



Topic

**A Critique of Sexism in Selected Zimbabwean Songs: A
Decolonial Perspective**

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study is a critique of sexism in Zimbabwean dancehall (Zimdancehall) songs. It aims to unpack how male artists represent women in their song lyrics in the local Shona language. To validate the decoloniality of the study, the researcher also looks at female artists' contribution to sexism in song lyrics. The study particularly examines how women become victims of oppression and insult through song lyrics. The research takes a decolonial posture that seeks to research while empowering and fighting alongside women. Social justice and activism accompany the theory and the method of this study and that is in rhythm and rhymes with decoloniality as a theory and critical diversity literacy, in which this study is located. The use of a qualitative research approach enables the study to answer why and how male artists portray women as sexist objects. The analysis of the music lyrics displays unequal power relations which exist between men and women. Issues of commodification, violence, objectification, exploitation of women are raised. The excerpts from the songs display how, indeed, sexism has become rampant in Zimbabwean songs. A considerable portion of these songs contain obscene amounts of sexist talk which disrespects womanhood. Sexist lyrics continue to gain affirmation from listeners. This exposure makes them perpetrators of sexism as music has a huge impact on people.

Key words: Zimdancehall, Sexism, Objectification, Commodification, Vulgarity, Hegemonic Masculinity, Misogyny, Crudeness, Genre.

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CHAPTER 1

THE SETTING AND CONTEXT

1.0 Introduction

This study sought to examine sexism in selected Zimbabwean dancehall (Zimdancehall) Shona songs using decoloniality as a theoretical framework. This was done through exposing sexist undertones in popular music that seek to normalise the objectification of cisgendered women. Sexism is an ideology and practice, and therefore a system and structure of the oppression and exploitation of women. It is part of what Gqola (2015:1) calls ‘rape culture’ that is sustained by systemic and structural patriarchy. In ‘rape culture’ women are raped through jokes, song lyrics and daily language before they are physically violated.

1.1 The Emergence of Zimdancehall

Skjelbo (2015:136) describes dancehall as a Jamaican-gone-global music genre that emerged internationally in the '80s following the death of Bob Marley and the general dissemination of cheap music technology that made it possible to create and distribute music without investing heavily in equipment. The genre is known for its danceability, the impressive vocal deftness of its performers, and its sometimes extremely sexually explicit and/or violent lyrics (Skjelbo, 2015: 136). Zimdancehall has very similar characteristics. As Shonhiwa (2016) notes, Zimdancehall is a good example of the “enduring influence of Caribbean music on the continent”. Ureke and Washaya (2016) correctly observe that the name Zimdancehall gives the music a dual identity, Zimbabwean and dancehall. According to Kufakurinani and Mwatwara (2017), Zimdancehall has Jamaican roots, and very often Zimbabwean artists imitate the lyrics, vocals, instruments, and choreography displayed in dancehall. Though some Zimdancehall artists sing in English, most perform in the Zimbabwean vernacular Shona language. As in Jamaican dancehall, Zimdancehall has been associated with violence, substance abuse, and gender insensitivity.

In 2014, it was estimated that an average of twenty backyard studios existed in each of the roughly six hundred ghetto communities in Zimbabwe. On average, each of these recorded at

least ten artists (Templeman, 2014). Downstream economic activities have also benefited from the Zimdancehall market. Zimdancehall is an urban genre that was popularised by artists such as Sniper Storm and Winky D. Though it is listened to by older people, it is largely written by and for the younger generation. Conservative estimates suggest that 60% of listeners in Zimbabwe listen to Zimdancehall (Templeman, 2014).

1.2 Politics of Translation

Most Zimdancehall artists sing in Shona, a native language of Zimbabwe. According to Mawadza (2003), Shona (also referred to as ChiShona) is the native language of 80 per cent of Zimbabwe's population (the population of circa twelve million). The language is fairly uniform throughout the country and local dialects are mutually intelligible. The Shona dialects, namely Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Korekore and Ndau, provide ethnic identity.

There are countless languages that women all over the world have grown up learning, and still the languages they keep learning the most are the dominant European ones, or the populous Asian ones, and least often the major African ones. Translation, for Spivak (1993), is an act of understanding the other as well as the self. For Spivak (1993), it has a political dimension, as it is a strategy that can be consciously employed. Spivak (1993) uses the feminine adjectives like submission, intimacy and understanding for theorising translation. Theorizing translation itself therefore receives a feminist slant. In the opinion of Spivak (1993), the 'politics of translation' currently gives prominence to English and the other 'hegemonic' languages of the ex-colonisers. Being a decolonial study, the politics of translation was therefore deemed relevant to this research.

Spivak's work is indicative of how cultural studies have focused on issues of translation, the transnational and colonisation (Spivak, 1993). Translation has been manipulated to disseminate an ideologically motivated image of postcolonial countries. Continuing with the requirements of a good translator, (Spivak, 1993) says that it would be of practical help if one's relationship with the language being translated was such that sometimes one preferred to speak in it about intimate things. Lack of intimacy with the translated language can lead one into committing serious errors of judgment. I am a Karanga speaking Shona woman hence translation of the Shona lyrics to English was not much of a hustle. The translator must be strictly bilingual to be effective in the

post-colonial scenario: it is therefore not enough that one speaks one and ‘understands’ another. I am a bilingual researcher who speaks Shona as my first language and English as my second language. Another requirement is that the translator must possess the ability to discriminate between good and bad writing, resistant and conformist writing in her native language.

According to Spivak (1993), the person who is translating must have a tough sense of the specific terrain of the original so that she can fight the racist assumption that all Third World women’s writing is good. Spivak (1993) says, “I remain interested in writers who are against the current, against the mainstream. I remain convinced that the interesting literary text might be precisely the text where you do not learn what the majority view [is]”.

It should be noted that Zimdancehall artists also use slang phrases, an informal type of ChiShona, in their lyrics. Shona slang is better related to the youth of Zimbabwe compared to the older populace. I am a youth who resonates with the language and the era in which the language is used making it easier for translation. The multiplicity of meanings in the songs was also carefully noted in the translation of the songs.

1.3 Decoloniality

This study deploys decoloniality as its theoretical framework to further the ends of critical diversity literacy as an intellectual and social justice philosophy that opposes oppressions such as sexism and patriarchy. Decoloniality, as a theoretical framework, allows the unmasking and critique of structures and systems of power. Critical diversity literacy, as an academic discipline in which this study is located, is also deeply opposed to social injustices and oppressions. Sexism is a wider and deeper problem; however, this study is specific to the context in Zimbabwe. The study plays its part by using the theory of decoloniality to unmask and expose sexism that is hidden in music that even some women enjoy and dance to. It does not only study lyrics but, in its small way, exposes the concealment of oppression and violence in entertainment. It should be noted that entertainment and popular culture can conceal and seek to normalise violence.

The decolonial approach does not restrict itself to a critique of the colonial episteme and world order. It entails a recognition of one’s own positionality as a scholar, critic, and speaker; recognises the necessity to decentre and pluralise knowledge formations and, finally, offers

alternative ways to conceptualise and experience the world. Thus, decoloniality is best described as a gesture that denormalises the denormative, problematises default positions, debunks the a-perspectival, destabilises the structure and a program to rehabilitate epistemic formations that continue to be repressed under coloniality (Gallien & Claire, 2020). This then validates the use of a decolonial theoretical framework in this study as it is a critique of sexism in song lyrics which tallies with the problematisation of default positions mentioned above. How cisgendered women become victims of oppression and insult through lyrics sung by cisgendered male artists pertaining to their bodies, and how they should assume gender roles according to what society deems normative invites academic inquiry.

Methodologically, this proposed study is qualitative. Selected songs were transcribed and then textual analysis, literature study and interpretive analysis applied on them to deduce meanings, observations, and conclusions.

1.4 Background/ Rationale

Sexism is a wider and deeper problem including in Zimbabwe. The definition by the Council of Europe reiterates how sexism is a global issue. There are intellectual and social justice reasons for such a study. This study, for example, uses the theory of decoloniality to unmask and expose sexism that is hidden in music that even some women enjoy and dance to.

In this study, literature on Zimbabwean music by a variety of scholars is reviewed to give the study a context. In its discussions and interpretations, this study demonstrates how sexism is celebrated in Zimbabwean songs. Sexism reinforces an inferiority complex in women as they are rendered objects and passive people who have no social agency and power. Most songs by male artists in Zimbabwe uncover a profound desire by society to be in charge of the sexuality of women. The songs by Zimbabwean singers are only a case study, otherwise, the oppression and exploitation of women is evident in the global popular culture that appears to be the proverbial 'men's world'. The "power" of some and the "marginality of others" in Africa and in the world are projected in "oral African" forms of expression such as songs and poetry (Furniss & Gunner, 1995:1). The case of Zimbabwean songs and their observable sexism is only a convenient representation of a larger scheme and system of art used to represent toxic forms of power. Chimhundu (1995) warns that sexist attitudes and tendencies in music and poetry are a product

of socialisation and culturalisation. Societies allow it to be part of their culture, that women may be denigrated and insulted without censure.

Important cliché pictures created and displayed through songs by male artists are those that portray women as miserable survivors of hazardous social conditions, and women as bereft of morals (Vambe, 2000:82). The issue of language, additionally, becomes an integral factor as the analogies and words used by these artists show an incredible belittling of women.

Mate (2012:124) contends that women are talked about in a setting of neo-patrilineal ways of life, as partners or as non-eligible for marriage inside a neo-patrilineal and consumerist setting. Consequently, man who can acquire assets can have power over women and satisfy their manliness in both long- and short-term relationships.

The issue of sexism has been rampant in this day and age as we find that most Zimbabwean dancehall artists are gaining popularity by singing lyrics that make women the vulnerable group in society. Benyera (2015c) and Vambe (2004) postulate that the purpose of popular music is getting extremely noteworthy and hence the significance of artists effectively presenting cultural ills in their music should likewise be accurately contextualised and deciphered.

1.5 The Research Problem

This study sought to expand knowledge and understanding of sexism in Zimbabwean dancehall songs. The study also sought to unpack how lyrics sung by male artists about women and their bodies display sexist undertones. The relationship between sexism and dancehall songs was closely studied in the time frame of 2012-2022. Sexism has escalated over the years to the extent of expressing explicit content. Sexism has always been an issue in Zimbabwe, especially with the country being regarded as patriarchal. This study specifically focuses on sexist lyrics from Zimdancehall artists as there is not much research that has been done on critiquing sexism in this specific genre.

The insult to women does not end in lyrics and jokes but results in “rape culture” (Gqola, 2016:1) and femicide where women become systematically dispensable and disposable in society. This ought to be addressed not only in Zimbabwe where my research is based or in South Africa from where Pumla Gqola describes ‘rape culture’, but also in the larger African and

world contexts. Sexism is therefore a problem that demands societal inquiry. Writing from Ethiopia, Jean Derive (1995:122) notes that “social power” is represented in sexist songs especially looking at “who produces them and who consumes them”. This study looks at Zimbabwean Dancehall songs as a vantage point to examine a society-wide problem.

Since the emergence of the urban grooves genre, women have been the staple food for most Zimbabwean songs. This has further worsened over time with the emergence of Zimbabwe dancehall that came after the urban groove genre. Zimdancehall artists celebrate negative stereotyping of women, commodification of women and violence against women. It is this undermining of women that this research wants to expose and challenge. If people are more inclined to this music they expect women to be more docile and men to increased aggression levels. This study sought to deal with these problems to reduce models of misogyny.

I found it critical to analyse sexism in Zimbabwe dancehall songs as it is one of the major genres trending in modern day Zimbabwe. Its effects are felt amongst the younger population and the whole community at large.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

In songs, as it is in poetry, Ngara (1990:15) notes that there is not only “communication” that can be “interpreted” but also a society’s “ideology” and a people’s sensibility. Shona Zimbabwean dancehall songs that are hits on music charts are indeed a legitimate site of study for the examination of societal and systemic pathology of sexism. This study sought to combine academic and social justice purpose as well as intellectualism and activism.

As a Zimbabwean woman born in the 90s, with both urban grooves and Zimdancehall being popular genres as we grew up, I am emotionally, politically, and personally involved in the subject. As we grew up we listened to all these songs singing along to the lyrics and I can testify that these songs do shape our line of thinking. I found nothing wrong with being called “*bhebhi*” (meaning “babe”), as we listened to the popular song *Viva Bhebhi* rangu by Kris Styles. I sang and danced to it as it quite normal for me. Ironically, looking at the songs with a critical eye reveals misogynistic and sexist vibes in the songs.

The research sought to expose how sexism exists in all facets of society. It also exposes how

misogyny is celebrated and venerated through attributing women's worth strictly on the basis of their physique. Rape culture, vulgarity, objectification, and commodification are the themes that I have examined, specifically in Zimbabwean dancehall songs. This study helps in the reinforcement of gender policies as well as music broadcasting in Zimbabwe as music is a part of everyone's daily life. This study also aims to sensitise society about the impact of sexism in musical lyrics.

1.7 Research Questions

1.7.1 How do Zimdancehall song lyrics by male artists display sexist undertones?

1.7.2 What phrases and words are used in Zimdancehall song lyrics that display sexism?

1.7.3 What representations are made about women in selected Zimbabwean songs?

1.7.4 Can lyrics of a song impact the way society views women because of their sexist ideologies?

1.7.5 Based on decoloniality, what are the observations and conclusions of the study relating to the intellectual and social justice ends of critical diversity literacy?

1.8 Ethical Considerations

No clearance was sought from the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics committee because the songs are produced for mass communication and publication. They are already in the public domain and have passed through a National Censorship Board process. The researcher therefore does not need the informed consent of the singers or the women in order to study or quote content from these songs. The songs, in their present form, are like published literature at large and open to study.

In 1981 the O.A.U. (Organisation of African Unity) adopted the African Charter that came into effect in September 1986. The African Charter was conceived in the image of the Universal Declaration and enshrines the expression of substantive rights and freedoms. Nevertheless, it contains certain distinctive features that are either novel or quite peculiar to the African context, and which might have some bearing on the freedom of expression. Concerning the freedom of

expression in particular, Article 9 of the Charter provides that, first, everyone has the right to access information. Secondly, it stipulates that expressing and disseminating opinions ought to be done within the law. The freedom of expression therefore embodies two distinct rights, that is, receiving as well as imparting ideas, information, and ideas. In essence, the two-fold nature of this freedom, as enunciated by the African Charter, aligns substantially with the formulation of other international and regional instruments.

In Zimbabwe, rights and interests of individuals as well as the public should be equated. There is strict freedom of expression without any hindrance.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The research required a large number of songs to be analysed as songs with sexist lyrics are vast but, due to the requirements of a master's research report length, a small number of the most relevant songs was chosen to be analysed. The study being related sexism and done by a woman also had some gender bias issues as it affected me directly.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: The first chapter opens the canvas of the study by presenting the background and context of the research, its objectives and questions, and the present outline of chapters of the study.

Chapter 2: This second chapter explores the relevant literature on songs and sexism in order to lay the foundation of the discussion that this study makes of some Zimbabwean songs and their sexist lyrics. It also includes the definition of key theoretical terms used in the research.

