preserve Western values at the expense of marginalized people:

‘Clearly, the west does not author all violence, but it does, upon suffering or anticipating injury, marshal violence to preserve its borders, real or imaginary’ (Butler, 2007: 250).

In securing the state, violence is undertaken in the name of national security and marginalizes women, and uses gender as a means to enforce this violence (Shepherd, 2007: 250). State practices and structural violence use gender as a mask to hide the patriarchal and imperialist politics of war (Hunt, 2010: 116). In 2001 the Bush administration claimed to enforce a ‘war on terror’ in the name of the rights and dignity of Afghan women. They created a heroic story of protecting racialized women from the evil Taliban/Al Qaeda, of good men in the West, fighting bad men in Afghanistan. This is an example of reinforcing patriarchal power and justifying violence abroad, using intervention in the name of human rights (Hunt, 2010:117). Humanitarian intervention is being carried out with a ‘responsibility to protect’ civilians from state repression (Jones, 2010: 144). The perpetrating state

claims that needs of individuals and their freedom from fear is being put first in taking this military action when of course it is not. So, looking at the situation through gender lenses taking into consideration different cultural identities illustrates how structural violence is carried out ultimately to secure national security objectives that are of an advantage to the West:

“Without recognizing the ways that gender, race, nationality, and religion intersect with each other, we would not be able to understand the imperial power dynamics that produce white, Western men and women as saviours of brown Afghan women from the Taliban regime” (Hunt, 2010: 117).

A human security approach can overcome the dichotomy between universalism and cultural relativism by looking at the individual experience in a wide context (Hudson, 2005:158). When including actors from different levels and areas such as popular culture, a broader range of variables including gender, race and religion etc. can be considered for a more transitional approach, to meet the security of women across the world more satisfactorily.

3.3 Women as Leaders

It is crucial for women’s leadership and empowerment to be recognised to improve the security of women. Women are significantly victims of violence and poverty, so women have a huge stake in building a culture of peace for both themselves and their children. The international community should not see women simply as victims, but listen to women more closely consulting much more effectively with a cross section of women (Anderlini, 2007: 228). Anderlini summarises the importance of having a transnational approach and going beyond a Western male centric view of security and peace-making by stating clearly that women in different countries should be listened to more, rather than the West making decision for the other:

‘The women activists of Afghanistan, Nepal, Liberia, or Somalia are the best navigators of their own cultural and political terrain. They know which issues are most important. They also know how to frame the issues in order to improve the lives of the people in their communities and to instil and

demonstrate the universality of human rights values. This is not cultural relativism; it is realism' (Anderlini, 2007: 228).

In order to make real progress in achieving human security for women in different parts of the world, it is not enough for the West to make decisions and assumptions on their behalf. Women in the developing world or under developed world as defined by the West, need to be empowered to make decisions for themselves. Mohanty (2003) focuses on Western feminist scholarly discourse and argues that Western feminist writings can colonize the historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the Third World to create and represent a singular 'Third World Woman':

'I argue further that assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality, on the one hand, and inadequate self-consciousness about the effect of Western scholarship on the Third World in the context of a world system dominated by the West, on the other, characterize a sizeable extent of Western feminist work on women in the Third World' (Mohanty, 2003: 19).

In acknowledging that we need to move beyond Western male centric notions of security, to human security, to the security of women, it is also critical to clarify that meeting the needs of all women globally must go beyond some existing narrow Western feminist approaches. To achieve permanent foundations for peace and development that will lead to increased security of women, choices need to be made by women, not made for them (Haq, 1999: 96).

The United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325 passed in 2000 acknowledges not only the inordinate impact of war on women, but also the pivotal role women should and do play in conflict management, conflict resolution and sustainable peace (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

3.4 Music and Politics through a Gender Lens

It has been established that there is a definite link between music and politics that reveals much about international relations, that music has symmetry with neoliberalism, that human security provides a solution to this, and that women are specific victims of human security. Next it is

appropriate to include the gender perspective within the context of popular culture, particularly in music.

Popular culture representations can often appear similar to discourses of world politics. Moreover Rowley (2010) states, our understanding of gender and world politics are to a very large extent a result of the interactions we have with popular culture in our everyday lives as consumers and producers (Rowley, 2010: 310). In both popular culture and world politics gender is not only a logic of intertextuality but simultaneously functions to obscure this intertextuality (Rowley, 2010: 310). It is important to recognise the significance of the arts to the production of gendered cultural identity and civil society, and to the formation of global citizenship through justice and equality that is able to recognize difference (Meskimmon & Rowe, 2013:3). Women's encounters with globalization tend to be marginalized or subsumed within masculine normative accounts (Meskimmon & Rowe, 2013: 1). In 'Women, the arts and globalization' Meskimmon and Rowe argue that there is a critical need to recognise contributions made by creativity and art to our understanding of politics through a transnational and gender lens:

'What is the point of discussing women's art when women's economic and social exclusion in a globalised world demands our attention and action? We would argue there is every reason to explore the locations that enable us to imagine the world otherwise, make possible the futures that we need to bring to bear on a world by social injustice and inequity, precisely because the status quo is not sufficient to the task' (Meskimmon & Rowe, 2013: 7).

Women's music is undervalued in all societies. As notions of power and value are intertwined, they explain how male dominance prevails, and the female is subordinated in all know societies (Koskoff, 1989:15). There is a need to explore the valuative role music plays in both defining and reflecting existing social and sexual norms, as well as acting as a catalyst for the maintenance or change of such norms:

'In all known societies, men's actions receive higher value and prestige than those of women, and frequently a loss of male status is equated with female- related behaviour...in many societies, including those in the West, women's musical activities, genres, instruments, and performance efforts are frequently considered by both men and women to be amateurish, unimportant, or they are simply dismissed as not music' (Koskoff, 1989:15).

