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The nexus between tertiary students' 'side-line' sports chants and the perpetuation of attitudes towards gender-based violence in Zimbabwe.

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Abstract

The study explores the nexus between tertiary students, side-line sports chants and the perpetuation of attitudes towards gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe. Given that GBV occurs on a plethora of forms, and levels, the study submits that attitudes, and their social cultivation, are important in both the perpetration and combating of the social problem. Attitudes are critical in shaping gender relations and power matrices obtaining therein. They benchmark taken-for-granted rules of engagements as well as thresholds beyond which interventions are made from a popular perspective. Whilst there are many spaces on which these attitudes are cultivated, the present study argues that side-line sports chants, an important cultural text in any given society, provide spaces for the negotiation of gendered attitudes in any given social milieu. Thus, they function much more than simply providing support and motivation for both players and coaching staff during tertiary students' sporting activities. The research uses purposively sampled side-line chants for analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used in unpacking the ways in which the chants shape and (re)configure gendered power relations amongst this critical demographic group

KEYWORDS: gender-based violence, discourse, sport, cultivation

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Introduction

The study explores the nexus between tertiary students, side-line sports chants and the perpetuation of attitudes towards gender-based violence (GBV) in Zimbabwe. Side-line chants are songs that are sung by supporters and fans during sporting activities. The songs are sung for variety of reasons. These include, offering support for the team that the supporters are rooting for; 'provoking' the opposition team's players and supporters as well as the supporters entertaining themselves during the sporting activities.

The present study, however, argues that these songs are not innocent texts. They are ideologically-laden cultural productions shaped by the social milieu in which they are produced. As such, they are also implicated in in the construction and/or negotiation of gendered power relations in tertiary institutions.

Particular focus is placed on how sporting sub-cultures, and their attendant power dynamics, can be potentially recruited and implicated in the perpetuation of toxic attitudes towards GBV. The paper submits that side-line chants perpetuate gender bias and discrimination in tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe.

Chauraya (2011, p. 1) defines gender bias and discrimination, respectively, as, the tendency to be in favour of or against an individual or group on basis of their sex. Gender discrimination is the unfair treatment directed towards an individual or group on the basis of sex. It, therefore, emerges that the side-line chants can provide a window into the understanding of particular attitudes and/or behaviours in so far as gendered relations are concerned.

In fact, given that gender-based violence (GBV) occurs on a plethora of forms and levels, the study submits that attitudes, and their social cultivation, are important in both the understanding of perpetration and combating of GBV as a social problem. The paper, submits that attitudes are critical in shaping gender relations and power matrices obtaining therein. Therefore, attitudes emerging from the side-line chants sung by tertiary students during their sporting activities provide critical insights into how they benchmark otherwise taken-for-granted rules of gendered power relations and engagements as well as thresholds beyond which interventions are made from a popular perspective. The research uses purposively sampled side-line chants sung by tertiary students during three major sporting competitions. The results show that the chants perpetuate attitudes that naturalise the policing of female sexuality.

Chauraya and Manyike (2014) define GBV as the undermining of the feminine identity whilst, at the same time, valorising the masculine identity. Suffice to point out that GBV occurs on many forms, and levels – acts perpetrated against the sexual integrity of a person. These acts include, but are by no means not limited to, verbal, psychological, cultural/identity, socio-economic, physical violence, intimate partner, rape, forced abortion and forced marriage. In so far as gender equality in the country's tertiary institutions is concerned, Zimbabwe National Gender Policy (ZNGP) (2000) requires all state universities to implement gender equity programmes through gender mainstreaming to ensure gender equity in the higher education system (Chauraya & Manyike, 2014).

Side-line chants are a type of song which is sung by sport supporters, and fans, with a repetitive, monotonous structure. They are also referred to as cheerleading chants, football chants, football love letters, matchday anthems, cheers and yells, among others (CheerStants, 2010; Siregar, 2020). They are invariably short and, as such, every word counts. They have a melody; with a type of singing, and that is generally done without instruments, and harmony.