Chapter 3: This chapter aims to flesh out the methodology of the study, which is qualitative, to unpack representations made about women in Zimbabwean songs. The data collection technique, sampling method, data analysis and the ontological and epistemological assumptions are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 4: A theoretical and conceptual framework of the study is presented in this fourth chapter. This chapter defines key decolonial concepts, discusses the usefulness of decoloniality as a theoretical and philosophical tool, and it explains the relevance of the colonial power

matrix, specifically the control of gender and sexuality to the study.

Chapter 5: This chapter presents the discussion of the critique of sexism in Zimbabwean songs as well as excerpts of the songs. The themes that emerged in the research are outlined to unpack the different forms of sexism in the Zimbabwean songs.

Chapter 6: This is the final chapter of the study where conclusions are made and details of some propositions for further research are presented.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the relevant literature on sexism in music lyrics and popular culture in order to lay the foundation of the discussion of some Zimbabwean songs and their sexist lyrics. Songs are part of what Mosco (1996:1) calls the “political economy of communication” where songs are what is produced for a market that consumes them as products. Songs, as communication, tend to “supply wants and satisfy desires” (Mosco, 1996: 24) and, for that reason, they can be an indicator not only of the attitude of the singer but also the investment of a society in a given subject. So, the selected sexist Zimbabwean dancehall songs might be a small unit but that unit may be indicative of a larger societal market and constituency that accept and even consume sexism as a worldview and a way of life. It has been noted with certainty that what people listen to plays a vital role in their upbringing and behaviour.

2.1 Definitions of Key Terms

2.1.1 Sexism

Sexism is part of a capitalist ideology which advocates male supremacist values. These values define the nature of women and men in respect to being superior or inferior. Men are defined as “naturally” stronger, more logical, and economically able to provide for others. Women are defined as “naturally” dependent as they are regarded as childlike and, therefore, always in need of authority. The primary functions of a woman is to be a wife and a mother since her primary abilities are to conceive, procreate and nurture. Man is however defined as “naturally” superior to woman since he is considered to be independent and aggressive whereas women are dependent and passive (Nieto-Gomez, 1976). According to Benokraitis and Feagin (1999), sexism varies from subtle and covert to blatant. Unjust and unusual treatment of women is the subtle type of sexism. Pumla Gqola (2016) notes how jokes about women, sex and rape tend to make ordinary and common what might even be the culture of violence and rape.

2.1.2 Genre

According to Swales (1990:58), “A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the genre and influences and constrains choice of content and style. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of “structure, style, content and intended audience” (Course Hero, 2002). A music genre is a classification of pieces of music that fall under the same category. A genre gives music its distinctive character through similarities of form and style. Some of the music genres in Zimbabwe are Sungura, Jit, Zimdancehall, Urban Groves, Afro Jazz, Gospel and Chimurenga Music.

2.1.3 Objectification

The act of transforming a human being into an object for the satisfaction of somebody else’s desire is called objectification (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). For Haslanger (2012), objectification is taken to be a relationship of domination in which the objectifier imposes their will to the detriment of someone else’s desire. Objectified people lose their human values and characteristics, thus being transported into the universe of things (Barbosa et al , 2020:584).

2.1.4 Vulgarity

Vulgarity refers to a state of being unrefined that is associated with the use of offensive language or being morally crude, derogatory, rude, abusive, taboo, hurtful or obscene (Eder, Krieg-Holz & Hahn, 2019). Vulgar expressions may involve descriptions of reproductive body parts, sexual activity, and other obscenities that are unacceptable in specific times, places and contexts (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:19).

2.1.5 Commodification

The process of transformation of a human being or, more specifically, of a woman into a

commodity is defined as commodification. Thus, a woman is transformed into a commodity when she becomes a unit under someone else's control (Kopytoff, 1986). For Williams (2002), the commodification of human beings means putting a price label on someone who should not be commercialised, transforming that someone into something which can be commercialised because he /she comes to have value for sale, exchange, or use. For Hirschman and Hill (1999, 2000), commodification also consists of transforming people into others' property, as occurs in slavery or concentration camps, which shows that commodification is not limited to the world of objects (Barbosa et al., 2020: 585).

2.1.6 Sexist language

Sexist language is an example of subtle sexism in that it consists of speech which reinforces and perpetuates gender stereotypes and status differences between women and men (Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Crawford, 2001; Gay 1997; Maass & Arcuri, 1996; McConnell & Fazio, 1996). Sexist language is learned at an early age (Hyde, 1984), and can be considered a linguistic habit (Lips, 1997). People may use sexist language for a variety of reasons. They may do so because it is traditional, that is, it is ingrained in current written and spoken language and can be difficult to change. In addition, people lack knowledge about what constitutes sexist language, and do not believe that such language is sexist, or people are attempting to protect established social hierarchies (Parks & Robertson, 1998). Sexist words and vocabulary in popular songs may make sexist language trendy and even fashionable when in reality they are violent and toxic (Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004).

2.1.7 Patriarchy

Patriarchy in its wider definition means the manifestation and institutionalisation of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that "men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power". However, it does not imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources (Lerner, 1989; Sultana, 2010).

2.1.8 Hegemonic masculinity

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe hegemonic masculinity as “the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to continue” (Prentice, 2021). The term hegemonic masculinity is a concept that incorporates a body of ideas of rigid masculinity that subjugates women and resists other forms of masculinity that are not in compliance with hypermasculinity. This term was developed to criticise the notion of repressive masculinity (Donaldson, 1993). This construct has influenced so many scholarly discourses concerning “men, gender, and social hierarchy”. All that is inherent of this dominant form of masculinity is socially constructed by influential members of society such as priests, journalists, academics, playwrights and musicians.

2.1.9 Misogyny

Misogyny has been defined as the hatred or disdain of women. It is a concept that reduces women to objects for men’s ownership, use, or abuse. An African woman’s identification with her gender has always been a product of her identity, and the social constructions of society, and as such, gender is socially constructed (Adams & Fuller, 2006:939).

According to Kufakurinani and Mwatwara (2017), outside state-engineered forms of violence, youth have also been at the centre of violence in which women are objectified and, in some cases, participate in symbolic and physical conflict. This form typically involves interpersonal physical, gender-based, and symbolic violence through insulting and intimidating lyrics directed at artists and their fans. ‘Objectifying women’ means presenting women as dehumanised and objects for male sexual pleasure (Saul, 2006). Sasa (2018) postulates that the portrayal of women and parts of their bodies has become popular.

2.2 Themes

According to Fasold (1983), language is not only used to communicate content but it shows different factors such as identity, singer-listener relationship as well as the conditions in which the language is being used. Zimbabwean dancehall, as a genre of music, is an avenue through which male gender stereotypes can be observed. According to Neff (2014), music reflects the customs and beliefs of a society. It is an effective medium of communication, and it plays a

variety of roles such as to inform, educate, motivate, influence, appeal to emotions and entertain. Themes that are used in this literature review include objectification, commodification, misogyny, vulgarity and hegemonic masculinity.

2.2.1 Objectification of women

Mate (2012) articulates the issue of language that has emerged within urban grooves music in Zimbabwe concerning sex, sexuality and the objectification of women. Mate (2012:124) argues that the stories in songs show that women are discussed in a context of neo-patrilineal identities as potential wives or as non-marriageable within a neo-patrilineal and consumerist context and; hence, males who can access resources can assert control over women and affirm their masculinity in both long-term and short-term relationships. Mate also highlights that street terms for young women may also be seen as a form of objectification (Chiweshe & Bhatsara, 2013:159). For example, girls are referred to as *koso*, *chimoko*, *jimbisi* (whore), *gero* (girl), *bhebhi* (baby/babe), and *chi-danger* (a small dangerous escapade/ something that gets one into trouble), among other things, and when considered together with names for men, it is clear that they are categories speak to emerging subjectivities punctuated by consumerism and related sexualities (Chiweshe & Bhatsara, 2013:159).

Women are also named after foods, drinks and other consumables like ‘*honey*’, ‘*sweetie*’ which symbolizes and signifies their usability by men and society.

Objectification of women is evident in urban groove lyrics such as ‘Excuse me *Miss makadini, zvamakapfeka kamini, dai mauya kwandiri muzofadza inini*’ (excuse me miss how are you doing? You are wearing a miniskirt. You should come to me so as to make me happy). The singers portray the notion of how men seek to sexually consume women and collect them as trophies (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:161). This shows how women are restricted to dressing in a more decent way as dressing in miniskirts insinuates them selling off their bodies to make men happy.

The following lyrics in Sani Makhhalima’s song provide an example of the focus on

women's bodies:

Ganda rako rakanaka (your skin is beautiful) *Inzwi rako rakanaka* (your voice is beautiful)
Maziso ako akanaka (your eyes are beautiful) *Makumbo ako akanaka* (your legs are
beautiful) *Malips mahips akanaka* (your lips and your hips are beautiful).

This fascination with women's beauty preoccupies much of popular music (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:161).

Women's outward sexual appearance is something that most men deem important. In reality, some women may affirm and celebrate sexist descriptions as praise and or admiration. Some women actually dress according to man's expectations and dance along to songs with crude lyrics but that does not stop the fact that the descriptions are sexist, abusive and exploitative. Recognition and insult have a thin line in music and social talk.

Comedian cum-singer Kapfupi in his song popularised the word '*mutumba*' (big drum) to describe heavily built women (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160). The term quickly became popular with people, especially touts and conductors who harassed women with big backs by shouting the word at them. Nyamuda (2011) cites a case in which a heavily built woman made her way past a bus termini in Harare and was subjected to whistles and lewd remarks '*mutumba asekuru*' (literally meaning a woman with a big body, especially the backside). According to the law, such acts are classified as sexual harassment and two men were arrested and fined for harassing a woman whilst numerous protests were staged by women's organisations (Nyamuda, 2011). Another popular way to describe women in songs across genres is using the word '*akabatana*' (she is well built). Such words objectify and inscribe sexual meanings to women's bodies (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:161).

This then brings to the fore my critique of sexism in Zimbabwean as I question the impact of these sexist undertones and how best this can be eradicated.

Blose (2012) in her article: *Pornographic objectification of women through Kwaito lyrics*, shows how sexism is endemic in Africa at large. Women's representation is often either in their value as back-up to the male artists, or as sexual objects in male lyrics which have been known to be offensive and even violent, or in women's performances where sexuality

and bodies are the agency which expresses their power as women on stage. Women are not seen as the talent behind the music but are seen more as ‘highlighters’ adding colour to the song through the explicit pornographic representation of their bodies (Blose, 2012:51). Kwaito, with its platform, has failed dismally to create awareness about women’s rights and gender equality. Instead, it has served as a platform to perpetuate society’s misconceptions and ignorance about gender inequality and about sexual rights (Blose, 2012:52).

Objectification of women is harmful to the emotional and physical well-being of women, particularly girls (Chari, 2008:99).

Sexism continues to prevail in African songs as Adeyele-Fayemi (1994), using a strand of Yoruba popular music as an example, showed how women function as consumers of a constructed representation and naming in Nigeria. In almost all forms of popular culture, women are derided, ridiculed, objectified, or rigidly categorised in accordance with male power and control as mothers, wives, good-time girls and, at best, romanticised queens and goddesses (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160). According to Adeye-Fayemi (1994), sexual parodies of women are a regular feature in Yoruba popular music and most of the musicians employ the services of young women as dancers for their musical videos. The lyrics are often lurid and vulgar and each album comes up with more imaginative ways of describing the female anatomy as ‘fresh fish’ (succulent bodies), ‘sweet banana’ (breasts), ‘bulldozers’ (backside), ‘caterpillar’ (body contours), and many more (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160). Nigerian Yoruba singers such as Sunny Ade use sex/sexuality as an entertainment gimmick. Sunny Ade popularised the slang *siki siki* (breasts) and once sang *omú siki siki siki siki ni iyì obìnrin* (bouncy breasts are a woman’s greatest asset) (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160).

It should however be noted that female artists have also contributed to objectification as they are other female artists who have sung objectifying words directed to men. The songs “*Ane zihombe*” (He has a big male reproductive organ), “*Inomira*” (It (male reproductive organ) erects), and “*Baba maburitsa*” (Father, you have ejaculated) by Lady Bee typically offer a contestation of sexism and a challenge to masculinity. Her slogan at the beginning of every track is “*Murume!*” (Man!). As if this term is intended to praise men, the artist in most of her songs

derogatorily attacks masculinity. In *Baba maburitsa* (Father, you have ejaculated), Lady Bee demonstrates sexual disillusionment and mocks a man who fails to delay ejaculation during sex. The persona lewdly teaches the man how to sexually satisfy a woman (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:30) .

In *Ane zihombe* (He has a big one), she comments contemptuously on the sizes of men's penises. She sees small ones as unable to satisfy a woman, and huge ones as too big to be covered in ordinary underwear and trousers. In the song *Bamukuru* (Brother-in-law), which features Lady Squanda, they condemn their sister's husband, who they say behaves like "imbwa iri pahiti" (a dog on heat). The vitality of masculinity is reduced through the exposition of men's sexual carelessness. Lady Bee's songs are evidence of the fact that popular music offers a platform where gender relationships are contested and negotiated. The female musical voice challenges the masculine tendencies of belittling women and at the same time tries to re-arrange gender relations (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:30).

The lyrics also performatively render forms of power that translate back into everyday life. Music is power and it has the ability to influence action and behaviour. The foregoing has shown that, in articulating their prominence, dominance, power and lyrical prowess, both male and female artists denigrate femininity (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:31).

Objectification is one of the prevalent themes in the analysis of sexism in song lyrics. However, it should be noted that there is not much that has been done on objectification in Zimdancehall music as a genre, though there has been a lot of analyses of the urban grooves genre and other genres in Africa at large. This is the gap that this research sought to fill.

2.2.2 Commodification

The theme of beauty and love (or infatuation) is a common thread that runs through the gamut of male produced urban grooves music. Inevitably, women are presented in restricted sex roles such as mistresses, girlfriends, sex partners or victims of sexual exploitation. Sex talk, sex dance, simulated sexual intercourse, oral sex, kissing, fondling and grabbing are key ingredients of this music (Chari, 2008, p. 98).(Malleus, 2000, p. 44) notes that when human beings are commodified "they acquire an exchange value instead of

simply having an intrinsic value or worth (Chari , 2008 ,p. 99) ”.

The theme of commodification is evident in Nasty Tricks’ song titled “*Chidanger*” where the girl is described as having a “flavour”. Also, in a song titled “*Dhafukorera*” (The fat one), Stunner sings about a boy who has discovered a new type of beautiful women, “I have discovered a new type of girls”, referring to a girl with a huge frame. She has “Big hips, nice lips, right size”, is very strong and “easy to locate”. Her huge body is compared to a farm “*purazi remuviri*” which is meant to be exploited (Chari, 2008:99).The woman’s body is equated to a farm in a way to commodify her.

Popular music, as an arbiter of masculinities and femininities, expresses certain kinds of masculinity/femininity which divorces and strips women of all substance whilst only concerning itself with their bodies and beauty (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:161). Music in most instances expresses what people already believe and thus artists are simply conveyors of culture in which the idea of accumulation of women as pieces of property is part of accepted patriarchal culture and the prowess of men is measured by conquering women (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:165). The treatment of women as property relates to how men in patriarchal societies actively control women’s sexuality. Women’s sexuality is controlled by patriarchal institutions; first, by the father whose job is to keep his daughter safe from ‘sexual predators’ to ensure she is a virgin when she gets married to ‘fetch’ a high price. After marriage, the husband becomes the protector and overseer of this sexuality (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:166).