However since Koskoff's writings in the 1980's, in the 1990s more women were awarded Grammy Awards for 'Album of the Year' than men, as well as an increase in feminist scholars transforming the discipline of musicology, that prior to the 1990s barely mentioned a single woman (McClary, 2000: 1283). But this recognition has largely been in America, and bursts of female creativity have appeared and vanished in the past. But McClary points out that music by women of the late 20th century has had the courage to defy stereotypes of sanctioned female behaviour, as well as represent more satisfactorily the 'diverse negotiations faced by women now at the fin de siècle' in Western and non-Western music (McClary, 2000: 1285).

In chapter 1 I have mentioned Bob Geldof, Bono and 2Pac regarding the influence they have had relating to identity and humanitarian issues. These are household names, especially in the West when linking music with politics, particularly development in the third world; the White Western man rescuing 'the other'. Their influence and power is acknowledged and they are considered as diplomatic actors in the global political system (Cooper, 2009: vii). But it is time to focus on cultural representations of women in music from the developing world, and how these are connected with human security issues pertaining to women, and the value of their contribution to popular culture in the 21st century.

Chapter 4 - Case Studies: West African Female Musicians

The focus of this chapter is the examination of two female music artists from West Africa. These case studies illustrate the argument in chapters 1-3 that there is value in exploring such cultural representations as they demonstrate that music has the power to improve the security of women in the world and can provide a positive liberal transnational approach to policy-making.

4.1 Methodology

Two female musicians have been selected from West Africa as:

- a) Human security including freedom from fear and want are particularly severe in West Africa compared with the rest of the world
- b) Historically there has been a significant amount of music influenced by politics in West Africa
- c) There are an increasing number of female musicians from West Africa becoming popular globally, particularly in the West

Only two musicians have been included in this paper to enable the themes explored in chapters 1-3 to be illustrated adequately. Their public profiles have been researched through numerous online magazine and newspaper articles that highlight the social and political impact of their work. This information has been analysed alongside two human security issues pertaining to women that are pertinent in their native countries; Senegal and Nigeria.

4.2 Case Study 1 – Sister Fa, Senegal

(i) Political Music in Senegal

Senegal's hip-hop started to boom in the 1980s, and deals with issues of daily life, mainly social ills and political mismanagement. Its lyrics often attack the government and want to educate the masses on alternative lifestyles (Lock, 2005:151). Politicians often use hip-hop to reach young voters.

As stated in chapter 1, In 2000 the Abdou Diouf Party tried to pay hip-hop artists to write about the wrong-doings of the opponent, and Daara J a political hip-hop group were active in getting people to go and vote at stations (Lock, 2005: 152). Music especially hip-hop in West Africa will address issues regarding power, religion and politics; it is a political tool. It is as Stone (2005) states central to the flow of life in Africa' (Stone, 2005:16) and therefore hip-hop will shape the nation's identity and opinions about the world, acting in a way to maintain authority as well and giving people a voice; creating their opinion and ideas, not necessarily just representing them (Street, 1997: 17).

According to a recent article in the Guardian newspaper music and politics are interlinked in Senegal: 'But music and politics go hand in hand if you're from Senegal. Baaba Maal is a UN youth emissary. Youssou N'Dour ran for president last year. Diatta, who moved to Berlin in 2006, is one of the world's leading campaigners against female genital mutilation' (Guardian, 2013).

(ii) Introducing Sister Fa

'I feel that when I talk, one person listens; but when I sing, thousands of people can hear my song' (Guardian, 2013).

Fatou Diatta, known more prominently by her stage name Sister Fa was born in Dakar, Senegal in 1982. She began to record hip-hop music as a teenager in 2000 penetrating the city's male-dominated rap scene working alongside politicised groups such as Positive Black Soul and Daara J (Guardian, 2013). She now lives in Berlin where there is a vibrant world-music scene, and her work is spread to the diaspora community with content that is always about her place of origin:

'Soldat considers the Casamance war; Life AM the Aids problem; Selebou Yoon hymns a harmonious alliance between Islam and music' (Guardian, 2013).

The content of Sister Fa's music makes reference to a range of social, personal and political issues, including Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), AIDS, Islam being used to make a positive difference in

society, gender inequality in rap music, etc. (Piranha, 2009). She has received much media attention for her work against FGM. So much so, that an article quite in the Guardian newspaper in 2013 entitled 'The Senegalese rapper has become one of the world's leading campaigners against female genital mutilation' (Guardian, 2013) is about a UN concert Sister Fa performed at in 2009, demonstrating the longstanding impact she has had on this issue. On 23 October 2009 the United Nations celebrated its 64th anniversary with 'A Tribute to Peacekeeping Concert' including various recording artists from around the globe, produced by a non-profit organisation Culture Project (Huffington Post, 2009). The event:

'... reflected Culture Project's vision of art as a diplomatic tool, was part of the organization's on-going effort to produce artistic content that impacts public policy and encourages civic participation' (Huffington Post, 2009).

This demonstrates the commitment and belief by organisations i.e. non state actors have of art and creativity as being linked with policy-making and public opinion to act. This illustrates the point in chapter 1 that attempts are made to use music as an empowering and political force to social and political ends (Shuker, 2013: 187).

The Huffington Post article reviews the concert, describing Sister Fa's music as coming with a message and call to action, as well as re-emphasising the challenges of being part of a male-dominated music industry:

'Forget that being a female MC in a rap industry dominated by men worldwide comes with its own hurdles. While simply talking about FGM was seen as taboo by many in her homeland, Sister Fa put the struggle for female equality square on her shoulders and became a voice for women around the world when she declared publicly that she had been a victim herself' (Huffington Post, 2009).