Critical to the paper is how, in spite of their truncated nature, the side-line chants can be sung for a sustained period of time. At times, this can be more than ten minutes. So critical is the side-line chant sub-culture that some institutions even bus supporters/students (referred to as the *Zungunde* team) for the sole purpose of providing morale during sporting activities. These supporters invariably occupy particular sections of sporting arenas. The sections, or stands, are, at times, given specific names. For instance, the 'Vietnam Stand' is synonymous with Dynamos Football Club supporters in Rufaro Stadium (Harare); the 'Soweto End' is occupied by Highlanders Football Club supporters in Barbourfields Stadium (Bulawayo), the 'Kop' is occupied by Liverpool Football Club supporters in Anfield Stadium in Liverpool and the Stretford Stand occupied by Manchester United Football Club in Old Trafford in Manchester.

On the one hand, the supporters can be given a collective name. An example is the 'Toon Army' which refers to Newcastle United Football Club. Whilst, on the other hand, some of these supporters have become so iconic that they are the face of a team's supporters and fans. A case in point is the late Stanford Nhau (popularly known as Taribo West in the Zimbabwean sporting fraternity).

Most importantly, just like any other form of music, side-line chants activate the amygdala which is the part of the brain that processes emotions (Knijnik, 2018). It is apparent that side-line chants are critical in the construction, negotiation and crystallisation of gendered attitudes espoused in the respective texts. Popular side-line chants in the tertiary sporting landscape include, *Baya wabaya*, *Kabhasikoro, Bata mwana adonha, Kamwana kechikoro Naume*, *Mwana wandaida*, *Mutserendende*, *Tinohwinha here?* and *Gen'a marimba here*, to mention only but a few. In fact, they are so popular and powerful that some of these side-line chants have been formally packaged as formal songs by popular musicians in Zimbabwe. These include, Baba Harare's 'The reason why', Jah Signal's 'Sweetie/Shinga muroora', Andy Muridzo's 'Avocado', and Freeman's 'Shaina'. This highlights the popularity and pervasive nature of side-line chants as a social text. Suffice to point out that side-line chants are an important backstage discourse through which critical gender attitudes and ideologies are negotiated.

It is also critical to point out that side-line chants are generally regarded as a vulgar text. As such, they are prone to censorship, especially by Sports Directors in tertiary institutions. Indeed, there are a number, if not a plethora, of side-line chants that are effectively banned by Sports Directors. Singing of these proscribed side-line chants can potentially get students in trouble, which might even include official sanction from their respective institutions. However, the present paper looks beyond the perceived vulgarity of the side-line chants. Instead, it only focuses on the ideological import of the text insofar as gender relations are concerned. In any case, the side-line chant does not necessarily need to be vulgar for it to perpetuate toxic attitudes towards GBV. Rather, it is the ideological position espoused in the chant that is of particular interest to the paper.

Whilst there are many spaces on which these attitudes are cultivated, the present study argues that side-line sports chants, an important cultural text in any given society, provide spaces for the negotiation of gendered attitudes in any given social milieu. Being a cultural text, it is imperative to appreciate the discursivity of side-line chants. Side-line chants can, thus, be conceptualised as a social text with which cultural participants weave together their reality. After all, Bourdieu (1984) reminds us that seemingly mundane phenomena such as entertainment, fashion, and food are in actual fact critical in both the creation and dissemination of cultural capital. They are a form of cultural capital implicated in either naturalising or resisting gendered power inequities in society.

In the same breath, it is also imperative to recognise the primacy of perceptions and/or attitudes in rationalising and/or justifying GBV. The interaction between the Auxilia Mnangagwa and university students during her key note address at the Midlands State University Gender Institute Conference 5th to the 6th of October 2022, underscored the importance of attitudes and how they are implicated in the enactment of unequal gender relations. A case in point is how perceived skimpy dressing is used to both rationalise and justify sexual violence against female university students by their male counterparts. Thus, they function much more than simply providing support and motivation for both players and coaching staff during tertiary students' sporting activities. it emerges that attitudes, and their social cultivation, are important in both the perpetration and combating of the social problem.