In the song *Musarova Bigman* (Do not beat up Bigman), Winky D alludes to the aspect of fathers controlling their daughters’ sexuality in the lyrics:

Ndakasvikirwa ndakagara nemwana wevanhu pamubhedha (a father caught me with his daughter on the bed). *Baba vake ndokuti mfana rasta dakudhedha* (the father wanted to kill me).

This boy is caught by the girlfriends’ father being intimate with the daughter which is enough for him to be seriously beaten. Policing female sexuality is part of patriarchal discourse on sexuality (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:166).

Consensual sex between a man and a woman may not be violent but the idea of a woman's sexuality being contested for ownership between her father and boyfriend signifies the commodification of women. Chiweshe (2012) outlines how a married woman has her sexual and productive rights transferred from her father to her husband through the payment of lobola (bride wealth). Her sexuality first belongs to her father and then her husband.

Music is one way used to promote chastity and sexual purity amongst women. Sexuality remains deeply rooted in the policing and surveillance of women's bodies by a patriarchal sexual discourse which muzzles women's sexual agency and promotes hegemonic ideas of heteronormality (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:166).

Sexist songs continue to be a means of communication amongst the youths in the African continent at large. In the music industry, sex symbolism has become rampant as women are tagged with a commercial value. Kwaito, for example, is criticised for demeaning women while, on the other hand, enabling women to act out the symbols of their sexual objectification. It has provided a platform through which a new set of young black women artists have been able to make their presence known in the music industry (Blose, 2012:52). Blose's research shows that Kwaito songs often degrade women to position them as objects of sexual pleasure. Generally, the women in the Kwaito music videos are portrayed in eroticised ways: skimpily clothed and designed to elicit male desire. In L'vovo's song, *Njalo nge-weekend*, women are portrayed as party-animals who get intoxicated with alcohol and thereafter sexually exploited (Blose, 2012:52). Bosch (as cited in Stephens, 2006:88) notes the trivialisation of women in Kwaito and contends that 'women's inclusion in Kwaito music can be seen as "the deliberate use of superfluous 'singing and dancing girls' as a marketing ploy". Artists seem to think that the more less-dressed women on the music videos, the more the viewers will relate to and like a particular song (Blose, 2012:52).

Artists like Chomee and the late Lebo Mathosa burst into the music scene and remained infamous for their dress code. These women embraced their bodies; it comes as no surprise that most of their fans were males. Chomee has been featured dancing provocatively in barely-there clothing in Arthur Mafokate's controversial music video *Sika Lekhekhe*. The

song which literally means “cut the cake” and figuratively means ‘be intimate with me’, was so steamy and sexually explicit that it was banned by an SABC radio station (UKhozi FM) in 2005. The self-proclaimed Kwaito ‘King’, Arthur Mafokate had to re-shoot the video after viewers complained about its explicit sexual content (Blöse, 2012:52). This further communicates how women are expected by society to dress decently and cover themselves so that they look like “decent” , “good girls” and “ marriage material” to men since women who parade their bodies are deemed loose thus there is no feminist power and agency. Furthermore, one must not ignore the fact that the re-shoot of the less explicit video had to be done, thus an explicit women’s body is signified as a commodity.

The theme of commodification is a common one in music songs and the literature review displays how research on commodification is vast and exists in many songs. I therefore investigated commodification in the Zimdancehall genre as this is a very relevant topic in sexism. One cannot talk of sexism without incorporating commodification of women.

2.2.3 Vulgarly

Kufakurinani and Mwatwara (2017), postulate that Zimdancehall violence is manifested physically and symbolically through lyrics and depictions of women, all of which violate traditional norms in Zimbabwe. The physical and symbolic violence of Zimdancehall has led to public disgust and derision. Dancehall music by artists such as Killer T, Soul Jah Love, Quonfused, SehCalaz, Dadza D., Shinsoman, Level 2, Guspy Warrior and many others, has brought about “slackness”, “vulgarity” and “obscene behaviour” amongst Zimbabwe’s youth. For the older generations, much of the music from these artists is difficult to comprehend and some of the songs are filled with dirty lyrics (Kriger, 2005).

Zimdancehall is typified by unreserved use of unrefined lyrics. Some productions are laden with obscene content that spin around graphic sexual images and imaginations, disses and other uncouth discourses. The pioneer songs include King Labash’s songs *Kukonzeresa* (sexually seductive) and *Kunanzva pakati* (sucking the female genital), Winky D’s *African ting*, *Bigger size* and *Put the blame on me*, King Shaddy’s *Sinhi rebhakosi* (freebie male genital) and *Mukonde waTonde* (Tonde’s faeces). The sudden rise to fame of these artists, the proliferation of cheap ghetto studios where recording is done with little to no self and

institutional censorship, and the desire to gain popularity in a highly competitive music industry with established musicians have increased the prevalence of vulgarised Zimdancehall. Evidently, Jah Signal rose to fame in 2018 with his X-rated songs- *Stonyeni* and *Mubako yekedero*, to an extent that the coinages “*stonyeni*” and “*yekedero*” gained prominence and their expanded meanings to denote sex/female genitals and unprotected sex respectively (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:2).

In the song “*Kunanzva Pakati* (licking in-between)”, King Labash says:

Mamwe magen’a ari kunanzva pakati, hanzi iromance. Vachiisa rurimi pakati pakamadhisa Patty naMaddy. Umwe murume ndopaari kuda kuisaka rurimi; kutobhadhara hoto kunanzva pakati makumbo pamashoulders, kunanzva pakati” (Some men are licking women’s genitals saying it is romance. Inserting tongues between legs (female genitals) that killed Patty and Maddy. Yet another man sucks the genitals with his tongue; paying (the woman) for licking in-between her legs, on the shoulders, licking a woman’s genitals).

The libretti show the artist’s disapproval of oral sex, a subcultural trait that is rented from pornographic videos on X-rated websites. The routine is presumed to be unhygienic since it exposes partakers to STIs including the devastating HIV and AIDS, especially if there are incisions or sores around/in the mouth or on the genitals. In this case, the artist exposes dangers of a genuine and prevalent practice, yet the subject has not been expressed in mainstream music. Pornographic content spreading across new digital and communication technologies tends to promote alien, choreographed and perilous sexual performances. The artist protests against oral sex. The lyrics challenge individuals to desist from such deleterious sexual rehearsals in the context of intensified cases and effects of STIs (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:7).

Zimdancehall is a convenient space for artists to express their views on unprotected sex and subsequent dangers using vulgar discoursed lyrics. In the song ‘*Punani*’ (*sex/vagina*), Lady Squanda chants:

Akanyenga bhebhi ipapo akabva atopuhwa punani. Asingazive pakapuhwa vangani; apa bhebhi ranga riri chigulani. Nhasi uno ari kuchema nenyaya yepunani. Maronda in between papunani: Uchinge wazara iwe unobvunza ani? Kutanga waziva bhebhi zvitori nani.

Haikona kukwira njapisi zvisina purani. Punani iri kukonzeresa rufu (He dated a girl and they had sex. Without knowing how many people had been given the favour before; the girl was actually HIV-positive. Today he is crying because of the vagina wounds on the vagina: Whom do you ask after being infected? It is better to learn more about the girl first. Do not have unprotected sex with prostitutes. The vagina, is now a death trap).

The artist uses music as an informing vehicle to express a blatant truth about reckless sexual behaviour. Since, the youths are the most sexually vulnerable, it can be argued that the song is transgressive music for a transgressive fan base (Walker, 2013). The most recurrent word in the song, '*punani*', is a Jamaican Patois or Indian vulgar reference for vagina. The term is predominantly used in Jamaican dancehall; hence, as the norm, Zimdancehall artists imitate the jargon (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:9).

The other notable thematic feature in vulgarised Zimdancehall lyrics is reverence of the phallic symbol, that is, the male genital organ or penis. Using songs, the male artists boast about having huge penises, and how good they are in bed. Winky D's song *Bigger Size* and King Shaddy's (2007a) "*Handina Sinhi Rebhakosi*" (*freebie male genital*) are classic examples of such songs that celebrate phallic sexuality using profane language (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:11).

The other songs that focus on the phallic symbol include Innomas and Dadza D's "*Garira dick*" (*sit on the dick or penis*), Silent Killer's "*Dick*" (*penis*), Bazooker's "*Ndokuisai kumberi yamira* (I will sex you when it's erect) (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:11), and Enzol Ishall and Racheal J's *Ngoro*. In the song, *Bigger size*, Winky D sang:

She wants a bigger size between her thighs. She closes her eyes and fantasises. She wants an African man not an Indian. She says Winky D you are strong like a stallion. Mi (I) have the longest ting (thing) in na di (in the) continent (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2021:11).

The songs noted above by Parwaringira and Mpofu (2021) show the extent of vulgarity in Zimdancehall songs. It should however be noted that these two researchers took a positive view of the vulgarity which makes their work different from other scholars. According to Feldman et al. (2017), vulgar cannot be arbitrarily ostracised as gibberish; it performs critical interpersonal

and cultural functions within appropriate contexts. While profanity is generally perceived as reflecting disregard of social ethics, in some instances it is positively associated with honesty as it can be used to express unfiltered feelings and shows sincerity .

The vulgarisation of female sexuality is not only done by male artists, but also female lyricists. For example, in her track, *Wagarira mwena wemajuru* (You are sitting on a termite's hole), Lady Squanda paradoxically refers to her male rival artists, Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz, as *vanamainini* (young sisters). She equates them with and gives them an image of the abused conceptualisation of *chiramu* in Shona society, in which the senior brother-in-law teases and plays with his wife's young sisters. Therefore, the lady artist demonstrates her male rival artists' lyrical inferiority by employing a derogatory image of sexual exploitation of women so as to degrade them (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:29).

Lady Squanda further expresses her superiority, power and lyrical prowess by appropriating masculine attributes. In another track, *Hameno akamutengera Altezza* (I am not sure who bought an Altezza for her), Lady Squanda disses a fellow female artist, Bounty Lisa, in the same context as she attacks Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz (her male rival chanters) with sardonic homophobic vulgarity. She says:

Murume wake naCala zvakunamana. Kunyepedzera kudhisana ivo vachikisana. Mune kahunhu kanenge kaCanaan Banana” (Her husband [Soul Jah Love] and Calaz are homosexuals. They pretend to dis[s] each other while they “kiss” each other. Your sexual conduct resembles that of Canaan Banana).

In this track, Lady Squanda pronounces her power and lyrical prowess over Bounty Lisa, Soul Jah Love and Seh Calaz through homophobic lyrics that are full of contempt and derision (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:29).

Jason (2007) opines that vulgar lyrics about women are destructive to their emotional and physical wellbeing, especially younger ones. Media pictures that typify ladies may make young women “consider and treat their own bodies as sex objects”. Male produced music puts women in places of subjection. Since music assumes a key job in personality development among the young, it cannot be overlooked that artists who are iconic, for example, the Zimdancehall artists, become idols. There is a growing amount of literature about sexist lyrics in music and how such

lyrics affect listeners. As some researchers suggest, “lyrical content of a song is as equally important as the response to the song because the lyrics themselves could directly or indirectly influence the response” (Rogers, 2013; Neff, 2014).

It should be noted that, youngsters whether male or female who listen to these lyrics will be more accepting to the positions bestowed upon them by society. A young man is regarded as a protector, leader, defender and provider while a young woman is expected to depend on a man for protection, guidance and support since that is the way they have been socialised by society. In the African society, the sexual graphics in this music is not acceptable. I however note that Africanness is defined by morally upright tendencies which I problematise as being sexist and controlling behaviour towards women. All these traditions are meant to control the sexuality of women and what is deemed to be morally correct to females.

2.2.4 Misogyny

As any form of art, songs are arguably a conduit of cultural transmission and, as such, the messages they carry are important in understanding the dominant ideas about social life in any society. What people sing and celebrate as a society influences ideas about masculinity and femininity. Musicians are often called social commentators, yet they are also influential in promoting dominant discourses in society (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:153).

The language and lyrics of popular songs offer a glimpse into the social organisation of a society and how dominant discourses around gender and sexuality are celebrated, valorised and reinforced in popular art (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:154). Sexual references to women’s bodies are part of pop culture, especially music (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160).

Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) have recognised five essential misogynist subjects in verses of rap. These are: (a) hateful naming and disrespecting of women; (b) sexual typification of women; (c) legitimization of ruthlessness against women; (d) uncertainty of women; and, (e) festivity of prostitution and pimping. Sexual typification is the most broadly perceived misogynist subject in music as demonstrated by Weitzer and Kubrin, whose 2009 examination found that sexual

objectification was evident in 67% of misogynistic songs. In sexist songs, women are depicted utilising harsh names, for instance, "bitches", "diggers", or "chicken heads ". These derogatory names attempt to debase them and keep them "in their place". However, men are complimented for misusing and abusing women. One instance of this can be found in accounts in which artists shoot videos at the poolside with women strolling around them in swimming outfits. Women of colour are generally featured as sexual things in such recordings contrasted with white women.

Conrad, Dixon and Zhang (2009) examined rap music chronicles and saw that there has been a move from rough depictions to progressively sexual sexist ones. Women in rap music are set in spots of speculation and sexual settlement compared to males. This is also the case in Zimdancehall, thus, sexism has become popular in almost every genre. Misogynic rap normally portrays physical brutality and attack as fitting reactions to women who challenge male control, deny lewd gestures, or basically "shock" men. The theme of misogyny seems more prevalent in Western rap music compared to African and Zimdancehall songs.

2.2.5 Hegemonic masculinity

Vambe (2000) notes that some artistes in Zimbabwe consistently depict women as "dangerous" and "loose" implying that women should be controlled and rendered powerless in both the public and private domains. These lyrics promote patriarchal hegemonic cultural narratives that transfer power from women to men. Power therefore gives licence to men to trample on the rights of women through sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, violence and marginalisation since women are constructed as subservient to men (Chari, 2008:99).

Vambe (2000) observes that most songs by male artists in Zimbabwe reveal a deep concern for society's need to control female sexuality. The major stereotypical images produced and circulated through songs by male singers are those that present women as hopeless victims of social circumstances, as well as dangerous and loose (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:157).

Sexual depiction of the female body is linked to how women are viewed as sexual toys. The dominance of males in popular music explains why such ideas about women are highly

visible. Most singers are male and most popular songs within the sample drawn for this paper were sung by men. Men's voices and ideas dominate the airways and thus masculinities are valorised and femininities are side-lined. This is part of a wider gender system in Zimbabwe in which women are objectified and seen as property (Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:162).

During the migrant labour system in the 1940s and 1950s, there was a masculinisation of popular music performance supported by state apparatus in South Africa, and this put men into positions of complete dominance (Ballantine, 2000). This process also handicapped women by limiting them to being carriers of sexual frisson for men's groups, reducing them to passive objects of contestation and display, and restricting them to nurturing roles. For example, some songs by the Manhattan Brothers vilified women by presenting them as spendthrifts, temptresses and prostitutes or as fickle, loose, and defiled people (Ballantine, 2000; Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013:160).