Sister Fa is the subject of a new film Sarabah which documents her recent tour Education Sans Excision (Education without cutting). Sister Fa was cut before she began primary school. She uses her

experience to educate boys and girls together about this on-going activity in Senegal making a local and global impact on a critical human rights issue, specific to women. Quoted in an article in the Guardian she says "I tell boys, 'when you're cut it's like we're cutting your nail. For girls, it's the whole finger'," (Guardian, 2013). As an existing victim of FGM practice she has been able to use this to make a positive impact and empower herself to create change:

'Even in the worst circumstances, as abducted children turned fighters and survivors, many are turning their victimhood into agency. Their commitment to peace far outweighs that of international actors. They are humanitarian workers and human rights activists, peacemakers and reconcilers before and after international actors weigh in....they are not trained politicians and diplomats' (Anderlini, 2007: 231).

Anderlini describes women using their 'victimhood' to become agents of change. In this case Sister Fa has used her voice and influence in music making to become a campaigner against FGM. As described in chapter 3, the human security perspective can turn non-Western actors from objects into subjects, to enable those actually affected by violence and security to be heard. Those living with freedom from fear need to be directly consulted and brought into the dialogue to then create effective solutions (Kaldor, 2007: 189). So in this case, FGM is an act of violence against women, an example of freedom from fear. Sister Fa has been affected by this violence, and is using this, as well as her power through music and fame to create a solution through education projects on a local level that has a global impact.

'My home town of Thionck Essyl has now abandoned FGC. This was because we worked through a local NGO called Tostan, who explained about our human rights and our responsibilities to uphold them. Once you know that everyone has a right to be free from all forms of violence, and that you yourself have a responsibility to help them achieve that right, you don't look back. Entire similar communities have released declarations stating that they will no longer cut their daughters. And it is spreading. More than 5,000 communities in Senegal have abandoned the practice, and if this

continues, by 2015 my country might be the first in Africa to have completely ended it.' (Guardian, 2013).

We know that today we are living in a culture of violence and the worst victims of violence are most often women (Haq, 1999: 95). We also know that an expanded human security concept as a tool of universalist global governance has the potential to identify the needs of women in both the West and the developing world (Hudson, 2005: 157). Therefore music in this case becomes a political tool, a human security tool to increase freedom from fear for women and girls that are potential victims of FGM.

(iii) Freedom from Fear: Defining Female Genital Mutilation

A definition of FGM is necessary, to clarify exactly what this act described as violence against women is, and to put into context the significance of a female voice in music from West Africa to address finding solutions to this act. A recent definition from the World Health Organization is provided:

'Female genital mutilation (FGM) comprises all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons. FGM is recognized internationally as a violation of the human rights of girls and women. It reflects deep-rooted inequality between the sexes, and constitutes an extreme form of discrimination against women. It is nearly always carried out on minors and is a violation of the rights of children. The practice also violates a person's rights to health, security and physical integrity, the right to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, and the right to life when the procedure results in death' (World Health Organisation, 2008).

Approximately 140 million girls and women worldwide have experienced the procedure. In Africa specifically, about 101 million girls aged 10 years and above are estimated to have undergone FGM, where the procedure is most common in the world, particularly in the Western, eastern and north-

eastern regions of Africa (World Health Organisation, 2013). Therefore it is very appropriate that this case study is focusing on Sister Fa, victim and activist from the location where this activity is particularly prevalent. Causes for FGM are described as cultural, religious and social. FGM is a social convention and a cultural tradition, often associated with cultural ideas of femininity and modesty. The United Nations General Assembly accepted a resolution on the elimination of FGM in December 2012. Research has shown that if practising communities themselves decide to abandon FGM, it can be eliminated rapidly.

(iv) Eliminating FGM with Music

As stated earlier popular culture has a key role in forming our identities, sense of belonging and citizenship, often defined through rituals (Street, 1997: 11). To this I would add that creative culture how it is practiced, produced and consumed can have an impact on the elimination of FGM in communities. Hogan (2008) examines the power of women's songs in West Africa and argues that:

'Through West African women's interactive, creative, and communally authored performances, we find a model for the dissemination of knowledge based on creativity that functions very differently from state apparatuses, or even subaltern literatures. The creativity involved in these endeavours represents a critical strategy against the hegemony of the patriarchal structuring of knowledge worldwide, which extends influence into local ideologies and ways of knowing. As a method of recasting and reasserting inherited social dynamics, the verbal arts constitute a critical mode not only of representation, but also of re-representation' (Hogan, 2008: 10).

Through their songs and poetry, African women maintain their own oral traditions and histories that differ from those of men who continue to be at the centre of oral history projects. On a local and global level music and creativity can impact identity, thought and action. In this context it can empower women to override patriarchy and influence thought and action. Moreover it is critical that women communicate with each other regarding this issue, as research suggests that men and

women are not always in agreement about this topic, and in some countries more men are actually against FGM than women:

'In Senegal and the Gambia, where more men than women support an end to FGM, a girl is more likely to escape cutting if her father is involved in the decision' (International Reporting Project, 2013).

If eliminating FGM is linked predominantly with changing the minds of practicing communities as research has shown, then changing the minds of women collectively as well as both the sexes from a young age through Sister Fa's work is relevant. If women collectively engage in song and dance to share knowledge, music is relevant here on a local level to potentially re-represent existing conceptions and perceptions of FGM. As Sister Fa says in a self-written article:

'There are old ways of talking about FGM, which involve going just to village elders and asking them to change. This does not work, as it sidelines and neglects the young people and treats them like they don't have an impact on their own future. This is where I and other West African musicians come in – we are trying to catch young people through music. We are teaching them about their human rights' (Guardian, 2012a).

(v) Sister Fa – A Global Diplomat

In 2012 on the UN's International Day of Zero Tolerance of Female Genital Mutilation, Sister Fa was invited to the House of Commons in London to talk about the issue of FGM, by a UK based NGO working to eliminate the practice in countries such as Kenya, Somali and Senegal (Guardian, 2012b).