Review of Literature

Chauraya (2011) interrogates the mainstreaming of gender policy programmes in student admissions in Zimbabwean state universities in response to the requirements of the government of Zimbabwe's National Gender Policy (ZNGP). Chauraya (2011) corroborates a major finding of the Nziramasanga (1999) report on education and training which exposed major inequalities in the Zimbabwean education system. Brennen (2003) cite such issues as the unequal enrolment of males and females in tertiary institutions, perceptions of specific course/modules and/or programmes as either male of female, the lopsided ratio of male to female graduands as well as how religious beliefs cripple the tertiary education system, among others, as salient manifestations of an unequal education system.

Chauraya and Manyika (2014) argue that the gender mainstreaming is a viable way of addressing these gender inequalities in the country's tertiary education system. Gender mainstreaming is an initiative that "seeks to produce transformative processes and practices that will concern, engage and benefit women and men equally by systematically integrating explicit attention to issues of gender into all aspects of an organization's work" (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead, 2007, p. 124). Its ultimate goal is gender equality (Cornwall et al., 2007).

A case in point is the introduction of the cross-cutting university-wide gender module on gender studies that is offered to all level two students at the Midlands State University. This is a core module without which students cannot graduate without passing it. Be that as it may, it, however, emerges that these studies

mainly focus on the formal side of tertiary institutions. They do not consider the existence of gender inequalities in informal spaces and/or interactions in tertiary institutions. Informal interactions, such as during sporting activities, can be an important window into gaining insights into the nature of gender relations in interpersonal interactions that happen outside of the watchful eyes and/or supervision of the tertiary institutions' authorities. Focusing on the discursive function of side-line chants in tertiary institutions can provide critical insights into the nature of power relations that subsist in these crucial informal spaces.

Siregar (2020) aptly characterises match-day side-line chants sung by soccer supporters in the Britain's iconic football stadia as love letters. The study mainly focuses on the electric atmosphere created by the fans as they get behind their respective teams. It identifies such popular side-line chants as "You will never walk alone" (sung by Liverpool Football Club supporters at Anfield Stadium), "Oh when the Spurs…" (sung by Tottenham Hotspurs Football club supporters in the Tottenham Stadium, "Blue moon" (sung by Manchester City Football Club in The Etihad Stadium) and "Glory, glory Man United" (sung by Manchester United Football Club supporters in Old Trafford Stadium) as cases in point.

This study argues that the electric atmosphere is enough to create a euphoric atmosphere that causes the proverbial goosebumps to those invested in them. Siregar (2020) argues that these match-day anthems are in fact love letters that are so powerful that they can potentially unite multitudes of supports all over the world in a shared passionate experience. This speaks to the power of the side-line chants in group identity formation. The study, however, warns about the potential harm caused by these texts. Siregar (2020, p. 4) argues side-line chants:

> ... also have the capacity for supporters to band together and spout rhetoric that is dangerous and harmful. Language is so powerful in that at its best, it will unify - but this sort of unity can also have a negative impact on wider society ... Not all football chants are constructive. Some chants are harmful and reflect the darker side of football. Some contain derogatory lyrics and hurtful language - with verses that are homophobic, racist or xenophobic.

It is apparent only focus on sexuality, racism and xenophobia. Given that Siregar (2020, p. 5) argues that "club anthems encapsulate the mood and mindset of the fan-base", it is also imperative to interrogate how they are implicated in GBV. Of particular interest to the present study is the argument that:

> Part of the power of group song and chanting is that it implies that the words, beliefs and values signalled in the lyrics have been accepted by the group as representative characteristics of their identity (Siregar, 2020, p. 6).