2.3 Chapter Summary

Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society like many others in the world and, as noted before, there is so much manipulation of women in such societies. Since time immemorial, women have been the staple food for most Zimbabwean songs and it is only getting worse over time with the emergence of Zimdancehall. These groups celebrate negative stereotypes of women, commodification of women and violence against women. It is this undermining of women that this research wants to expose and challenge.

The purpose of this review was to expose and challenge the negative stereotypes, commodification and violence towards women through music. It is clear from the research reviewed that sexism in song lyrics is very immersed and widely common throughout the world at large. Along with this, it is also clear that sexist undertones in music are varied and continue to be studied and analysed in order to benefit women and society at large. This field of inquiry is very important as it helps to sensitise the community, more research is required to bring awareness to society. It should however be noted that other scholars in the literature review appreciate the beauty of vulgarity in songs. Women have also contributed to sexist lyrics as they

are female artists who sing about men in derogatory ways but the ratio is small compared to male artists. The research gaps are addressed in Chapter 5 to respond to this issue of sexism in Zimdancehall songs.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of the study. Research methodology can be defined as the process of selecting, processing, and analysing the data of a research topic. Thus, the methodology segment permits the reader to critically assess a study's general validity and dependability. It is therefore the aim of this section to give a detailed highlight of the research method used to obtain the data and information that was used in the research topic, and the approaches used to address the question at hand.

A qualitative approach, and a combination of primary and secondary sources were used to address the key objectives of the research. A qualitative research approach was used as it is pivotal in acquiring data and information in such a way as to display perception and behaviour of an audience in question.

Ethnographic research is a qualitative approach that mainly focuses on observing variables in their natural environments or habitats in order to reach objective research outcomes. The fundamental aspect of ethnographic research is that it focuses on an in-depth study of people, cultures, habits and mutual differences. Thus, the above-mentioned method of qualitative research helped me to have a closer understanding of the perspectives and beliefs of the parties, in this case, both the artists and the consumers of Zimbabwean dancehall. This approach is pivotal as it helped me to understand the interpretation and analysis of data. In addition, to have a full appreciation of how the Zimdancehall culture operates and, precisely, to appreciate the beliefs that are associated with the genre, especially with regards to sexism as portrayed in some of the songs under this genre.

Ngara (1990:15) notes that there is not only “communication” that can be “interpreted” but also a society’s “ideology” and a people’s sensibility. Some Zimbabwean dancehall Shona songs that are hits on the music charts are indeed a legitimate site of study for the examination of the societal and systemic pathology of sexism. This research assumed a decolonial posture to carry

out a critique of sexism in Zimbabwean dancehall as a genre. The study employed a qualitative research approach to unpack representations made about women in Zimbabwean songs.

3.1 Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative research approach was used in this study. This was informed by the assertion that, “qualitative research is characterised by aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis” (Brikci & Green, as cited in Mutating, 2016:25).

Today our world is more complicated, and it is difficult to understand what people think and perceive. Furthermore, people have resorted to airing out their thoughts through the media. Songs are part of what Mosco (1996:1) calls the “political economy of communication” whereby songs are what is produced for a society and a market that consumes them as products. Songs, as communication, tend to “supply wants and satisfy desires” (Mosco, 1996:24) and, for that reason, they can be an indicator, not of the attitude of the singer, but also the investment of a society in a given subject. So, the selected sexist Zimbabwean songs might be a small unit, but that unit may be indicative of a larger societal market and constituency that accepts and even consumes sexism as a worldview and a way of life.

Strauss and Cobin (1990) postulate that research focuses on people’s lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings. Qualitative research is also useful in capturing the features of power and privilege that cannot necessarily be pointed to (Pascale, 2010) statistically. Writing from Ethiopia, Derive (1995:122) notes that “social power” is represented in sexist songs, especially looking at “who produces them and who consumes them”. Men can describe women as objects and things, but women cannot easily do that because of societal censure and stigma. This tallies with the decolonial theory of the study where there is control of gender and sexuality as well as the colonial matrix of power.

This study sought to explore Zimbabwean dancehall Shona songs which are hits on music charts. The research is informed by an academic and social justice purpose, and combined with intellectualism and activism. The songs are indeed a legitimate site of study for the examination of societal and systemic pathology of sexism, as Zimbabwe is a patriarchal society in which

manipulation of women is quite common. Male artists have songs that portray women as people they adore so much, but critically looking at the lyrics of their songs, we note a lot of crudeness, vulgarity, and sexism.

3.2 Data Collection

I selected songs from cisgendered male “Zimbabwe dancehall” artists whose songs have sexist lyrics . The songs were sung in Shona which is a native Zimbabwean language therefore the lyrics were transcribed into English which is a universal language. Most of the songs chosen were from the millennial era - 2012-2022.

I was aware that my gender identity and sexuality would impact the results of the study. My beliefs, background, and experiences as a Zimbabwean woman raised in a patriarchal society were bound to influence my interpretation of the lyrics. I tried my best to minimise bias in the collection of data by using data triangulation to enhance the credibility of the research.

Archival research was used as part of the data collection methods. This methodology is primarily concerned with the examination of any recorded data. Cuffaro (2011) states that archival research methods embrace a broad range of actions used to enable the examination of documents and textual material produced (Mutating, 2016). I used archival records in the form of texts and songs from records and internet web pages in the millennial time frame up to date to get all the relevant information for the study. I implemented this data collection method because I could access these records freely and pass judgements without any restrictions. I also used secondary data sources as another data collection procedure to fulfil my data triangulation.

A-Z Lyrics was my secondary resource, which was used as an intermediary source through which I could take my selected songs and receive a legal and reliable transcription of the lyrical content. This allowed me to document the lyrical transcription of the entire dataset; the basis upon which a thorough content analysis could be conducted. For each of the songs that I collected into my dataset, I began to read the lyrical content therein; deciphering the slang used and identifying general themes in the message to determine what specific patterns should be analysed (Miller, 2022:6-7).

I chose this specific method of study for my research because of its relevance in conducting

a thorough analysis. When addressing a qualitative question about the content of a music genre, simply relying on the research of others is not nearly sufficient to obtain any true credibility on the topic. The only way to do so is to, first, understand the body of research that is available on the subject, and then take it a step further into conducting one's own analysis (Miller, 2022:7).

3.3 Sampling

Sampling is defined as a technique that allows the researcher to select objects or subjects of research that are relevant in answering research questions or proving a concept or theory (Denzin, 1978). It is a process of selecting units, for example, people and organisations from a population of interest so that, by studying the sample, we may properly simplify our results back to the populace from which they were chosen (Mutating, 2016:28).

Purposive sampling was used to select music that could help project the argument in a poignant manner and address negative tendencies in the lyrics. Patton (1990) defines purposive sampling as a method where subjects are selected because of some characteristic (Chari, 2008:96). In this case, these were songs that had sexist words and derogatory terms. Purposive sampling allows in-depth analysis.

During the purposive sampling, I looked for songs with certain words and meanings. I wanted to study a small subset of the many songs sung in Zimdancehall studios so purposive sampling was best as enumeration of all the songs was almost impossible.

3.4 Data Analysis

The research employed critical discourse analysis. It is a multidisciplinary research method developed by Norman Fairclough as a study of sociolinguistics. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a method that focuses on analysing discourses which may be written, verbal, photographic or visual - that represent views, experiences, events, and life stories. CDA is not just about analysing the subject matter of the text, but it seeks to look for the ideologies that may be underlying within the text, or perhaps invisible - not overtly or even at all apparent within the text. It is a method that enables us to look for what is not being said, where ideologies may lurk in the unsaid, or the mis-said. Critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal these ideologies and to

position them within the broader framework of the socio-cultural backdrop that produced the texts. CDA seeks to locate the power and difference inherent in the way that the text is put forward and to reveal the agendas that power may serve. This works well with my research as I critique the use of sexist language in songs which seek to normalise the objectification of women. Decoloniality as a theoretical framework allows the unmasking and critique of structures and systems of power (Mignolo, 2008). Critical discourse analysis becomes very relevant to my research as it works hand and glove with my theory and methodology.

Macdonell (1986) notes that discourse may be defined by the institutions to which it relates and by the position from which it comes and which it marks out. Volosinov notes that “the statement made, the words used depend on where and against what the statement is made ... Actually, any real utterance in one way or another or to one degree or another makes a statement of agreement with or a negation of something” (as cited by Macdonell, 1986:1). Although discourse analysis has been accused of being subjective, its strength lies in that it enabled me to understand texts without being influenced by the circumstances in which the texts were produced (Chari, 2008:96).

Janks (1997) is of the view that critical discourse analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice and provides an understanding on how discourse is implicated in relation to power. Janks states that looking at a text from a position of estrangement or alienation is the easiest way to read against rather than with the text. Disagreeing with the text is the best position to critically look at it. In such a case, the interests served by the text may be deceptive. It is vital to be conscious that textual analysis is only one lens through which to consider the data and that the other lenses are essential to provide other perspectives. Text analysis requires that you unpack the text. Do not read meaning directly off verbal and visual text (Janks, 1997).

This approach helped me to concentrate on the words that made up the lyrics, repetitions and similes. In my analysis, I made sure to understand patterns of meaning.

I used text analysis in this research on lyrical content as it involves the systematic identification of special characteristics in content, in traditional media or any other medium that can be turned into text (Holsti, 1968:608). Textual analysis also looks at the functions of the messages in the

text and, in this way, criticising how women are portrayed.

Critical discourse analysis incorporates content and text analysis which are used in this research. Zito (1975) argues that content analysis is defined as a methodology by which the researcher pursues to regulate the apparent content of written, verbal, or published communication by orderly, objective, and qualitative analysis. Since any written communication is produced by a communicator, the intention of the communicator may be the objective of the research (Mutating, 2016:29). In this case, I was interested in the lyrics of the songs. The artists that I will incorporate use phrases such as:

Ndikangonyenga bhebhi rakandibvuma (if I ask out a lady and they say yes to me)

... *garo ndinobata ipapo ipapo* (I will start touching their bum there and then, that is, the main agenda of a man asking out a woman is so that they can touch their private parts).

Nachmias and Nachmias (1976) state that content analysis may be perceived as a method where the content of the message creates the unfairness by drawing interpretations and conclusions about the content (as cited in Mutating, 2016:29). I deduced conclusions using the messages, metaphors and words used by these artists that show a great demeaning to women. This method of data collection may be defined as a method of observation in the sense that, instead of asking people to respond to questions, it takes the messages that people have produced and asks questions of communication (Mutating, 2016:29). I used messages that are readily available, that is music lyrics, to come up with intended results.

Content analysis is an indirect way of making inferences about people. Zito (1975) opines that, instead of asking the chosen sample questions, examining what they read or see and then work with the information, assuming what people read, and watch can also work as good reflections of their attitudes and values (as cited in Mutating, 2016:29-30).

Content analysis and textual analysis fall under the broad umbrella of critical discourse analysis hence I found it worthy to deal with the epistemological and ontological assumptions of this method of analysis.

3.5 The Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis

Dieronitou (2014) explores the relationship between ontology and epistemology as it pertains to

critical discourse analysis (CDA). Knowledge production through research is, according to Dieronitou (2014), influenced by the approach that the research method takes, shaping how the information gathered by the research is understood and located within a particular study.

Dieronitou further notes that, “while ontology refers to the nature of knowledge and reality, epistemology concerns the very basis of knowledge, whether this is hard, real or transmittable in a concrete form, or whether it is softer and more subjective” (Dieronitou, 2014:5; Eljamel, 2022). The word epistemology can be traced to Greek linguistics, and it means to know something very well based on experiences (Dieronitou, 2014:5). Epistemology can be viewed through the positivist lens which states that knowledge is objective and tangible as well as through the interpretivist lens which states that knowledge is subjective but can be understood through broader objective lenses. Through the social sciences approach, which CDA is embedded in, epistemology is constructed by how we can examine reality, how we speak about something, how we organise as a social structure, etc. This epistemological outlook on knowledge production forms the basis of CDA, which is the foundation of qualitative research.

When it comes to textbook analysis, CDA “takes the form of deconstruction by means of challenging and questioning the already taken for granted meaning of the words” (Dieronitou, 2014:11). Following Van Dijk’s (1997) analysis of CDA, Dieronitou (2014:11) notes that the epistemic assumptions of CDA illustrate how important it is to take note of the scholars’ social and political position and active participation to demystify, challenge and uncover dominance. What is noteworthy from CDA, as a knowledge producing research method, is that its goal is not the reproduction of scientific research, but rather it is concerned with forming a deeper understanding of the structures that shape society and its power dynamics, and to trace and deal with structural changes. Dieronitou (2014:12) states that the role of CDA is “emancipatory in that it intervenes on the side of the dominated and oppressed groups against the dominating ones.”

3.6 Ethical Considerations

This research was solely based on documentary research and did not involve human participants so there was no need for ethical approval. However, I took note of how to deal carefully with electronic documents and internet-based research as well as all the necessary precautions to

avoid ethical dilemmas and violations. Decolonial research is considered to be liberating to the researcher and the researched.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter is the backbone of the study as it guides us on the hands-on work of the research. It shows us how language is a bearer of change and how the way we use words is very important. Language is not neutral. Language creates social relations and practice. Language characterises our attitudes and creates opinions. Communication is a social event. Standards of society and organisations guard social practice.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.0 Introduction

This study examines sexism in selected Zimbabwean popular songs using decoloniality as its theoretical framework. Decoloniality reveals "the dark side of modernity" and how it is built "on the backs" of "others", that modernity racializes, erases, and/or objectifies. Decoloniality is therefore not a singular thing. It is a method and paradigm of restoration and reparation that depends on context, historical conditions, and geography. As a method, decoloniality aspires to restore, elevate, renew, rediscover, and acknowledge and validate the multiplicity of lives, live-experiences, culture and knowledge of indigenous people, people of colour, and colonised people as well as to decentre hetero/cis-normativity, gender hierarchies and racial privilege (William and Mary Chartered, 1693). Sexism in songs is one dark side of modernity that is illustrated through the Shona songs of Zimdancehall artists. This is what decoloniality seeks to unpack and decentre. I found this as a suitable theoretical framework for my study since it shows connections between social action and practice as well as knowledge.

Decolonial theory emerged somewhat later in the early 2000s. It was associated with the Latin American and Caribbean scholars in the modernity/coloniality theories. Its primary point of reference is the colonisation of the Americas that began in 1492. Heavily influenced by Latin American Marxism, world systems theory, and indigenous political struggles, decolonial theory focuses on the connections between capitalism, colonialism, and racial hierarchies. Although these two approaches are not mutually exclusive, decolonial theory is often viewed as radical compared to post-colonial theory due to its broader historical range and its calls for epistemic decolonisation and delinking from capitalist modernity/coloniality.

4.1 The Bandung and Third Worldism

The Bandung conference signified a turning point in global politics by foregrounding explicitly the context of decolonisation and the continuities of colonial legacies, the question of development, which had by then already come to be framed in terms of 'national development'. While acknowledging the significance of Bandung in its challenge

to a highly racialised world order, it is also important to understand that the question of development significantly underpinned its political project, which framed the Bandung conference as a metanarrative (Weber & Winanti, 2016:392).