In an interview with the Guardian newspaper she was quoted as saying:

'I am an artist, a rapper and an activist, and because [FGM] affected my life so much, I want to talk about it. I still remember the day when it happened. I also know that things are changing and that when people understand they have a choice, they are able to change. There is hope for the future. I

am just trying to speak for the many women who don't have an opportunity to raise their own voices. I am giving them a voice through my music' (Guardian, 2012b).

In 2005 her efforts were rewarded with her first Senegalese hip-hop Award. Since then, Sister Fa has become a pillar of the Senegalese hip-hop scene, the best-known female rapper in the country and a role model for many young women (Piranha Musik, 2009). In the same way as Bod Geldof, Sister Fa is using her status and fame to influence social change, and she is not a trained politician or diplomat but an artist in the music industry. Street (1997: 13) as mentioned in Chapter 1 describes Geldof as a 'global statesman' and similarly I am describing Sister Fa as a Global Stateswoman using and exerting her power in the name of women's rights, illustrating the symbiosis between popular culture and politics, making music the object of politics, not simply the subject:

" A rapper's job is to tell the truth, hip-hop started as protest music, and in Senegal it still is", Sister Fa quoted in Guardian, 2013).

Case Study 2 – Nneka

'Instead of standing on a podium holding a dry, political speech, I rather write a song to positively influence the minds of people who are hardened or in power, to change their views and the way they have been living up till now. In my case that is the easiest way to break the ice and approach the hearts of people' (Circles on the water: 2013).

(i) Introducing Nneka and Political Music in Nigeria

The second case study is about Nneka Egbuna from Nigeria, like Senegal another country in West Africa. Similarly to Senegal, music is also significant in Nigeria in being used as a political tool, a tool for protest. The causes of political influence on music in Africa is complex, but a prominent theme is:

'High levels of illiteracy give a greater prominence to messages delivered by song, and the weakening of traditional media and civil society through state repression places a particular onus on musicians to express their countrymen's anger' (Guardian: 2011).

African unity and historical awareness are considered as necessary for the improvement of Africa's fate. Some songs talk about and contrast the wealth of Africa's natural resources such as oil, diamonds and fertile soil, with the endemic poverty existing in many African countries (Lock, 2005: 155). Fela Kuti a famous Nigerian musician who died in 1997 was an outspoken critic of the government and army, against the Nigerian military dictatorship (Guardian, 2011). According to the Guardian, his legacy is most obviously found in 'current young Nigerian artists such as Nneka who writes songs accusing oil companies of exploitation in the Niger Delta' (Guardian, 2011). Nneka Egbuna (meaning 'mother is supreme') is the daughter of a Nigerian father and German mother, and was born and raised in Warri, a significant oil city in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria that has and continues to experience political and social upheaval due to the region's wealth of natural resources (Tribes Magazine, 2012). She has been a singer-songwriter and activist since 2005, focusing on corruption, exploitation and the environment in her music and career. Her music is described as 'a catalogue of challenging, political soul and hip-hop' (BBC: 2012).

(ii) Freedom from Want: Oil Extraction in Nigeria

Nigeria is rich in natural oil resources and is Africa's largest oil producer, most of which is exported making it the fifth largest supplier of oil to the US, (Adams, Osho & Coleman, 2011: 107). One of every five Africans is Nigerian; due to all of these factors Nigeria is strategically significant (Watts, 2006: 11). Despite this Nigeria is still ranked as one of the poorest countries in the world, with a lot of poverty and underdevelopment caused by poor governance, mismanagement of resources, lack of infrastructure and numerous political factors (Adams, Osho, Coleman, 2011: 107). All of the African petro-states are described as being 'marked by the so-called resource curse: staggering corruption, authoritarian rule, and miserable economic performance' (Watts, 2006: 11). American oil

companies, namely Royal Dutch Shell for almost 50 years, have utilised Nigeria's crude oil resources to gain much profit, as well as the Nigerian environment to produce and operate within the oil industry. There is much conflict in the Niger Delta region as a result, as civilians are dissatisfied with their environment being ruined and their resources being exploited to benefit Shell and Nigeria's government, leaving the local people in poverty (Adams, Osho & Coleman, 2011: 107). Their security is at threat; they are not free from want.

Nneka has actively been involved in the Occupy Nigeria Movement that began as a national protest movement against oil subsidy removal in Nigeria (Circles on the Water: 2013) and this is a recurring theme in her music. To quote from one of her popular single releases 'Soul is Heavy' in 2012:

Naija, for too long we have surrendered

to the ignorance of ourself defence in you

we have failed

America, how far must we walk in calamity in suppression,

how long would take for you to love Naija

As I sit here I want to live,

There are so many plans for you but still I can't deliver

Chorus

Stealing money in my country's plight

You're stealing money in my country's plight

(Decon, 2012)

In this song, Nneka directly accuses America of 'stealing money' from Nigeria, whilst criticising Nigeria for having failed and surrendered to American power. In an interview with an American newspaper she talks about corruption in Nigeria, as being a part of survival and how she responds to this through her music:

'I think I am able to be the voice of the many who do not have the courage to speak out their minds or the opportunity to speak out their minds. We are taught to believe that respect is fear. Or we are taught that fear is respect. We have to live in fear to respect the system – we're stuck', (Brown Daily Herald, 2012).

Nneka uses her public profile and lyrics to explore both freedom from fear and freedom from want that affect people in Nigeria.

(iii) The effects of Neoliberalism and Western hegemony on Nigeria's security

As stated in chapter 2 African music reflects the feelings of the young population who feel they are suffering from colonial rule-losers in the neoliberal globalization process (Lock, 2005: 154). Nneka can be compared with Pee Froiss, who sings about how rulers make decisions with the devil, the white man and multinationals, the world-bank; the hegemonic ruling powers through institutions. Therefore Nneka's attack on corruption is very much in synergy with criticisms of neoliberalism policies and procedures. Neoliberalism and Western hegemony can be blamed as causing lack of freedom from want particularly for women in Africa:

'The neoliberal tsunami broke with a dreadful ferocity on African cities, and the African slum world in particular. Urban poverty in Nigeria almost tripled between 1980 and the mid-1990s' (Watts, 2006:6).