Hence, it is instructive that we interrogate the kind of power matrices signalled by the lyrics in side-line chants sung by tertiary institution students in relation to gender relations and attitudes towards GBV. Developing from this paper side-line chants are implicated in gender role socialisation. Mangeya (2014, p. 195) argues that gender role socialisation "... is a process involving the engendering of norms, values and behaviours, associated with one's sex, into the individual."

It is from this perspective that Butler (2011), West and Zimmerman (2002) and Connell (2009) regard gender as something that is practiced rather than an abstract notion that exists in the participants' minds. For Connell (2009, p. 5), on the one hand, gender role socialisation:

> ... is a process that is 'part of an enormous social effort to channel people's behaviour [.... inculcating in them] ideas about gender appropriate behaviour' such that 'being a man or a woman is not a predetermined state, [rather] it is a becoming, a condition actively under construction.

Butler (2011), on the other hand, characterises such modelling of behaviour and attitudes as 'gender performativity in which gender is considered 'an act'. It is in this regard that West and Zimmerman (2002) perceive it as 'doing gender'. It is, thus, possible to conceptualise the students' participation in the singing of side-line chants as an active process in which they can alternatively regarded as doing gender or actively involved in performing gender. Hence, Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin (2006) consider gender to be an adverb rather than a noun in the sense that it is something one 'does' rather than what 'is'. Donnelly and Young (1988, p. 224) had earlier argued that:

> [especially for] the neophyte member begins to deliberately adopt mannerisms, attitudes, and styles of dress, speech, and behaviour that he or she perceives to be characteristic of established members of the subculture.

Donnelly and Young (1988) underscore how impressionable participants can potentially have their attitudes towards GBV shaped by the side-line chants.

Side-line chants are critical in the creation, maintenance and contestation of identities and rivalries in sports sub-cultures. They offer glimpses of the archetypical 'us' vs 'them' atmosphere (Armstrong & Young, 1999). Knijnik (2018) reveals how side-line chants are simultaneously used to generate a carnivalesque atmosphere as well as to proclaim their collective identity. Knijnik

(2018, p. 412) argues that "…the lyrics of the chants and the noisy carnival of the Wanderers fans express their multicultural identity and their hopes for a non-conflictive community."

The carnivalesque atmosphere created by the side-line chants sport sub-culture is of particular interest to the present study in the sense that it entails the suspension of all decorum through the creation and sustenance of a carefree atmosphere as supporters and fans alike get behind their teams. This also entails the use of vulgar language and other forms of expression that may not necessarily be used in everyday interactions.

Most significantly, the study demonstrates how side-line chants resist and challenge mainstream fandom culture in Australian and, in the process, express fans' resistance to the constraints of the current social order. The present paper shifts its focus from concentrating on how side-line chants can be used to created and maintain social cohesion. Instead, it places its focus on how they are implicated in the construction and perpetuation of unequal gendered power relations.

Luhrs (2007) explores the role of football chants in the continuity of an otherwise dying traditional linguistic genre called *blason populaire*. The term *blazon populaire* refers to the traditional expressions of group identities and rivalries. This social practice involves juxtaposing boasts about the merits of one team and its supporters against the derision of the deficiencies of the opposing team and its representatives. As such, they are not an innocent text. They are a critical social text through which participants can use to weave their social reality.

Just like music, food and fashion, side-line chants are critical in the creation and dissemination of cultural capital. As such, issues revolving around the construction and enactment of gender identities and their attendant power relations are critical to the paper. Prabasmoro and Ridwansyah (2020) argue that side-line chants are critical in identity construction, in general, and the advancement and/or valorisation of the masculine identity, in particular. Nilan, Broom and Demartoto (2008, p. 211) argue that masculinity naturalises "socially and culturally constructed ideas of what it means to be male, to be a man", and, thus, encapsulates "the characteristics and behaviours associated with being biologically male for a given culture or subculture".

Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the analytical framework for the present study. van Dijk (1993), argues that CDA is an analytical research methodology that interrogates the relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality. It is a theory developed from critical studies which seek to expose "relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social [and political] domains" (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 60).

Wodak (2001) concurs with this characterisation by pointing out that CDA is a multifaceted research methodology that is mainly concerned with such important notions as power, ideology, domination and inequality. According to van Dijk (2012, p. 13) CDA is "a specific discourse analytic methodology that examines the role played by language in the construction of power relationships and the reproduction of dominance". Departing from the argument that society is characterised by social inequity, CDA is preoccupied with uncovering how linguistic practices, that is, social texts like side-line chants, are implicated in the creation and/or reproduction of gender power inequalities between social groups.

Two important aspects emerge from this characterisation. First, CDA is a multifaceted research methodology, Wodak (2001). The notion of 'multifaceted' arises from the fact that the framework is influenced not only by one single discipline. Wodak (1995) observes that CDA can be best characterised as a shared perspective by scholars from various disciplines on conducting linguistic, semiotic as well as discourse research.

Secondly, of major importance to CDA are the notions of 'power' and 'dominance'. Wodak (2001, p. 2) contends that the major aim of CDA is to critically investigate the occurrence of social inequality as it is "expressed, signalled, legitimated, constituted, and so on, by language use". This is an appreciation of the fact that society itself is structured from power point of view and that language is a tool in this process of power organisation. Crucially, the framework appreciates that this social process of the establishment of power relations is not a cut a dried one. There are many things that are involved in establishment of power dynamics. This includes, among other things, issues such as the enactment, reproduction, legitimisation and resistance of power.

The study specifically uses Wodak and Meyer's (2009) discourse-historical approach (DHA) as it gives precedence to the historical context in which the discursive 'events' are embedded. The hegemonic patriarchal society subsisting in Zimbabwe is critical in the interrogation of unequal gender power relations naturalised by the side-line chants. This enables the situating of side-line chants within the wider context of the patriarchal society. The study examines how the chants are steeped in general patriarchal narratives in Zimbabwe. The study argues that the discourse employed in the side-line chants reveals a lot about the nature of gender power relations. Of significance is how the side-line chants are mobilised as a means of naturalising the *status quo*. Crucially, the discourse can also be an entry point in the interrogation of issues of social justice, or lack thereof, in so far as GBV is concerned.

It emerges that there is need to dig deeper into these relations of power with the purposes of revealing some relationships of power which may not be as visible to the world as others. As such Blommaert and Burken (2000) reiterate Wodak's (1995: 204) claim that the purpose of CDA is to analyse and unravel 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (p. 448). This means that not all relations of power are explicitly revealed in the process of interactions. As Choulariaki and Fairclough (1999) rightly observe:

> it is an important characteristic of the economic, social and cultural changes of late modernity that they exist in discourse as well as processes that are taking place outside discourse, and that the processes that are taking place outside discourse are substantially shaped by these discourses, (p. 4).

This implies that the power of discourse cannot be underestimated. Power relations are not only manifested 'externally' outside of discourse. These relations are actually shaped through discourse such that there is need to critically investigate discourse so as to establish the nature of relations constructed and/or construed through language use. Thus, as Meyer (2001) rightly observes, approaches to social research, especially that into language, should be construed as a set of both explicitly and implicitly manifestations.

Methodology

Data for analysis was collected from purposively sampled side-line chants sung by tertiary students during their participation in major sporting events. Tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe participate in three major competitions. The first level of competition is whereby teachers' colleges, technical colleges and universities

participate amongst themselves. This grassroot level of participation is referred to as the Zimbabwe Teachers' Colleges Sports Association (ZITCOSA), Technical Sports Association (TESA) and Zimbabwe University Sports Association (ZUSA), respectively.

The second level is whereby top two teams per each discipline go on to represent their association in a competition that involves the three associations. This competition is referred to as the Zimbabwe Tertiary Institutions Sports Union (ZITISU). The top team in each discipline earns the right to represent the country in a competition amongst tertiary institutions in southern Africa. This competition is referred to as the Confederation of University and Colleges Sports Association (CUCSA).