Despite several internal political tensions and contradictions, Bandung succeeded in two respects; first, it helped forge a common Third World consciousness that laid the basis for collective mobilisations by the Third World at the UN, through the Group of 77 (G-77) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Second, it underlined the two cardinal principles that would organise Third World politics in the coming decades: decolonization and economic development (Weber & Winanti, 2016:393). It should be noted that Bandung's conception of development included economic development, but not in a reductive sense; it strongly defended cultural diversity as part of this project (Weber & Winanti, 2016:393).

By emphasising the 'Bandung spirit', I sought to present the centrality of its 'decolonial spirit' (Shilliam 2015:1). As Shilliam (2015:2) notes (while recognising the constraints within which the 'Bandung spirit' was enunciated): "Through this 'spirit of Bandung' the hinterlands of the (post)colonised proposed to break free from the global architecture laid by the coloniser" (Weber & Winanti, 2016:393). As Prashad (2007) contends, "The Third World was not a place. It was a project". In addition, Prashad (2012, 1, 3) elaborates on this point in *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South*, in which he states that the "Bandung dynamic inaugurated the Third World Project", which was "for peace, for bread, and for justice". Furthermore, Prashad details the extent to which the politics of the Third World project aligned deeply with struggles to realise the aspirations of solidarist internationalism (as cited in Weber & Winanti, 2016:394). The concept of human security that captures the imagination of that time aligns more with what later has come to be termed 'critical approaches to human security (Weber & Winanti, 2016:395).

The current study identifies the 'Bandung spirit' as attempts to articulate and implement a political project working to some extent against the contradictory pressures imposed by the logic of 'national development'. The research nevertheless takes heed of Bose's (1997:53) important observation, drawn from the experiences of the Indian state, as expressive of a

logic that is more generally applicable. Instead of the state being used as an instrument of development, in the Indian case, “development became an instrument of the state’s legitimacy” (Weber & Winanti, 2016:395).

Although it has been noted that there are other genealogies in decoloniality, this study is more inclined to Mignolo’s work. Decoloniality, as a theoretical framework, allows the unmasking and critique of structures and systems of power (Mignolo, 2008). This is done through exposing sexist undertones in popular music that seek to normalise the objectification of women. Decoloniality opposes the exploitation and oppression of others based on many differences of identity including gender and sexuality (Mignolo, 2008). Critical diversity literacy, as the academic discipline in which this study is located, is also deeply opposed to social injustices and oppressions such as sexism and patriarchy. Sexism is a wider and deeper problem global; however, this study is context specific to Zimbabwe. The study plays its part by using the theory of decoloniality to unmask and expose sexism that is hidden in music that even some women enjoy and dance to. It does not only study lyrics but, in its small, way exposes how some oppression and violence is concealed in entertainment. It should be noted that entertainment and popular culture can conceal and normalise violence. Decoloniality is used as a lens to interrogate political communications.

4.2 Definition of Key Theoretical Concepts

4.2.1 Coloniality

Coloniality that decoloniality looks to expose and discredit ought to be understood by contemporary consumers of goods and services, including music. In the "post-colonial region", where Zimbabwe is located, there is a commonness of "coloniality of the state" (Parasram, 2014:1). Grosfoguel (2013) takes note that it is the greatest myth of the twentieth century to accept that the end of colonial administrations in Africa implied that coloniality, that is, the colonial financial, social, political, and scholarly relations among the empire and the colonies, had reached a conclusion. Maldonado-Torress (2007) posits that coloniality is unique in relation to colonialism, and it remains in place after administrative colonialism has ended. This is exemplified in the way the freedom of women is in the hands of males. Coloniality, rather, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and; thus, coloniality

survives colonialism as it is maintained in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, etc. (Stanek, 2019). Maldonado-Torres (2007) posits that, as present-day subjects, “we breathe coloniality every time”. The notion of coloniality captures the fact that even years after the attainment of independence from colonial rule, the unequal power relations between colonisers and their former colonies continue to prevail. Coloniality refers to the colonial occurrences that presently unfold despite the removal of formal systems of political colonialism. Colonial situations are the cultural, political, sexual, spiritual, epistemic and economic oppression/exploitation of subordinate racialised/ethnic groups by dominant racialised/ethnic groups with or without the existence of colonial administrations (Grosfoguel, 2007:220; Sen, 2020). A good manifestation of this is the exploitation of cisgendered women by cisgendered males.

The essence of coloniality is found in understanding its distinction from colonialism. Colonialism is specifically limited to “an economic and political relation” wherein the autonomy of a state relies on the autonomy of another state thereby making such a state an “empire” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:243). In contrast, coloniality denotes the prevailing forces of power that stem from colonialism. These forces of power continue to prescribe “culture, labour, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production” despite the removal of the formal political systems of colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:243).

Coloniality remains ingrained in social systems of the once colonised, that is, women empowerment is not going to be a one-day thing. In short, coloniality refers to systems and structures of power that are colonial and imperial and which remain in operation after juridical colonialism has been dethroned. In the colonial hierarchy of power relations, black people were placed under white people and black women were consigned to the bottom of the pyramid of power as the inferior of the inferior others.

Power in coloniality becomes the ability to attain one’s goals in the midst of adversity and competition. Similarly, there are observable power relations in the music industry where artists can amass or hold power in relation to contending artists. Zimbabwe’s music industry is no

exception as it exhibits struggles for popularity and power relations between established and less recognised artists (Parwaringira & Mpofo, 2020:22).

The modern patriarchal society has been constructed in such a way that males have dominance, and this is what needs to be deconstructed. If men do something wrongly, it is not attributed to their gender, but this is not the case for women. Men are perpetrators of violence as has been demonstrated at the taxi rank spaces. When they go out publicly, they are rest assured that they would not be sexually harassed or victimised. It is even saddening that they are actually diversifying their uncouth behaviour by extending it into the music industry where they dehumanise women with their song lyrics. Women, on the other hand, do not have enough power to revolt against this but have rather embraced that they are tools for male adoration thus power is being exercised on women.

Allen (2005) contends that gender itself is “a colonial concept and mode of organisation of relations of production, property relations, of cosmologies and ways of knowing”. Seeing gender as a colonial concept enables feminists to break out of the ahistorical framework of patriarchy. As Allen (2007:187) explains: “To understand the relation of the birth of the colonial/modern gender system to the birth of global colonial capitalism—with the centrality of the coloniality of power to that system of global power—is to understand our present organization of life anew”. Lugones's decolonial feminist framework combines the insights of intersectionality theory with Quijano's understanding of the coloniality of power (Lugones, 2007:187–88). This brings into focus what Lugones (2007:189) calls the “modern/colonial gender system”, a system that is characterised by strict sexual dimorphism and presumed correspondence between biological sex and gender (Allen, 2005).

4.2.2 Decoloniality

Since coloniality refers to the pervasive and multi-layered forces of power that have survived colonialism, decoloniality refers to the resistance against these colonialism-inspired forces. It seeks to address, contest, and expose the pervasive powers of colonialism that manifest in different ways during these post-colonial times. Decoloniality challenges coloniality as a “historical and contemporary process” and contests “the cultural and epistemological

Eurocentrism that underwrites it” (De Lissovoy, 2010:280). It also aims to oppose Western modernity along with its hegemonic institutions and hegemonic narratives (Maldonado-Torres, 2016; Mignolo, 2007). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) explains that decoloniality forms a part of an ongoing struggle by people whose subjectivities are marginalised and outranked people such as women and other marginal positionalities in post-colonial settings such as Zimbabwe. The decolonial struggle lobbies for the attainment of a newly organised world that is more tolerant and non-exclusionary (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015) of marginalised communities such as women. It comes as no surprise then that decolonial theory is made use of by movements that are in opposition to “racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia” as well as the “liberal and neoliberal politics” that are seen in our present era (Maldonado-Torres, 2016:1).

The work of decoloniality is seen in efforts to create a more humane world with no hierarchies of difference that strip people of their humanity and destroy the environment. Decoloniality also works to dismantle hegemonic and colonial discourses, knowledge, and creative arts (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). In short, decoloniality seeks to dismantle present-day coloniality to create fertile ground for alternative forms of being in the world that are not underwritten by the Eurocentric and colonial worldview. In relation to this study, decoloniality sought to stand ground for cisgendered women who have been colonised by cisgendered males through the music industry.

There is concern and uncertainty if Africa can be freed, created, and democratised under the oppression of the present-day world framework that is characterised by colonialism. Coloniality is an advanced “worldwide force structure that has been set up since the beginning of Euro-North American-driven innovation” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014:182). The governmental issues of Africa are characterised by brutality, disorder, and mayhem. Chabal and Daloz (1999) distributed a volume of a book propelling the proposition that “Africa works” normally and typically with “disorder as a political instrument”. Political, economic, and social confusion has been properly and, furthermore, wrongly normalized into the life of the continent.

Researchers tend to investigate Africa utilising colonial and settler structures that show Africa as a problem of itself and Africans as individuals who are an issue, not individuals that the world interstate system has caused issues for with colonialism and imperialism. This study uses decoloniality as a liberating theoretical framework to study how women are portrayed in song

lyrics and how hegemonic misogyny has become an endemic phenomenon in popular music.

4.3 Rationale of Decoloniality as a Theoretical Framework

Decoloniality is a theoretical framework that understands that the world's interstate system is still held hostage to coloniality. The study deploys decoloniality as a theoretical framework that seeks to unmask the coloniality of the world system and to propose some insights towards liberation. Coloniality itself is the use of misogynistic lyrics that rob women of their dignity as colonial subjects that are located at the bottom of the pyramid of human power relations in post-colonial settings like Zimbabwe. The same liberation that decoloniality fights for is the liberation that this study intends to highlight to show the plight of women. The study sought to expose how music has become a fertile ground for sexism in all facets of society. It also exposes how commodification and objectification is celebrated by attributing women's worth strictly based on their bodies. The research focuses on women as the marginalised and oppressed gender that is still far from achieving equality with men socially, economically and politically (Kroska & Amy, 2007).

Quijano (2008) says that decolonial thinkers have built up a scope of ideas that take the coloniality of power as their point of departure. Like Quijano, decolonial scholars emphasise that coloniality is unique in relation to colonialism.

Lyrics such as the reference to a woman as “the pot that boils from the fire of one stick” (Chimhundu, 1995:150), in reference to the tyranny of a man's penis are made acceptable in popular culture. The seemingly innocent and entertaining statements such as a woman is “the blanket for winter” (Chimhundu, 1995:158) are normalised in Zimbabwean traditional music and modern songs that trend as hits and classics, while the lyrics contain underlying meanings of exploitation and abuse of the female other. Social media has made the circulation of popular songs faster and easier, making the denigration of women in music widespread.

4.4 Colonial Matrix of Power

Mignolo (2008) describes what he calls the ‘colonial power matrix’ as a system that is used by the Empire to hold countries and people of the world hostage to the world capitalist economy that naturalises the marginality of women. Decoloniality would be incomplete without an

elucidation of the exact mechanism through which coloniality operates, that is, the colonial matrix of power as understood by decolonial scholars. The colonial power matrix helps to locate sexism in music as part of the objectification and exploitation of women in society. Systematic and structural controls make the colonised remain under the leash no matter how free they are from juridical colonialism. The colonial power matrix, as defined by decolonial scholars, reads :

Control of the economy: Based on appropriations of land (and subsequently natural resources) and control of labour, financial control of indebted countries.

Control of knowledge and subjectivity: By assuming the theological foundation of knowledge, after the Renaissance, and the ecological foundation of knowledge after the Enlightenment, and by forming a concept of the modern and Western subject first dependent on the Christian God, and then on its own sovereigns, reason, and individuality (Mpofu, 2017:3). This is an important aspect in the study as the artists construct knowledge about women through their song lyrics. Knowledge is the centre of decoloniality, and it also determines what it means to be a woman.

The goal of decolonisation is to challenge the ways in which humanity is viewed and acknowledged. This calls for the development of new routines, modes of reasoning, and philosophical systems. Decoloniality should be seen as the resistance to coloniality and as the affirmation of forms of love and understanding that foster open and embodied human relations, which is the goal of this research, rather than as a particular discipline or style of thinking.

Control of authority: Based on the creation of imperial institutions during the foundation of the colonies, or more recently, by use of military strength, forced destitution of presidents of countries to be controlled, the use of technology to spy on civil society (Mpofu, 2017:3).

Control of gender and sexuality: Having the Christian and bourgeois secular family as a model and standard of human heterosexual relations; and heterosexuality as the universal model established by God (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) first and then by nature (from the nineteenth century to the present) (Mpofu,2017:3).

Postcolonial Africa is still profoundly affected by colonial depictions of sex, body, and gender.

Zimbabwean popular rhetoric, that is, political and religious rhetoric, is characterised by a deep-seated homophobia. In the field of politics, the late Robert Gabriel Mugabe, who was Zimbabwe's first president, was the face of anti-minority sexualities through his homophobic speeches. By the time of his death in September 2019, he had become synonymous with virulent attacks against minority sexualities. His anti-sexual minorities speeches ranged from the classic "worse than pigs and dogs" analogy at the 1995 Zimbabwe International Book Fair opening ceremony, to "we will chop their heads off" threats during his inauguration speech in 2013 and the astounding "we are not gays" speech at the 2015 United Nations General Assembly. To justify his attacks, Robert Mugabe maintained the view that alternative sexual identities are un-African, and are driven by a Western agenda whose aim is to demean authentic African cultural values and traditions (Mateveke, 2022:34).

Besides politics, religion (in particular Christianity and indigenous traditional religions) are constantly used as weapons against minority sexualities. For Christianity, the Bible is invoked in religious debates as the final authority which dictates that practising minority sexualities is a sin (Mateveke, 2022:35).

Mudavanhu (2010) and Biri (2011) looked at the attitudes displayed by the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God towards the issue of homosexuality. Both their studies reveal that the two churches regard homosexuality as a sin and expect those who practise homosexuality to repent. Mudavanhu particularly argues that the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe follows a predetermined, fixed and functional pastoral approach to sexuality and this approach is heteropatriarchal in model. Therefore, within the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, homosexuality is opposed and regarded as a threat to Biblical teachings as well as to people's culture. In a similar manner, Biri argues that homosexuality is not accepted within the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (a major Pentecostal denomination), based on the argument that God did not create men to marry other men, nor women to marry women. These scholarly engagements show that the story of alternative sexualities in Zimbabwe is also a story of religion just as much as it is a story of sexual orientation. In Zimbabwe, homosexuality is therefore contained, managed and policed in order to maintain religious doctrines and structures (Mateveke, 2022:35).

Given these scholarly debates, we can conclude that, in contemporary Zimbabwe, politics and

religion determine the place of alternative sexual identities and what it means to be Zimbabwean. According to these two systems of power, to be a true Zimbabwean is to be heterosexual (Mateveke, 2022:35).

It should be emphasised that Zimdancehall culture and Zimbabwean mainstream culture as a whole are governed by heteronormative systems of power.