Moreover, it has been argued that the international community has so far failed to reach the pledges promised by the Millennium Development Goals to reduce poverty by half by 2015 in Africa. More problematic than this is the accusation put forward by Watts (2006) that:

'The real crisis of Africa is that after twenty-five years of brutal neoliberal reform, and savage World Bank structural adjustment and IMF stabilization, African development has failed catastrophically' (Watts, 2006: 5).

Nneka is keen to ensure that what is happening in her native Nigeria regarding how multinational corporations, international governments and state corruption activity is leading to increasing threat to freedom from want, is voiced through her music, and the world is knowledgeable about what is happening. She wants to:

"Stress what role our corrupt political leaders, the west including the US AND UK plays in our present state and condition. I want to convince our fellow Nigerians about our responsibilities. Starting with the man selling oranges on the streets up to the big men that take advantage of the poor and uneducated to fill their pockets with the money gained from another man's blood or sufferings" (Freedom to Create, 2013).

What is relevant here is the discussion about Cultural Imperialism in chapter 2. Dominant market-forces from the US and Western Europe have fed certain products, music, fashion and styles to dependent markets, endorsing particular cultural values, ideals, and practices. The local cultures of developing nations become invaded, displaced and challenged by foreign and often Western cultures. (Shuker, 2013:219). This has continued in the 21st century and the Western hegemony has continued to allow the consumption and appreciation of music to be influenced by Western standards to some extent, but this Nneka states is also changing:

"Nigerian artists have to be acknowledged by England or America first, before they are claimed as their own. Luckily, things have changed for the better. There's more interest in the type of music that I make and I'm glad it's not just about the entertainment value, but people understand that you can use music as a means to stress critical social issues. There's a big wave of musical awareness in Africa happening and I'm thankful that we have that power now" (Circles on the Water, 2013).

So Africa is experiencing a shift, whereby local music is becoming increasingly popular amongst the people. This is important particularly when the music has a political or social message, so that consumers will become increasingly aware of local issues and not simply be dominated by messages from the US.

(iv) Women's Security in Nigeria

With regard to oil extraction in Nigeria, one of the effects on the environment includes oil pipeline vandalism and fires. Amongst the poor it is women and children that will be hardest hit by these events for three reasons:

1. Women comprise most of the population in rural areas where such pipelines pass
2. Patriarchal Nigerian society causes women to be subordinated making them more vulnerable to hazards by compounding the feminization of poverty
3. Women must care for children and the elderly in addition to working in fields, leaving them the last in line to desperately scavenge for products around leaking pipelines, often being injured or killed in the process

(Onuoha, 2009: 378)

This lack of freedom from want affects women more in Nigeria compared with their male counterparts. These problems have been acknowledged by the eight Millennium Development Goals that were set out in 2000, of which 2 include eradicating poverty, promoting gender equality, and empowering women (Anoke, 2012:79). The impetus behind setting up these goals is that they would be achieved by 2015, and Anoke (2012) argues that music can act as instrument of change and is a veritable tool for the actualization of the Millennium Development Goals and sustainability (Anoke, 2012: 79). Anoke (2012) focusses specifically on music making a change in Nigeria leading to action:

'Nigerian musicians have gone into the social mobilization movement in the country as artists who have used the power of their music to move people and to get certain attitudes corrected' (Anoke, 2012: 82).

Anoke states that the government can be sensitized through powerful music to understand the need for promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women (Anoke, 2012: 82).

(v) Nneka – A Global diplomat

This point links with the work Nneka does as a musician. In February 2012 the African Women's Development Fund (AWDF) formerly introduced Nneka as their Ambassador for the Arts. AWDF is aimed at supporting women organisations across African that work to change the lives of women regarding their human rights to include economic, social, cultural and political rights and equality, and has supported over 800 organizations in 42 countries (Gender Across Borders, 2012). AWDF's CEO Theo Sowa comments on the significance of arts and culture to social change:

"Arts – traditional or modern – are integral to our cultural lives... and changes in social, economic and political arenas will never truly take root without parallel changes in our cultural norms, beliefs and practices...we can and must leverage the transformational power of the arts if we are to achieve and to accelerate real social change" (AWDF, 2012).

This is another example illustrating the symbiosis between popular culture and politics, making music the object of politics, not simply the subject, as Nneka herself states:

"Being AWDF's Ambassador for the Arts is another way for me to get my message out. Being AWDF's Ambassador compliments my music. This is also a way of sharing my music and raising awareness of issues affecting women. My music raises awareness about critical social issues, which are the same issues that AWDF works on" (AWDF, 2012).

Nneka is also one of the co-founders of Grab the Rope, a programme that includes various initiatives using art and culture to empower women and young people to make a positive difference in communities as well as having a political message (Circles on the Water, 2013). One example of this is a workshop that took place in 2012 in Sierra Leone for sexually abused and war affected women. Rope aims for longevity, self-sustenance and continuity with an emphasis on education, to help create a source of income and an independence from foreign aid, whilst benefitting the economy. So Nneka is able to use her status to gain power and increase her public profile, making her a strong role model for young women to look up to.

Summary

Examining Nneka's song lyrics, her public image in magazines and newspapers, and the work she does to improve education and community development as an ambassador demonstrates that there is definitely a need to look at gender and music in relation to human security issues pertaining specifically to women. As stated in chapter 3 it is important to explore creativity by women in different locations to help us further understand and address social injustice and inequality (Meskimmon & Rowe, 2013: 7). Moreover, these case studies are in response to Koskoff's (1989) explanation that women's music is undervalued in all societies in relation to women also being subordinated in all societies, therefore creating a need to explore the valuative role of music by women for the maintenance or change of various social and sexual norms in society (Koskoff, 1989: 15-16).