As each team participates in each respective competition, supporters would be singing side-line chants. The sheer number of tertiary institutions that participants is indicative of the potential ideological impact of this social text. For purposes of the research, the researcher took advantage of the fact that they were a volleyball coach for both the men's and women's team for seven years at Midlands State University, that is, from 2009 – 2016.

During this period, the researcher travelled with the teams to various national and international competitions. It is during these travels that the researcher was a participant observer in the side-line chants. During these competitions, the researcher would also go on to support other sporting disciplines. As such, he is familiar with all the side-line chants that are sung by students during these competitions. The researcher made a list of up to 60 side-line chants. From this list, the researcher purposively sampled those chants that are implicated in issues of GBV.

Data presentation and analysis

University and college sports are so popular that they attract huge numbers of participants in any given sporting season. These participants include both players and supporters alike. The popularity of the games, coupled with the singing of the side-line chants, imply that we necessarily have to pay attention to the lyrics of the chants themselves.

Developing from Bourdieu's (1984) argument that such mundane cultural texts as side-line chants provide the capital with which participants use to weave their social reality, it is imperative that we analyse the ideological import of the lyrics of the songs in so far as the construction and naturalisation of GBV

attitudes is concerned. Image 1, provides a glimpse into the popularity of the tertiary students' games.

Image 1: Tertiary students singing side-line chants lease provide caption

Image 1 underscores the popularity and active involvement of tertiary students in sporting activities. It is, therefore, instructive that we unpack the ideological import of the lyrics in so far as GBV is concerned.

Women as asexual beings

Sexuality is highly regulated in patriarchal societies. Men and women do not participate equally in sexual activity. In relation to the control of women's sexuality, Christ (2016) defines patriarchy as an ideological system of male dominance in which men dominate women through the systematic control of female sexuality. Walby (1990) identifies six key structures that oppress women. These are, paid work, housework, culture, heterosexuality, physical violence, and the state. Three structures are of particular interest to this section. These are culture and heterosexuality. This necessarily involves the weaponisation of sexual agency and freedom in which female involvement in sexual activity is characterised as 'shameful' whilst male involvement is regarded as something to be proud about (Klein & Gibbs, 2020).

A dominant narrative within this discourse is the construction of women as asexual whereby they are conceptualised as beings that do not actively think about sexual intercourse and can only be coaxed into it by man. This comes out in the following side-line chants:

1. Madzibaba Nzira, *bhuru remasowe, mberi sure vachinama zvavo.*
   (Apostle Nzira, the open space worship bull, closing [both] the front and the back).
2. MaDube *rega kuchema wakauya wega, shingirira.*
   (Don't cry MaDube, you came on your own, persevere).

The two side-line chants, 'Madzibaba Nzira' and 'MaDube rega kuchema', juxtapose two sides of the same narrative on celebrating men's high sexual drive against women's alleged lack of desire for sex. In (1), the chant 'Madzibaba Nzira' apparently celebrates the 'conquests' of the late leader of the Johanne Masowe WeChishanu (JMC) apostolic sect who was convicted of seven counts of rape he had committed at his shrine. The JMC apostolic sect "is known for congregating and worshiping in open spaces known to its members as the *masowe*" (Musoni & Gundani, 2019, p. 1).

The deployment of '*bhuru*' (bull) in the chant is significant in the sense that it comes out as a celebration of his abuse of vulnerable women who came to his shrine seeking for spiritual guidance and/or healing. Rather than condemning such behaviour, the chant appears to marvel at his 'expertise' in sexually abusing the women. In (2), 'MaDube' (a term that is used to represent women of the Zebra totem) is represented as being apparently afraid of sex. Implied in the chant is that the marries woman, should not cry about her husband's insatiable sexual appetite since she got married volitionally. However, implicated in the chant are issues of marital rape and sexual rights which are infringed upon by her husband who seems to put his sexual rights ahead those of his wife.