This study deploys a decoloniality framework to understand how the world works and how women are positioned in the world, society at large. It looks at how women position themselves economically, politically, intellectually and socially in the world so as to achieve liberation from their male counterparts. The colonial power matrix helps to locate sexism in music as part of the objectification and exploitation of women in society. Systematic and structural controls make the colonized remain under the leash no matter how free they are from juridical colonialism.

The social and economic systems of contemporary post-colonial nations are understood to be a representation of the coloniality of power, which is understood to work to eradicate "other" knowledges and ways of life. This project sought to disclose its foundation in dual "natural" gender relations and sexual normativity.

In relation to this study, this is the most important aspect of the colonial power matrix as it is an examination of gender issues portrayed through song lyrics. Being colonised is living in perpetual anticipation of the chance of having one's body invaded by another. Because masculinity in the modern/colonial world is defined as dominance over women, anyone intending to claim masculinity is expected to use violence against female bodies. This is especially damaging for cisgendered women in colonial and post-colonial situations. Cisgendered women in postcolonial situations are especially susceptible since the music suggests that they are objects of exploitation and abuse. The colonial power matrix permits decoloniality to understand the dependency and control of countries in the world interstate system of which women are part.

This study stands to observe how the family and social system, and the knowledge system are not liberated from the hegemonic world system of controls recognising the colonial matrix of power as the instrument through which coloniality continues to thrive. This study used the

matrix as a tool to critique the use of sexist undertones and lyrics in selected Zimbabwean dancehall songs which shows an exercise of unequal power relations due to gender orientation which reflect some of the mechanisms of the colonial matrix of power.

The colonial matrix of power has been used in this study as a way of examining if and in what ways social power is represented in sexist songs and if they are colonial in nature. Decoloniality permits the use of the colonial matrix of power as a means of exposing subtle and pervasive forms of coloniality that may be operating in Zimbabwe artists' songs affecting the way women make sense of the world. In essence, the study has examined these perceptions according to the basic argument that is made by the colonial matrix of power, which is that, despite the formal end of political colonialism, the legacy of its power remains embedded in fundamental societal structures.

Central to African women's literature are the motives of resistance, positivity, triumph, quests for a better life, and emancipation from sexism, racism, and poverty (Mbatha, 2009:5). African women writers explore ideal and actual issues concerning black women using autobiography and other literary forms. Their literature is 'post-colonial' in that it explores new relationships and identities within societies that have recently acquired liberation from oppressive colonialists. However, it is not confined to this period, also exploring pre-colonial and colonial life in Africa. The Zimbabwean writer, Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* (1988) is a novel that shares many of the preoccupations of African women's autobiographical writing (Mbatha, 2009:5). In *Nervous Conditions*, Dangarembga (1988) used her characters as a point of focus to critically investigate the oppressive experiences of African women, all of whom now live in post-colonial African societies (Mbatha, 2009:6).

Nervous Conditions derives its title from Jean-Paul Sartre's renowned introduction to Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which states that 'The colonial condition is a nervous condition' (Mbatha, 2009:14). Dangarembwa's commitment is to look at colonialism and how it has affected the destiny of women. It is preoccupied with gender and cultural oppression that women suffered in the colonial era.

Sexism and patriarchy become normalised in society when children, both boys and girls, are

brought up to see their social roles in sexist and patriarchal terms. Greed, government brutality, and dictatorship have destroyed the promises of liberation, individual rights, freedom, growth, and prosperity. However, political and ethnic differences have intensified their discourse in Zimbabwe. Beyond these divisions, a thoughtful examination of Zimbabwe is necessary. The “power” of some and the “marginality of others” in Africa and in the world are projected in “oral African” forms of expression such as songs and poetry (Furniss & Gunner, 1995:1).

On the other hand, Horace Campbell views Zimbabwe's current issues, such as the governing party's brutality towards residents, as direct outgrowths of the masochist, imperialist, and gender-biased idea of freedom that is rooted in the post-independent state. Campbell also contends that the liberation politics of independence, militarism, and subjugation of women are exhausted and proposes new liberation models for economic growth, civil rights, democratic acceptance, non-discrimination, harmony, and stability.

Kruger (2005) discusses the exhaustion of the patriarchal model of liberation. The author argues that the Zanu PF political leadership in Zimbabwe betrayed its liberation promises to the people. A missionary-educated elite, the leaders internalised the "European ideation system" and rejected the precolonial "African ideation system". When the new leaders took control of the Rhodesian state, they Africanised it but did not change its European/Rhodesian masculine and militarist character (Kruger, 2005). When they did finally take white-owned land beginning in 2000, they upheld European ideas of private land ownership rather than pre-colonial African ideas of collective ownership of land, water, and other resources. Moreover, the leadership embraced European ideas of patriarchy and labour exploitation and ignored pre-colonial African ideas about the linkage between material and spiritual realms and flexible gender roles. Further reflecting on the influence of the European ideation system, the leadership used the militarist liberation war veterans to lead the violent takeover of land when it would have been preferable to take the land by law and without violence. The key beneficiaries of land redistribution were the members of the tiny African male capitalist class; the majority of people could not afford agricultural inputs (Kruger, 2005).

Kruger (2005) discusses how the author concludes that militarism and masculinity of "the patriarchal model of liberation", a concept introduced by African women from oppressed

classes, has been exhausted in Zimbabwe and has ceased to have legitimacy. Kriger (2005) sees hope for regeneration and genuine liberation in neither the ruling party nor the opposition MDC but in the vibrant women's movement. The women's movement alone understands the need to replace the patriarchal model of liberation with economic transformation and social justice for all (Kriger, 2005).

The colonial experience led to a modern-day sexist Zimbabwe, with youth imitating European ideas through dressing and music thus leading to sexist tendencies. Campbell helps us to unveil how the liberation struggle itself became patriarchal and sexist. We date back sexism and hegemonic masculinity tendencies to the 80's. There has been a significant amount of research investigating sexist undertones in the media, and I intend to expand this scope by evaluating sexist lyrics in Zimbabwe dancehall songs.

4.5 Decoloniality and Critical Diversity Literacy

In Scott's (1990) terms, power relations in any given context can be studied through analysing different art forms produced in different power-laden situations. Studying vulgarity therefore provides insight into power relations in Zimbabwe's music industry (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:21).

Power is a multidimensional term which is better comprehended contextually. Power is a contested concept, and it is contested in different dimensions. It can be analysed at individual or collective levels. It is associated with context-based concepts such as influence, authority, hegemony and domination (Dowding, 2012). Generally, power is defined as the ability to influence others in a variety of ways (Parwaringira & Mpofu, 2020:22).

If a census on the number of cisgendered females who sing sexism songs compared to cisgendered men could be done, we would grossly realise that the number of male artists would surpass that of females. Cisgendered men do not have to deal with an exhausting stream of attention drawn to their gender, for example, how very attractive they are.

This study is a critical diversity studies project and so the study would have been incomplete had it not made use of critical diversity literacy (CDL) as a decolonial tool. CDL is a theoretical tool

which was formulated by Melissa Steyn (2015) and it speaks to the way we can read how power operates in society. Using CDL, one can be able to read power dynamics at play in institutions and texts (Steyn, 2015). In that way, CDL complements decoloniality or is complemented by decoloniality in reading and understanding the workings of power.

Critical diversity literacy works hand in glove with decoloniality as the study aims to expose unequal power relations between men and women through music. What is considered natural is actually not, but a construction of those who have authority to speak and, in this case, the male artists who have privilege to authorship of songs that demean women. Informed by CDL, Steyn asks us to recognise “the unequal symbolic and material value of different social locations and acknowledging how these dominant orders position those in non-hegemonic spaces” (Steyn, 2015:382). Steyn argues that privileged positionalities impose ideological systems that are reproduced by hegemonic discourses. Hegemonic masculinity is a good example which helps to sustain the system of patriarchy. It privileges and places a certain cisgendered male identity at the centre of discourse, thus, affording this positionality greater power to define themselves as the ‘norm’; and anything which deviates from it as the ‘other’. Steyn’s critical diversity literacy framework helps us to understand hegemonic dynamics which is part of what this research sought to unpack.

Steyn also speaks on privilege, which is a form of invisible power. In the matrix of privilege and oppression, most of us experience a mix of privileged and marginalised identities. Belonging to privileged groups makes members of such cliques ignore the daily merits until they are challenged to reflect on how their group is treated much better than oppressed groups. Hegemonic orders indeed hide the dynamics to which they owe their continuation as people still practise oppressive behaviour and still have privilege but hide under the notion of diversity and acceptance. At the point when privilege gives us direct favourable positions at the immediate cost of another individual, the direct favour might be covered up under socially endorsed norms, for example, individual merit to hide the dynamics that privilege owes its continuation.

CDL permits the examination of how people’s perceptions of the world relate to broader issues of privilege and disadvantage. Similarly, decoloniality permits the critical examination of social phenomena in such a way that exposes the colonial undertones that may exist within these

social phenomena. Decoloniality unveils hidden forms of coloniality that may exist in people's perceptions of the world. Both CDL and decoloniality uncover the hidden workings of power and coloniality; thus making them suitable for the current study. The study is a critique of sexism in selected Zimbabwean songs and; hence, decoloniality and CDL are of great relevance as CDL allows one to "critique and not to just understand or explain society" (Steyn, 2015:381), which is exactly what the decolonial agenda is all about. This allows the study to see how unequal power relations and social inequalities are practised through song lyrics.

4.6 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, the study deploys decoloniality as its theoretical framework to further the ends of critical diversity literacy as an intellectual and social justice philosophy that opposes such oppressions as sexism and patriarchy.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 Introduction

This research does not claim to cover the entire Zimdancehall genre, which is currently growing, but offers additional insight into songs of some of the genre's greatly lauded artists. Dancehall music employs adversarial strategies and 'in your face' speech while directly addressing political discussions, financial crises, and domestic challenges. Dancehall music, according to Hope (2006), is distinguished by its clear involvement with local minority voices and controversies regarding life in an impoverished, 'ghetto' existence, handling themes such as abuse, excessive use of force, gender and sexuality, as well as other domestic problems indicative of young people's lives. Notwithstanding its excesses, dancehall has become a nearly unanimous genre played in both developed and developing countries, which include Zimbabwe.

Many dancehall artists have emerged in Zimbabwe, carving a distinct niche for themselves, which they have coined Zimdancehall. The word 'Zimdancehall' is a combination of 'Zimbabwean + dancehall'. For a song to be deemed sexist in this study it should refer to cisgender women in a way that threatens physical or sexual harm and, as such, objectifies, generalises, stereotypes, degrades and demoralises women in general. To fill in the research gap noted in the literature review, I also studied songs by cisgendered women to show how female Zimdancehall artists are involved in many of the same forms of violence as the cisgendered men.

Several lyrics in Zimdancehall music are uncouth, subsumed with sex talk and graphic details of sex acts, which are socially unacceptable in Zimbabwe as it is a culturally preservative state. The effect of these lyrics must be looked at in light of popular culture's impact on the youth. In this chapter, I will use themes to unravel the various ways sexism is represented in Zimdancehall songs. Rape culture, vulgarity and crudeness in song lyrics, commodification of women, and objectification of women in song lyrics are the themes emerged during the research as well as in the literature review.

5.1 Portrayal of Women as Sex Objects (Commodification)

When a woman becomes a unit under the control of someone else, she is transformed into a commodity (Kopytoff, 1986). Singing about women is a trend in the Zimdancehall industry with popular artists such as Jah Prayzah singing *Eriza*, Killer T – *Ndamuda*, Baba Harare – *Yellow bone*, just to mention but a few. These artists sing in diverse ways to show how women are viewed in Zimbabwean society. I analysed a hit song named *Seunononga* by Guspy Warrior, a Zimdancehall musician. This song was released in 2014 under Punchline Entertainment. The name warrior is a masochistic name in the dancehall industry. Dancehall is a field for the display of violent masculinities, beefs and war; hence, the name warrior. In this song the girlfriend is told how she must dance in an appealing way for the boyfriend. Guspy Warrior sings:

Ita seunononga Ita seunononga mi gyal

(Dance like you are picking up something from the ground my girl)

Bata pa chair apa uchi winer gyaal

(Hold on the chair as you wine for me)

Ndiwainiree x2

(Wine for me x2)

Uya padhuze neni bhebhi usavhunduke

(Come closer to me baby don't be scared)

Winer ndipe zvese usasirire

(Give me all your moves don't leave any)

The girlfriend is told how she must dance like she is picking up something from the floor. The position in which the girl is asked to put herself in is overly sexist as the woman's backside must be raised up to the man's waist which is a sexually explicit position on its own. She is given a chair to hold on to so that she whines for the man properly. The whole occurrence of events shows how women fall prey to predatory instincts of men. It displays how women are viewed as sexual objects for male adoration. The girl is told to whine for the boyfriend, get closer, and not to be afraid. This is a popular dance amongst the youths nowadays therefore reinforcing how music has an impact on people's day to day lives. The boy reassures the girl not to be afraid as the girl has most probably shown some reservation on the dance as it is explicit and uncomfortable. Simulated sexual intercourse and sex dance are the key ingredients

in this song which displays how sexism has become a trend in Zimdancehall songs. The girl is told not to skip any moves that she knows, thus stimulating the male ego.

The song goes on to say:

Ndoda ex-girlfriend yangu igumbuke

(I want my ex-girlfriend to get mad)

Inonzi seunononga kana kuti fongo

(It's called seunononga or "fongo")

Asi ndeyevanhu 2 chete kwete 4-4

(This dance is for 2 people only not 4-4)

Waina soft kwete zvenharo

(Wine softly not harsh)

The artist displays the jealousy that men have in sharing women, as he says this dance is for two people only. This statement shows how women are owned by men taking us back to the issue of commodification. He emphasises that she whines softly. All these instructions are meant to satisfy the man's desire. This song reveals the oppressive nature of cisgendered men and how they have a desire to control cisgendered women. Gussy Warrior also mentions how he wants to make his ex-girlfriend jealous thus the comparison and competition amongst the women to be deemed the best by men. Power is taken from women's hands to men and they fall prey in a mission to satisfy men's desires. These songs are sung as love songs, but the underlying meanings are demeaning and derogatory to women. Exposure to such lyrics make women think that they are objects of sexual desire. The song goes on describing the woman's physique.

Women, particularly young women, are a staple subject of male produced urban grooves music. They are presented as objects of adoration, often with unusual beauty. Emphasis on the cosmetic features results in sexualisation of women where they are presented as "playthings" under the control of men or simply as sex objects. Sexualisation of women in this case entails accentuation of a cisgendered woman's looks and body parts such as thighs, breasts, legs and backside (Chari, 2008, p. 98).

This is exactly what Guspy Warrior sings on the following verse:

Ndaspakwa nema lips ako ari pink
(Your pink lips fascinate me)
Baby girl nema curvy hips
(baby girl and your curvy hips)
Mafia rese hari believer kuti ndini
(All my guy friends won't believe that it's me)
Ndaka scooper heavy simbi
(who got such a hot girl like you)
Ndo believer kuti love yangu iri safe
(I believe that my love is safe)
Ne treatment yako daily
(With your everyday treatment)
Pauno smiler wobuda ma dimple ku face
(When you smile and your dimple comes out)
Une ka sexiness beauty
(You have sexiness beauty)

This song conveys the image of women as lesser beings subject to the male gaze and delight. The adored parts of the ladies' body parts are clearly mentioned, lips, dimples and hips. The lyrics show how the singer's friends would not believe that he is got the beautiful girl and it is crystal clear that women are viewed as trophies by men. There are elements of peer pressure amongst male counterparts to be in a relationship with a woman who is socially acceptable.