Chapter 5 – Recommendations and Limitations

In chapters 1-4 a literature review and two case studies illustrate the central argument that music has the power to improve the security of women in the world, and provides a positive liberal transnational approach to decision and policy making. This section suggests recommendations of how this relationship between music and politics should be utilised in order to further improve the security of women in the world.

1. More academic research and discourse on music and the human security of women

There is a need for more academic research and discourse on the topic of the relationship between music and politics, and particularly the relationship between music and human security of women.

In the introduction I concluded it is has been argued clearly that music as a form of creativity and popular culture has:

- a) not been given enough recognition and attention in international relations discourse, and
- b) must be explored within international relations discourse to provide a thorough analysis of the different factors involved in political processes

This was in relation to Bleiker's (2005: 180) research that states music not only broadens our understanding of political phenomenon but also our capacity to deal with such issues. The case studies I have examined have demonstrates the value of doing this, through the impact music celebrities and their music as political tools can have on influencing changes in society that impact on improving the human security of women. Not doing so in political discourse and practice is failing to acknowledge the varied causes, interrelated and interdisciplinary factors involved in making informed political decisions, (Franklin, 2005: 12). More research and analysis of this relationship can measure and assess outcomes and the impact of music and politics, and keep it firmly on the agenda as of importance. This can help direct policies and decision making by local, national and

international organizations, to incorporate the use of popular culture and music to improve the security of women.

2. Increased activity in Music and Development projects

Creative music projects need to have a prominent position on the international development agenda and be considered in policy making. Not just on the agenda for African development, but for all states, as freedom from fear and want can affect all human beings in all states, in the developing and developed world. A truly meaningful human security approach should and can be applicable to any region (Burgess and Tadjbakhsh, 2010: 465). Human security cannot simply be regarded as a foreign policy tool applicable to external affairs, but must be turned inwards to address vulnerabilities within Europe (Burgess and Tadjbakhsh, 2010: 465). I would extend this to the wider West, beyond Europe where numerous fears and wants critical to the security of women exist.

The case studies in this dissertation demonstrate the impact and benefit of music being a tool for social change, to educate, influence, and mobilise people. Moreover, regarding the security of women it is critical that women have role models, and that women are empowered to help themselves. As stated in Chapter 3, to achieve permanent foundations for peace and development that will lead to increased security of women, choices need to be made by women, not made for them (Haq, 1999: 96). Both Sister Fa and Nneka are involved in projects that use music to work with local communities to create changes in society. This needs to continue to happen on a local level to improve health and education of women to help themselves, as music acts as a tool for self-expression and influence-the work needs to be led by women for women. For example music projects should be a part of campaigns against FGM. As stated in Chapter 4 music can act as instrument of change and is a veritable tool for the actualization of the Millennium Development Goals and sustainability that include women's empowerment (Anoke, 2012: 79) so funds need to be made available to make this happen.

3. Increased recognition and distribution of music and artists from non-Western states by Western actors

As chapter 1 demonstrates, popular culture is critical in helping us to understand the identity, needs, and issues of a country and cultures; it is often the voice of a nation, quite often marginalised communities and peoples that are not otherwise heard who can be through music. It is therefore important that international organisations such as the UN, and those agencies wholly or partly managed by Western actors with a responsibility for peace-keeping, reducing poverty and making international decisions or policies such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to improve the security of all human beings, pay attention to music and music celebrities, particularly from non-Western states. In this way they will not only be working with government officials to make decisions, but with those who may have a closer connection with the needs of individuals; this is what the human security approach allows, the participation of varied actors (Kaldor, 2007: 189, Thomas, 2000: xi).

Historically we can note that individuals such as Bono and Bob Geldof from the music world have entered politics and they are acknowledged as powerful men, described as 'diplomatic actors' due to their celebrity status through the media allowing them to be successful diplomats as their messages can be heard at both mass and elite levels (Cooper, 2009: vii). Bono and Bob Geldof are two Western males. If we return to chapter 3 we found that in order for the international community to improve the security women, women must be empowered and listened to, and a transnational approach that goes beyond a Western male centric view of security is critical (Anderlini, 2007: 228). As I have stated this is happening to some extent, and the UN recognised numerous music icons including Sister Fa at an international event. But now it is time for women from the developing world to have more global recognition to be able to make an impact regarding issues affecting the third world, so that decision making regarding the security of nations, as well as women's security specifically is also lead by women from these nations where the freedom from fear and want acutely exists.

Moreover, better distribution of music by artists such as Sister Fa, Nneka and other females from across Africa should be made more available to the West and have an increasing presence in popular culture mediums in the West. This could not only provide an increasing range of cultural representations of women from the third world, but also raise awareness of human security issues pertaining to women from non-Western countries. This could contribute towards having a more transnational approach towards the consumption and distribution of music, unlike the cultural imperialism that has allowed popular culture from the hegemonic West, namely the US and Western Europe to dominate consumption of this music in the in the West, as well as the rest of the world (Shuker, 2013: 219).

Limitations

1. More academic research and discourse on music and the human security of women

One of the key challenges to this objective of conducting more research and discourse on the topic of the relationship between music and politics, and the relationship between music and the human security of women, is that qualitative research and methodology are difficult to conduct from neutral grounds. There will always be a lens, possibly some bias and certain dimensions that will be omitted. This does not suggest that research cannot be carried out. There is a need for more research, particularly about the experiences of women in the developing world suffering due to a lack of freedom from fear and want. as Mohanty (2003) points out, there is not enough and sometimes no work about the experiences of women in the third world, and this coincides with a need to develop international links between the political struggles of women; this is essential (Mohanty, 2003: 64). As Mohanty states:

‘Western feminist writing on women in the third world must be considered in the context of the global hegemony of western scholarship – i.e., the production, publication, distribution and consumption of information and ideas. Marginal or not, this writing has political effects and

implications beyond the immediate feminist or disciplinary audience. One such significant effect of the dominant 'representations' of western feminism is its conflation with imperialism in the eyes of the particular third-world women' (Mohanty, 2003: 64).