This rape is then rationalised and justified on the basis that she got married for the sole purpose of being her husband's sexual object. So, she has no choice but to submit to her husband's sexual desires at the expense of her own.

The same idea of women who are constructed as being unhappy due to their insatiable sexual desires also comes out in (3), below:

3. *Mainini zirume rondishaisa mufaro*
   Kana ndorara, unonzwa roti vhura
   Vhura vhura tione
   (sister-in-law the husband is giving me no joy
   When I want to sleep, he says open up
   Open up let's see what we can do)

Again, (3) constructs women as asexual beings who engage in sex at the behest of their husbands. The deployment of the prefix {zi-} in *zirume* suggest that the husband's sexual behaviour of disregarding the wife's sexual needs, or lack thereof, constitute GBV.

The idea of women being forced to have sex due to men's high sexual drive also comes out in the lyrics of another chant, presented in (4) below:

4. *Waitsvagei mumba mema* Rasta?
   (What were you doing in a man's room/house?)

'Rasta' (short for Rastafarian) does not necessarily refer to practioniers or believers of the Rastafarian religion. It can be used to refer to any man. More often than not, it refers to men who live in the ghetto and live a somewhat carefree life. This carefree life also includes sexual freedom where they can have sexual relations with anyone without permanent attachment.

Implied in (4) is that a lady visited such a kind of man, and, for intents and purposes, got raped. However, rather than eliciting sympathy for her ordeal, she instead got blamed for going to the man's place in the first place. Thus, her going to the man's house (*imba yema* Rasta) is akin to giving him consent for sex.

By extension, it is also implied in the lyrics that if she did not want to have sex, she would have not gone there in the first place.

Read together, (2) – (4) suggest that women lack agency and freedom in sexual involvement. They, therefore, have no choice but to endure being men's sexual objects. In this case, "heterosexuality is presented as a patriarchal institution used by men to dominate and oppress women (Hakim, 2016, p. 3).

Developing on the notion of sexual slavery in marriage, or intimate relationships in general, Hakim notes that there is a certain level at which sexual slavery is both dangerous and demeaning. In the chants presented in (1) – (4) above, women are practically at the mercy of men. They are actually blamed for associating with men in the first place. It is more like a warning that women can only associate with men at their own peril. It gives the impression that sex is something that is dangerous for women which they should, therefore, flee away from.

In fact, another chant constructs women as otherwise stingy with sex. This comes out in (5) below:

5. *Kachembere usandisungire zvinhu*
   (Old wife/partner don't deny me sex)

The man in (5) is complaining about his partner's (*kachembere*) refusal to grant him sexual favours (*kusunga zvinhu*). From the lyrics, there is no attempt by the husband to understand why he is not being granted the sexual favours. Rather, he only focuses on his own desires.

Sexual objectification of the female body

The chants also view women with what comes out as a man's gaze that only focuses on the women's physical beauty. However, this apparent 'appreciation' of women's physical beauty is meant to sexually objectify the female body. This narrative equates a woman's worth with her body's appearance as it would be equated to her sexual function. Nussbaum (1995, p. 257) identifies seven key features that are implicated in the objectification of a person, which is, more often than not, a woman. The study identifies salient ones:

a) *Instrumentality – whereby the woman is treated as a tool for the objectifier's purposes.*
b) *Inertness – in which the woman lacks in agency, and, oftentimes, also in activity.*
c) *Denial of subjectivity – whereby the woman is treated as something whose experiences and feelings (if any) do not matter.*
d) *Langton (2009, 228–229) adds three additional features to Nussbaum's (1995) list. These are,*
e) *Reduction to body. This involves the treatment of a woman as identified with her body, or body parts.*
f) *Reduction to appearance whereby a woman is treated primarily in terms of her looks, or her appearance to the senses.*
g) *Silencing in which a woman is treatment of as if they are silent, lacking the capacity to speak.*