Another Zimdancehall artist that I made an analysis of his songs is the late Souljah Love. He has two songs which have explicit sexist lyrics, namely *Simudza Gumbo and Yeke Yeke*. *Yeke Yeke* is Shona slang term for unprotected sex and *Simudza Gumbo* means raise your leg. Souljah Love sang:

Chibaba Ngoma Chinobvura
(I'm the King of Music)
Handiimbe zvinhu zvinongopfuura
(I sing practical and important issues)

Ndangoti simudza gumbo harisi rako
(I say girl raise that leg it's not yours)
Mwanasikana iwe zunza mutako
(Girl shake your backside)
Mwana iwewe unotangidza smoko
(You cause disaster)
Twese tuma slay queen
(All the slay queens)
Tune mamini
(Who are wearing miniskirts)
Inzwa inini we are wining and dining
(I have the plan for the day we are wining and dining)

In this song, the man has the plan for the day for the ladies who are coming for a party. All the people have to listen to him for the proceedings of the day as he is the one in control. This shows how power comes to play in gendered relations. The women come dressed in miniskirts, which are short skirts meant to reveal their bodies for the men to see and be gratified. The artist calls himself the King of Music and says he sings real and practical lyrics. The lyrics that he goes on to sing after this declaration depicts the way women are viewed in Zimbabwean society. The ladies are told to raise their legs as the legs are not theirs. This statement shows how men own women's bodies and how women succumb to instructions such as: “the leg is not yours”. This displays how sexism is evident in song lyrics as the women’s bodies are controlled by the males, women’s worth is based entirely on their physique. The artist goes on to tell the women to shake those buttocks in a “twerking” manner. All these dances are sex oriented to satisfy the sexual desire of men. Exploitation of women is evident in this song, exposing how violence and oppression is concealed in entertainment..

Hegemonic masculinity is celebrated in this song as the women are told how their legs do not belong to them and how they must raise them up so that the men can see what is beneath. This song reinforces the perceived inferiority of women as well as sexual domination of men. Chiweshe and Bhatasara (2015) opine that the language and lyrics of popular songs offer a glimpse into the social organisation of a society and how dominant discourses around gender and sexuality are celebrated, valorised and reinforced in popular art (Chiweshe & Bhatasara,

2013, p. 154).

Souljah Love has another song *Yeke Yeke* which is analysed again in this study. Excerpts of the lyrics are taken not in any chronological order to show the sexist tendencies available in the song. Souljah Love sings:

Makuseni ese pandinomuka

(Every morning that I wake up)

Mumba imomo ndendichifamba ndisina kupfeka

(I will be walking naked in the house)

Aiwa ini handisi kuseka

(I'm not even joking)

Protection handisi kupfeka

(I am not going to wear protection)

Saka ndati baby varatidze CV

(Baby show them your CV)

Magaro emu TV

(Buttocks which resembles that in the TV)

Ende umasheke sheke

(And you must shake them vigorously)

ndoda yekedero

(I want unprotected sex)

ndichizhezheudza kuita kunge motokari

(Driving you like I do my car)

wobva wati left to right inzwa inini more appetite

(you then move left to right, so that I get more appetite)

pakudiwa futi chi love bite, apa ndamuisa patight

(I also need a love bite, I have clearly made life difficult for her)

Song lyrics are the true heart of music so analysing them helps to make inferences about specific songs and genres. The song starts by the man singing how he walks in the house naked. This is a sexual advance to show the woman that she has to satisfy his sexual needs. He says he would not use any condoms. This shows how the woman has no choice in her sexual needs and is left

powerless in this regard. The woman is not given the platform to choose if she wants unprotected or protected sex. Women have become victims of rape culture as they need to do whatever the man demands to protect relationships. He goes on to sing that the woman must show his counterparts her body and buttocks which resemble those from TV. This displays how sexism is a social construct as the man saw things on TV which he now wants this woman to imitate. Sexist songs, videos and lyrics are problematic in that people listening register words and actions in their minds; therefore, affecting their behaviour as shown by this artist. Sexism has thus become popular in songs and unfortunately affirms negative long held beliefs that people have about culture.

The artist goes on to sing how the woman must shake her buttocks vigorously as the singer promises to drive her like he does his car. These lyrics display women objectification as the woman is likened to a car. This symbolism leaves a lot to be desired as cars operate at speeds not to be achieved by humans therefore the lady is going to be exploited in this act. She is told how she must move left to right to increase the man's libido. Women are expected to outdo themselves to secure the man and there is an element of violence in this vigorous dance. Souljah Love concludes by saying he needs a love bite. There is more expected from the lady after all she has done for the man. He concludes by bragging and acknowledging how he has made the woman's life difficult, the oppressive nature of males over females is reiterated by this song.

5.2 Rape Culture, Vulgarity and Crudeness in Song lyrics

According to a study conducted by Marshall University (2015), rape culture is an environment in which rape is prevalent and in which sexual violence against women is normalised and excused in the media and popular culture. Rape culture is perpetuated using misogynistic language, the objectification of women's bodies, and the glamorisation of sexual violence, thereby creating a society that disregards women's rights and safety (Robinson, 2018). One of the songs that was analysed is entitled *Garo rinobatwa ipapo ipapo* (We touch buttocks there and then) by popular Zimdancehall artist Uncle Epatan. Here, it is important to note how the name 'Uncle' reifies traditionally authoritative patriarchal roles of the uncle in Zimbabwean communities. From a patriarchal perspective, it is the duty of the uncle to offer guidance to men in the families. The title of the song on its own, without deeply examining on the lyrics is

already pregnant with sexual violence and vulgarity.

The lyrics go on to say:

Vauya vanonyenga zvimoko garo rinobatwa ipapo ipapo

(We have come, the girl proposers who touch the buttocks there and then)

Ndikangonyenga babe rakandibvuma garo ndinobata ipapo ipapo

(If I ask out a girl and she accepts I will touch her buttocks there and then)

Handimbomiriri mangwana asi ndinobata ipapo ipapo

(I will not wait for tomorrow, but I touch the buttocks there and then)

In this song, Uncle Epatan reveals the oppression that exists between cisgendered men and cisgendered women. His lyrics demonstrate that once a woman accepts a man's proposal for a love relationship, her body becomes the man's property, and she is expected to be accessible at any time the man wants, once the relationship is deemed mutual. In the Manyika dialect of Shona "*kunyenga*" is a vulgar and censored word yet in Zezuru it simply means dating or courtship. In analysis, the context and mannerisms of how things are said is core as words have multiple meanings. In the Manyika dialect, this song would be deemed even more explicit. In this analysis I have considered the multiplicity of meanings in the word *kunyenga* and taken the Kalanga way of proposing being "*kunyenga*". The repetition of the phrase we touch the buttocks "there and then" shows the sexual hunger that the men possess and how they cannot wait to touch the women's bodies. Effectively, women's bodies become tools of sexual gratification which artists sing about encouraging sexism. Men exert their power upon their female partners and this evokes deep emotions on the plight of women in society. This goes back to the theory underpinning the current research, *decoloniality*, which discusses elements such as the *coloniality of knowledge*. Coloniality of knowledge grapples with the issue of knowledge production and consumption, specifically who produces knowledge, for what purpose and whose knowledge is scandalised, marginalised, subdued and forgotten in the process. This framework shows that knowledge is not only racialised but gendered. In this context male artists producing music for public consumption is marginalising women. Uncle Epatan goes on to sing:

Mukoma Fantan pavakanyenga babe ravo garo vakabata ipapo ipapo

(When brother Fantan proposed to his babe, he touched her buttocks there and then)

Mukoma Levels pavakanyenga babe ravo garo vakabata ipapo ipapo

(When brother Levels proposed to his babe, he touched her buttocks there and then) *Mukoma Ribhe pavakanyenga babe ravo garo vakabata ipapo ipapo*

(When Brother Rebel proposed to his babe, he touched her buttocks there and then)

The lyrics show it is a norm for women to be touched because they have accepted to be in a relationship with a man. The artist acknowledges how three of his ‘brothers’, who are only actually his colleagues, did the same thing with their ladies thus displaying how it is an acceptable and manly thing to do. It can be argued that Epatan mobilises the discourse of brotherhood to claim solidarity with other men in acts of misogyny. There is a certain level of veneration from fellow male counterparts if you behave this way. This reveals celebration of sexism and misogyny by men. Epatan names the ladies “babe” which indicates disdain for women as it is a pet name that men use to lure women that they are their “babies” hence they can do whatever they want with them. It should however be noted that words have multiple meanings and the term babe can be used to mean a woman or girl without any insulting connotations by the term. Women are raped through jokes, song lyrics and daily language (Vanyoro, 2020). Women must begin to think about challenging the knowledge, conditions, systems, and institutions that produce and reproduce their subjugation, *thingification* and objectification.

The song goes on:

Kuti skrrrrr paaa garo richibatwa ipapo ipapo

(They make the sound skrrrrrr when we touch them buttocks)

Ah in magaro ndomabata

(I don’t hesitate to touch buttocks)

Ah ini ndomabata kuti skrrrr paaa

(I hold them until they make the sound skrrrr paaa)

Hanzi kune chibhuku chemakonzo chinobata makonzo

(There is a book which is used to trap rats)

Ko ndiri chibhuku chemababie kaini

(I'm a woman's book)

The word “*garo*” (buttock) is an intimate part of the body especially to women hence improper to be sung about, especially the fact that the singers talk of touching the buttocks, that gives sexual thoughts and brings forth discomfort to listeners, especially women. *Garó* as a standalone word is not vulgar but the way that it is used in this particular songs makes it sexist as the buttocks are being touched. Women continue to be represented as body parts in these Zimdancehall songs. Zimdancehall music has become fertile ground for sexism. Society views women as objects of sexual desire which brings down the efforts being made to empower women. Sexist words and vocabulary in popular songs may make sexist language trendy and even fashionable whilst they are actually violent and toxic.

In this section, Epatan objectifies women by likening them to rats that are caught using a trap. The singer also mentions how he is a women’s book likening himself to a rat trap book. He is in a subtle way saying he is a women trapper, that women stick to him. He implies that women are unmatched to his power and potential just as the hopeless rats get trapped in the rat trapper book. Exposure to such misogynistic lyrics increases sexism amongst listeners. Women keep being portrayed in music recordings as body parts and not people. Listening to sexist lyrical content enhances males' perceptions of sexual relations as exploitative and sadly women become exposed to the violence directed to them which makes it problematic and that is what the study critics.

Another song that Uncle Epatan sang is named *Mazigaro* (big buttocks). This song was aired in 2020 after “*Garó rinobatwa ipapo ipapo*” had gained popularity in 2019 with 69 150 views on YouTube not to mention on other platforms of media. This shows how this genre of sexist lyrical music has gained popularity.

In *Mazigaro*, Uncle Epatan sings:

Honaka mazigaro, mazigaro akadai

(Look at these big buttocks, buttocks like these)

Nemamwe akadai

(Some are normal)

Netumwe twakadai

(Some are very small)

Mazigaro akadai

(Big Buttocks like these)

The artist alerts the audience to look at women's buttocks and see the different types, some described as too big, some normal, and some too small. The idea of men looking at the women's body is very sexist in nature. It worsens as the men see and then are told to go on and decide which ones look better for them. This phenomenon is part of the male gaze, that is, men must stare at women's bodies for gratification. Body shaming thus comes into play as there is a certain type of body figure that is acceptable in society and anyone out of that range becomes unattractive. Crudeness is encapsulated in these lyrics displaying the rowdiness of men's behaviour towards women. The imagery that the musician creates in the mind of the listener is very offending and provocative to women. The way the buttocks are described shows how women are made accessories who make men's lives worthwhile. The objective of this study is to unmask and expose sexism that is hidden in Zimdancehall music that even some women enjoy and dance to. It does not only study lyrics but, in its small way, exposes how oppression and violence is concealed in entertainment, which is exactly what this artist unpacks in his song.

Uncle Epatan further sings:

Kune magaro anosungisa nemapurisa

(There are buttocks that will get you arrested by the police)

Koita magaro anomakisa paunofamba

(There are buttocks which are even shameful when you walk around)

Koita magaro anokusimbisa ku mafia rako

(Then they are others which your guy friends will applaud you for)

Gara wachooser ako

(Choose yours)

Magaro ako usanonokere ako

(Don't be late to make a choice)

The expressions in this song display the desire for an ideal feminine body which sexually gratifies men. Some buttocks are deemed shameful implying that women who do not conform to the ideal “model like body” are less worthy. They are derogatory lyrics sung as “other buttocks make you arrested by the police”. The police arrest undesirable people so if one is being arrested for their buttocks then it means they are unwanted. This is a derogatory statement which means you are less of a woman as you do not live up to the imagined body type. The statement, “Then there are others which your guy friends will applaud you for”, shows how sexual prowess and sexual exploits are celebrated amongst men therefore encouraging sexism.

The artist goes on to sing that his colleagues must choose their buttocks and they should not be late. This displays the oppression that women go through over their bodies and lives. It also shows how there is competition amongst cisgendered men over cisgendered female bodies. He who gets a lady with good buttocks is applauded and he who has not secured a woman must hurry as this is a state of urgency. This commodifies women as they are deemed a need just like how people need basic commodities. Manipulation of women is rampant in a patriarchal society such as in Zimbabwe. The last verse of the song goes:

Kune mazigaro ana dhafu

(They are big buttocks for the women with big bodies)

Ukanyatsomaongorora

(If you carefully assess them)

Ukanyatsomatarisisa unonyatsoona

(If you look at them closely you will see)

Kuti ndo type yangu or haisi yako ndeyeuwe uyu

(If it's your type or for the next person)

Kune magaro ane nharo

(There are stubborn buttocks)

Kune magaro anobatwa chibharo

(There are buttocks for rape)

“Dhafu” is a Shona term for hefty built ladies, and it is derogatory and sarcastic, shaming women with big body frames as well as applauding those who are slimmer. The singer advises

his friends that if they carefully analyse these buttocks they would know if their type is available. This song displays how men have different preferences in women reiterating on commodification of women.

Uncle Epatan also sings that there are buttocks for rape. This statement shows the aspect of rape culture, how women are sexually abused and how this is normalised. Sexism is quite dominant in Zimdancehall songs, and this affects the way women view themselves as well as encouraging rape culture in men. Vulgarity and crudeness are popular elements in Zimdancehall songs and ways of eradicating this new normal should be encouraged to protect women against sexism.