So any political implications of analytical strategies and principles must be examined critically. Moreover, Mohanty points out that middle-class, urban African and Asian scholars writing about their working class sisters can also assume their own middle class culture as the norm, making non-middle class women the 'Other' (Mohanty, 2003: 62). So how can the voices of the non-middle class women truly be heard, and is this possible? Moreover, although the two musicians featured in the two case studies in chapter 4 are not being analysed as scholars and academics, they are women that have had access to education and now live in Europe, both in Germany. Therefore can they also be compared with middle-class academics as potentially turning rural and working class women suffering from fear and want in Africa into the Other, and misrepresenting them?

Currently both Nneka and Sister Fa are part of a music scene that is male dominated, and they are a minority, so able to take the limelight and a lot of space in the media regarding the type of music they are creating and the message they are putting across. There is a possibility that their influence, presence and projects within the community may give rise to more young women wanting to have a voice, but would this be more representative of women's stories, identities and experiences? Also, if we look again to Chapter 3 we found that although more women were increasingly being awarded for their music, and there were fresh burst of creativity coming from women, not only has this been restricted to America, but these examples of creative bursts have often appeared and vanished (McClary, 2000: 1283). There is a possibility that this could also be the same in African music regarding African female music icons. Is there space for women from the grassroots to pull themselves up to have their voices heard, or is it enough for their middle class sisters to do this for them?

2. Increased activity in Music and Development projects

As the research has suggested, analysing music and popular culture is key to helping us understand the politics within a state, as music in Africa is very closely tied to the fabric of everyday life (Stone (2005). But one cannot assume that the significance of popular culture, namely music and its impact is the same for all states around the world, at least in states where women are particularly vulnerable to fear and want. This is important as if we are to see an increase in creative music projects, to build peace and improve the security of women all over the world, supporting the development of these nations, we cannot treat all women in the developing world as an homogenous group, even across a continent such as Africa. This would make decision making quite challenging as developing universal strategies would be problematic.

Religion for example is often a factor used by cultural relativists to argue that human rights laws are Eurocentric, not reflecting the diversity of cultures in the world, therefore human rights will be rejected as not being appropriate to non-Western cultures, treating women universally as an homogenous group (Coomaraswamy, 2001: 80). If we take FGM for example, as identified in chapter 4, there are some countries where more men than women support an end to FGM; not all women within states are in agreement on this issue (International Reporting Project, 2013). So although it is considered as an extreme form of discrimination against women, communities that practice FGM report a range of social and religious reasons for continuing it (World Health Organization, 2008: 01). Also it is argued that “the dominant framework of human rights and its assumption of a universal human nature largely reflected the specific experiences, needs and values of affluent white Western men” (Collins, Falcon, Lodhia, Talcott, 2010: 304). However women’s rights activists have articulated a cross-cultural theory of human rights that does respect cultural diversity in different states, including an understanding of culture as not being static. It does not place state actors at the centre of constructing human rights laws, so it is independent, more objective and can provide satisfactory arguments to defend and uphold women’s human rights (Ackerly, 2001:314).

But putting this into practice is the challenge. If we reject universalism then we support sovereignty allowing states to be independent of being judged by international human rights standards, not having a liberal global stance. Some of the repressive states, may not be so open to freedom of expression and making statements that may be anti-government in nature or controversial may be illegal, so could lead to problems for people using music as activists or educators. According to Franck (2001), human rights do not represent Western cultural imperialism, but are a result of 'modernizing forces that are not culturally specific' (Franck, 2001:202). But in reality existing international human rights conventions that have been born out of Western liberalism fail as they are not always accepted and followed by repressive states (Pollis, 1996:322). So this clearly demonstrates that the use of music as a political tool as well as being an effective catalyst for change fundamentally is another form of getting a specific perspective or message across.

Music in this context is not directly a tool for universal transnational policy making, that will automatically help to improve the security of women in various states. But, it is most definitely an effective vehicle to create change if placed within policy making that is born out of a transnational gender and security perspective. A bottom up approach is required that allows a range of women's voices to be heard, then the use of music as a political tool can be used in a positive way to improve the security of women in different states.

3. Increased recognition and distribution of music and artists from non-Western states by Western actors

The increasing appreciation, consumption and availability of music from non-Western parts of the world would be useful for allowing the participation of varied actors in decision making at an international policy making level, to include music celebrities. However the meaning of this music, be it the songs, image of artists, and cultural representation are not necessarily views and understood as the same by different people from different states. For example, as we already learned in chapter 2 the meaning of hip-hop culture to a child soldier in Sierra Leone is different to

the meaning of US hip-hop entertainment industry that the child is buying into, although the country had lost its infrastructure, American products were still making their way into poor developing nations; Western hegemony prevailing world over (Lock, 2005: 147). In the same way that 2Pac and hip-hop takes on different meaning for a Sierra Leonean child soldier, the West will also use cultural representations from celebrity and music culture from a Western perspective, attaching specific meanings that are not necessarily useful or accurate of the people living in specific states. For example, an article in the Guardian newspaper from 2003 is about a 22-year old militia leader known as Black Diamond who fought as a member of troops against Charles Taylor in Liberia (Lock, 2005: 149). Lock states her appearance and style lead the Western media to compare her automatically to female hip-hop and soul music stars:

‘Her look is Black Panther-turned-movie star: mirror sunglasses, frizzy wig beneath the beret, silver ear-rings, red-painted nails. After clearing the port with just a handful of female fighters, she reloaded the Kalashnikov, adjusted the Colt .38 wedged in her hip and roared off in a silver Mitsubishi pick-up’ (Carroll, Guardian, 2003).