5.3 Women Named in Derogatory Terms (Objectification)

It should be noted that lyrical content is very vital in music. Degrading sexual references are prevalent in Zimdancehall songs as women are named as sugar, sweets, horses and taps. The choice of a song's words is not random but crafted in such a way to lure listeners with the ultimate goal of earning money and popularity. In this section I analyse three songs; first, *Bhiza* by Enzo Ishall, then *Tsvigiri* by Ex Q, and, lastly *Pombi* by Freeman. Before I dwell much into the lyrical content of the songs, it should be noted that all the titles of the songs objectify women. I start with *Bhiza* by Enzo Ishall. *Bhiza* is a Shona term for a horse. It is a slang word also to mean a very beautiful sexually appealing girl. The artist sings:

Ane ganda rakageza

(Her skin is well bathed)

ariye wandakuza

(I salute her)

atanga nekuzunguza, ibhiza

(She has shaken her buttocks, she is a horse)

bhiza rinoda mutasvi x3

(a horse needs a rider x3)

iri ibhiza saka rinoda mutasvi

(She is a horse therefore she needs a rider)

ndiri mutasvi ndine kangu kamutasviro

(I'm a rider and I have my own way of riding)

masikati kana mauro

(Whether it's night or day)

rine mutasvi ndiro rega rinoreva chinhu

(a horse with a rider is the only valued one)

In this song, Enzo refers to the woman as a horse. A horse is used for recreational purposes

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as horse riding thus women are equated to the horse as they are recreational beings. A horse also symbolises hard and slavish behaviour therefore this song objectifies women. How men 'ride' women makes them objects of sexual desire. When the woman shakes her buttocks, she is likened to the horse. This shows the exertion of male power over women within sexual relationships and this is further supported when he sings that the woman is a horse therefore she needs a rider. The fact that she needs a rider shows how women are dependent on men thus making them powerless individuals in society. The singer says he is a rider and has got his own way of riding. This song is sexist as the artist tells us the ways in which he "rides" women. It also celebrates hegemonic masculinity as the man is in total control of the action, that is, of riding. Exploitation of women is also displayed in the song as the singer says a valued horse is one that has a rider. This shows how a woman with a man is the one that is respected in society which means women cannot exist as a single entity. This song exposes the sexist undertones in Zimdancehall music and how gender issues come to play as married women get venerated compared to single women.

Women objectification is reiterated in another song named *Tsvigiri* by Ex- Q. *Tsvigiri* is a Shona term for sugar and the artist sings how his wife is sugar. Sugar is used for sweetening things thus the women being named sugar are objectifying them as objects which make the lives of men better. Women are raped through jokes, song lyrics and daily language. He sings:

S-W-E-E-T pachishona toti Chiwitsi,

(Spelling of sweet - in Shona we say sweet)

ndiwe watora moyo wa Mr Putiti

(You have taken Mr Putiti's heart)

ndamuti ndizunzire ndikukande mumambure

(I told her to shake her buttocks for me, so that I can show her the nice life)

mai mwana itsvigiri x3

(the mother of my child is sugar)

unondipasa energy, everything is good good

(she gives me energy, everything is good good)

wakadira shuga murudo

(You have poured sugar into our love)

ndave kugara mu happy mood

(I always stay in a happy mood)

dance for me mami x 5

(Dance for me mother of my children)

The excerpts above display how women spice up the life of men. Women are named sugar because of the goodness that they bring in the lives of their husbands. The shaking of women's buttocks is prevalent in Zimdancehall song lyrics. Artists do this as they know that such images will push sales of their music as well as gaining them popularity. The woman gives the husband energy and helps him stay in a happy mood. This shows the gendered roles in society, that is, women's role is to make the lives of their husbands better. This song displays patriarchal tendencies which exist in Zimbabwean society. Most of the songs analysed speak of women in general and the absurdity in this song is that it is a husband singing about the mother of his children naming her "sugar". This shows a lot of disrespect to womanhood as even the husbands who are expected to respect their wives sing about them in derogatory ways.

Songwriters and producers deliberately choose the lyrics and they do not look at the negative impact of the lyrics. The main goal at this point in time is to write what people relate to, like making money. It is unfortunate that the impact of these song lyrics is not considered yet it has the greatest effect on the populace.

Additionally, there is another tune by Freeman named *Pombi*, which may also refer to women as an object of the man's "pipe" as in phallus. The woman as a target of the man's pipe as in the metaphor of being shot at which reinforces the theme of sexism in Zimdancehall songs by male artists. *Pombi* is a Shona word which means tap and a slang word for a very beautiful woman who has the ideal feminine body which sexually gratifies men. Some of the excerpts from his song are as below:

Wati confuser pawangowaina

(You have confused us when you started whining)

Mmm ukubvira mapisarema

(you are so hot)

Matambiro ako astikisa mikono

(your dance moves have left all the men dumbfounded)

Varume vese pano vakukuti pombi

(all the men here call you the hottest girl (tap))

Vamwe vasikana vese vabaya forfeit

(all the other women have forfeited)

sheka jus like u wana drop it

(shake just like you want to drop it)

Ndikawana nguva pfupi newe ndingafare

(if I get a short time with you I will be happy)

Dzoserera purse pasi mira nditenge maDrinx

(Put your purse down I will buy you the drinks)

Ukaposta picture paIG.

(When you post pictures on instagram)

Hona malikes, nemaguys muDM

(Look at the likes and so many men
coming to your inbox)

Comment section ichibvira, Vanakirwa neSmart rawakandugira

(Your comment section will be flames because of the nice clothes that you are wearing)

In this song, the male artist praises a lady for her dance moves and how she has managed to make all men dumbfounded. The celebration of the woman's dance moves shows the sexual prowess that men possess and how women are viewed as objects of sexual desire. She is called a

pombi, that is, a tap. This symbolism is to show how the woman quenches men's thirst. She is told how she must shake her body by the man thus showing how women need to listen to men's instructions to satisfy them, which reinforces the concept of hegemonic masculinity discussed above.

Sexism has become dominant in songs as we see the artist asking the girl if he can get a 'short time' with her, which is a short session of sexual intercourse with her just to quench his thirst. This shows the exertion of male power over female bodies within sexual relationships. The woman is seen as someone who is readily available for sex. This song displays how oppression is concealed in entertainment. The woman is asked to put her purse aside as the man is going to buy her the drinks, elements of gender stereotyping are displayed where the man is supposed to be the provider and the woman at the receiving end, all this to just show how masculinity is celebrated.

The song also displays how social media has also become ground for celebration of sexism and masculinity. The artist talks about how the girl posts her pictures on Instagram and men flood into her inbox because of the way she is dressed. Women have succumbed to what men deem attractive such that they dress in a particular way to be appreciated more. Sexism has become a popular trend in Zimdancehall music and continues to gain affirmation from the audience. Ways of reducing sexist lyrics should be crafted to protect women from being objects of human caricature.

It should however be noted that, in their small way, female Zimdancehall artists are involved in many of the same forms of violence as their male counterparts, such as controversy and dissing. Lady Bee, for example, is known for "her shockingly vulgar lyrics and sensual and raunchy dance routines" (Chidora 2017: 159).

Lady Bee has a song with the title "*Inomira*" which means 'it will stop'. In the Shona slang the word "*inomira*" has an explicit meaning which translates to 'it will get erect'. Lady Bee engages with the figure of speech of irony to convey a certain meaning by stating the opposite of what she intends to portray in the song. Through the use of the word "*kombi*" which is slang for a

commuter omnibus, she conceals the actual meaning and message of the song. This is further shown by the way she puts up her lyrics to bring out sexual content. She sings:

Murumeee

(Man)

Inomira x4

(It will stop)

Inomira chete x4

(It will definitely stop)

Mungava mubhawa, inotongomira

(Even in the bar it will stop)

Kana ndaimisa, mukati wopinda

(When I stop it, you must get inside)

Yamira kwirai

(It has stopped let's get in)

Chiita vamwe vakwire, haisi yako wega

(Leave others to get in as well, it's not yours alone)

Hiii Charlie amisa, ndiani amumisa

(Charlie has stopped, who has stopped him)

Zvawaimisa ya Richie wotoikwira

(You have stopped Richie's so make sure you ride it)

Malubhe akuda yepakati, Sancho apihwa yapakati

(Malubhe wants the middle one, Sancho has been granted the middle one)

Diego action pakati

(Diego action in the middle)

When you read the song's lyrics in English they do not make sense thus displaying how the artist conceals what they mean. Female artists have also hopped into singing vulgar and crude lyrics; hence, sexism is being practised by both cisgendered males and cisgendered females. It has become a dissing game as both parties attack each other. The artist says "*zvawatoimisa ya Ricky wotoikwira*" meaning that once a lady makes a man erect they must finish up what they have started in this context, sexual intercourse. This shows how women also play a role in music, how they look at themselves and how they want to be looked at. Power which is said to be in the

hands of men is not entirely in their hands as women are trying to match their fellow male artists lyrics wise.

Lady Bee also has another song “*Mpunduru*” which further reiterates how the female gaze comes into play. As a female artist she has managed to break through into a male-dominated industry. She enables me to show how women artists have asserted their presence in public spaces. Her songs and public persona bring a gendered dimension to the micro-level violence associated with youth culture in Zimbabwe. She sings:

Murumeee

Apa apa apa x4

(here X4)

Panotapira apa

(It’s sweet)

Panonaka apa

(It’s delicious)

Ladies you have to shake your body like never before

Lady Bee to guide them along the way

Zunza mpunduru mpunduru

(Shake that vagina)

Upinde pahasha nemupunduru

(Get harsh with that vagina)

Shaker mupunduru x2

(Shake that vagina)

Vari kukonzeresa nemupunduru

(They are causing confusion with their vaginas)

Kuvhura ziso vaona mupunduru

(They wide open their eyes when they see vaginas)

Kudyira vaona mupunduru

(They salivate when they see the vagina)

Zunza chiuno

(Shake your waist)

Murumeeeee

(man)
kuita kuzungizira jelly pamunhu
(Shake that jelly on the person)
Kuita kutapukira cele cele
(Shake that back)
Hokoyo nemupunduru
(Beware of the vagina)
Hatina tsitsi pa pleasure
(We have no mercy when it comes to pleasing)

Lady Bee starts all of her songs by saying “*murume*” which means “man”. This shows how women want the attention of men. Her song is explicit as she speaks on how to use the vagina. She also uses a simile of jelly to the vagina to show how sweet it can be. Women have actually accepted and embraced the objectification thrown at them. She says man must beware of the vagina making it something dangerous. Vambe (2020) speaks of how the vagina is made dangerous and loose by males but on this song we realise that the very same women agree to this and sing about it.

Lady Bee also sings about how men salivate when they see the vagina. Since music is a socialising agent, it influences a person’s perception about himself/herself and others. This is further alluded to by the video of the song where she and other ladies are seen dancing and twerking while wearing bum shorts. These lyrics show us a different viewpoint but not neglecting the fact that song lyrics expose vulgarity, objectification and commodification of women. Lyrical analysis of Zimdancehall songs reveal that violence against women is peddled by both cisgendered male and cisgendered female artists as Lady Bee sings “get harsh with that vagina” - “*upinde pahasha nemupunduru*”. This may also suggest the fact that she tells her man how much she likes rough sexual intercourse, which is an element of female gaze presented in the song’s lyrics.

5.4 Chapter Summary

A large proportion of Zimdancehall songs incorporate excessive amounts of sexist imagery and language. Many of the genre's stars seem to be enveloped in an unavoidable nihilism. This study

ought to have an impact on sexual health awareness. The collected data can be employed by health educators and experts to make useful intervention strategies that would identify innovative methods to educate the general population who listen to this genre about the messages they hear and how to cope with them. Initiatives to protect women who are affected by this genre must be devised and implemented. Zimbabwe has taken steps towards the strengthening of women's rights and in guaranteeing equality among people. Apart from established arrangements that ensure the rights of women, the country has inaugurated various bits of legislation that recognise, advance and secure women's rights. They are also organisations in Zimbabwe that strengthen women's rights. Chapter 6 discusses the conclusions and recommendations to curb the problems that were discovered.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This study sought to fill the analytic void in song lyrics. Over the past years, the portrayal of women in music has increasingly shown mixed messages about women and their gender roles in society. There is a portrayal of women and men as unequal and inherently different and an expectation of women to behave in a gender ‘appropriate’ way. Sexist lyrics are largely cultivated in the entertainment industry and have gained great popularity as artists who sing sexist music are rewarded with various awards such as song of the year.

6.1 Decoloniality, Critical Diversity Literacy and Critical Discourse Analysis

Unlike previous studies on this subject, this research tried to show how coloniality remains vividly visible even years after the attainment of independence from colonial rule. Unequal power relations continue to prevail amongst previously colonised people. Quijano (2007) posits that coloniality manifests in subtle ways such as in what is deemed to be common sense and rational knowledge. It emerged in this study that women have become objects of oppression to their male counterparts.

The study also engaged the decoloniality theory as a challenge to colonialism. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) explains that decoloniality forms a part of an ongoing struggle by people whose subjectivities are marginalised and outranked in reference to women as illustrated in this study. Decolonial theory is thus used by movements that are in opposition to “racism, sexism, homophobia and transphobia” as well as the “liberal and neoliberal politics” that are seen in our present era (Maldonado-Torres, 2016:1).

Using critical discourse analysis, the study managed to critique sexism in Zimbabwean songs paying close attention to lyrics and how these portray women. The study has exposed how misogyny and sexism is largely a part of popular culture in Zimbabwe. Critical Discourse Analysis is an important research method to have in our backpack as it provides tools to uncover and explain the harmful and discriminatory ideologies hidden in signs and in what is not said or exposed. As an emancipatory tool, this method is rooted in social justice and bringing about change in society. It is of critical use for a broken society calling out for urgent change. The

researcher needed to always keep in mind that their work is to read meaning out of texts and not into texts and thereby to not just tell a story that is already presented but to present the greater and more harmful discourses that may lie beneath in this regard the sexism embedded in song lyrics. Considering the interpretive lens of the social sciences, visuals and texts present an opportunity for the researcher to subjectively analyse a text based on their personal insights and views and to draw socio-historical findings and interpretations from it, thereby helping to make sense of it. This study is about finding ways through our research towards creating a more equal society.

Using critical diversity literacy one can be able to read power dynamics at play in institutions and texts (Steyn, 2015). The researcher learnt that what is considered natural is actually not, but a construction of those who have authority to speak. Steyn asks us to recognise “the unequal symbolic and material value of different social locations and acknowledging how these dominant orders position those in non-hegemonic spaces” (Steyn, 2015:382). Steyn argues that privileged positionalities impose ideological systems that are reproduced by hegemonic discourses. An example would be hegemonic masculinity which helps to sustain the system of patriarchy. It privileges and places a certain male identity at the centre of discourse, thus affording this positionality greater power to define themselves as the ‘norm’; and anything which deviates from it as the ‘other’. Steyn’s critical diversity literacy framework helped me to unpack hegemonic dynamics in the selected sexist song lyrics.

6.2 Recommendations

The researcher also noted that there has been little attention on female artists and their music. There has been quite reasonable research on male artist music in the industry but not much focus on female artists. There is therefore a need to explore deeper female crafted songs and observe if their songs impact their self-concepts, ideas about gender roles and attitudes towards misogyny, violence and sexual permissiveness. This would really help to strike a balance and have ground to assess the extent to which male songs affect women. A change in the content of Zimbabwe dancehall music would be appreciated. Record industries could also help by trying to shift their material interests and the conditions under which music is created.

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