This image is interpreted differently as it travels the globe. A Western interpretation of what could be considered a sad conflict ridden picture of a place riddled with conflict and poverty, is packaged and presented in the style of Western entertainment culture (Lock, 2005: 149). The women use cultural and symbolism of Western fashion, so from Western eyes have perhaps “joined the civilised world”. This global and universal visual language is very familiar from music and video films and they have adopted symbols from it and tied it with a culture that stands for economic and military power. These women are empowered as they are aware of and in control of their image, but have also gained power by taking up arms. They stand up against traditional gender roles and are more associated with being free and independent, according to this image given to them that is symbiotic with hip-hop music culture. So in this example, popular cultural representations are attached to

women in the developing world in a situation where their freedom from fear and want are at high risk. The image has been interpreted by Western eyes.

Moreover, success of artists such as the two I have focussed on this case study is often linked with the fact that they have migrated abroad to the West. Both Sister Fa and Nneka live in Western Europe. In a study conducted by Kunzler (2011) of 58 rap artists from Nigeria:

‘There is a broad variety of migration patterns linked to Nigerian rap music. However, all artists mentioned started to become successful musicians only after migrating abroad’ (Kunzler, 2011: 6).

Some of the artists are successful both abroad (US and Europe) and Nigeria, some only in Nigeria, with some of them talking about political and social issues. Hence artists migrating to the West will have the priority regarding having their voices heard and have to be relied upon to be representing their home countries, in relation to human security issues. It is important that decisions made by international policy makers regarding development and human security represent the range of developed and developing states to ensure greater and more accurate representation of human security issues pertaining to women.

Conclusion

This dissertation has demonstrated that music has the power to improve the security of women in the world, and can provide a positive liberal transnational approach to decision and policy making. It has examined the significance of the link between music and politics that is explored through contributions of female music artists from non-western contexts, who are contributing to issues pertaining to women relating to security and governance. The thesis remains essential due to; (i) the result of globalisation that has created a hegemonic imbalance in which the West provides the rules and overarching dominance over popular culture and politics contributing to increasing insecurity in the developing world, and (ii) the fact that the link between popular culture and politics is often ignored (Bleiker, 2005: 180). Taking an interdisciplinary approach to explore the problems and potential solutions for the human security of women has enabled a multifaceted interconnected argument to unfold, alongside traditional forms of analysis. This is critical as it is important in political discourse to acknowledge a range of causes and factors involved in making better informed political decisions (Franklin, 2005: 12).

Examining the relationship between music and politics reveals that:

- 1) Popular music contributes to the formation of the identities of individuals that form the basis of political thought and action
- 2) Popular music is a political tool for:
 - (i) governance that can be used in positive or negative ways to exert power and influence
 - (ii) creating change through humanitarian and social activism
 - (iii) cultural populism that is created and administered

Examining the use of cultural imperialism as a political tool demonstrates on an international level how music distribution and consumption when dominated by specific states provides another

example of how Western hegemony persists. Cultural imperialism developed allowing the West to dominate particular cultural values and ideals universally by dominating popular culture market forces to the non-Western world. This can be related to neoliberal universal decision making that is born out of Western discourse and more beneficial to the West, as states such as the US will often make decisions from a state perspective, even within transnational agendas, allowing the West to remain hegemonic. The effects of such policies are evident in West African music that explores through its lyrics the impact on society and how it affects their human security.

Human security is critical alongside state security approaches which are more often constructed from a Western perspective, in alliance with globalization that allows for growing inequality and poverty. Women suffer specific types of fears and wants such as structural violence that can use gender to hide patriarchal and imperialist politics of war. Women's leadership and empowerment is critical as a solution to overcome freedom from fear and want, and there is a need for more women from non - Western states as diplomatic actors.

Examining the public profiles and work of female musicians from the third world with the findings from chapters 1-3 as a theoretical foundation for analysis, demonstrates the value and impact of music as a political tool. I have focussed on two particular cases of the human security of women; freedom from fear for African women and girls who have and are likely to be victims of FGM, and freedom from want for women in Nigeria, who will suffer more poverty as a result of poor governance in the oil extraction industry in the Niger Delta. The analysis concludes that music by women from these locations, (Sister Fa and Nneka) and the influence and power they have as icons of popular music, addresses these issues acting as a political tool to speak out and educate the public, and be a catalyst for change in society whilst acting as role models for women's empowerment, nationally and globally.

More academic research and discourse on music and the human security of women is required to enable the subject to be present on the international relations agenda and provide new ideas and

solutions for policy making by national and international organizations working to improve the human security of women. Such research would require critical examination as it would be conducted through a particular lens, be it cultural or gendered for example. An increase in music and development projects could see a rise in the security of women internationally, as security is an issue in all states to varying degrees. A bottom up approach must be applied to use music as a political tool, with policy making and projects born out of a transnational gender and security perspective, acknowledging the challenges of cultural relativism. Increased recognition and distribution of music and artists from non-Western states by Western actors is required, including more women specifically as global diplomats from both West and non-Western states, representing the range of states in the world and the range of security issues pertaining to women that they suffer from. Currently music artists from the West dominate consumption and distribution.

The implementation of the recommendations put forward in this dissertation could see an improvement in the human security of women in the world. This is a small piece of research and the case studies only examine two musicians, so there is a need for more research and case studies of this type. There could be comparisons made with male musicians to further explore gender, musicians from different countries and continents, intercultural collaborative musical projects relating to conflict resolution and peace –keeping etc. What is clear from this study is that there is a powerful relationship between music and politics that not only illustrates, but also has an impact on the security of human beings.

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