In fact, develop an Objectification theory that provides a framework for understanding the experience of being female in a sociocultural context that sexually objectifies the female body (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Szymanski, Moffitt & Carr, 2011). It enhances our understanding of how women get their worth from their physical appearance. Naussbaum's (1995) and Langton's (2009) features are deployed in the analysis of sideline chants that objectify women for men's sexual pleasure. This comes out in (6) – (8), below:

6. *Dhora rakadonha, ... zunza mazakwatira tomazunza, vane mahombe pindai mukati, vane madiki budai kunze*

(The dollar lost value, shack your big buttocks, we shack them, those with big bittocks get in [the arena], those with small buttocks leave [the arena]..

7. *Mukwava mukwava, ... astalavista sele mudenga*
   (Beer beer, astalavista raise your buttocks in the air).

8. *Yakabaka yakabaka, ... simudza* ass
   (It is awesome/fantastic ... raise your buttocks)

9. *Kamwana kadiki, ... kutamba nemadhara, isele yakonzeresa*
   (A young child/girl ... [is] playing with older man, its her buttocks that are the problem).

The lyrics in (6) – (9) reveal how the woman's behind is central to their sexual objectification by men. In (6), buttocks are constructed as something that women should flaunt by shacking them for everyone to admire. As such, those women with big buttocks must enter the stage/arena for everyone to admire. In the same token, those with small buttocks should leave the stage so that those who are endowed can showcase them. Hence, (7) and (8) propose that women with 'big buttocks' should raise them in the air.

In all cases (6-8), the chants celebrate and put women with gifted bottoms on a 'pedestal', whilst, at the same time, lampooning those with small buttocks. In all three chants, women are explicitly thrust in the limelight (made to enter the stage) so that men can openly objectify them sexually. They are even made to accentuate the buttocks by raising them in the air for everyone to see. It is as if, their buttocks are the only valuable part of their anatomy. Szymanski et al (2011, p. 8) argue that a reflex of this is that:

> ... women to varying degrees internalize this outsider view and begin to self-objectify by treating themselves as an object to be looked at and evaluated on the basis of appearance.

Kellie, Blake and Brooks (2019, p. 2) add that:

> Objectification becomes especially harmful if women internalize these judgements and self-objectify, or consider themselves first as bodies over other personal characteristics. This can lead to negative consequences including heightened body-shame

There is, therefore, need to look at women beyond a focus on only their physical attributes. The lyrics in (9), (*Kamwana kadiki*/'small/little girl') are disconcerting in so far as they seem to justify the sexual abuse of little girls by older men (*madhara*) on the basis that their physical appearance seems to suggest that they are sexually matured. Again, the buttocks are at the centre of this misnomer.

Rather than focusing on the age of the girl child, the male gaze is firmly fixated on her buttocks. Resultantly, the abuse of young girls is then blamed, not on irresponsible mature men, but on the young girl, whose fault is her perceived rapid/early physical maturity. Such toxic attitudes rationalise such harmful social practices as paedophilia. Suffice to point out that young girls who are not mature enough and empowered to enter into sexual relationships. More so, with older men.

Selective unfaithfulness

Unfaithfulness or cheating is also another key practice that is implicated in patriarchy, and men's quest to control female sexuality. On the face of it, anyone, whether male or female, can be unfaithful. However, patriarchy effectively gives men a free pass to cheat whilst policing women's sexuality. This comes out in the sideline chants in (10) and (11), below:

10. *Uri wesipeya, ndinokuda ndakuona*
    (You are my spare/reserve. I love you [only] when I see you).
11. *Mai* Maria *tamba, daddy havapo simudza sele sele tione ... ndozvandisingade mumba mangu…tora tumapoto tora*
    (Maria's mother dance, ... your husband is not her lift up your buttocks ... I don't like that behaviour in my house ... take all your [kitchen] utensils)

The lyrics in (10) represents a boastful man to a woman whom he says is only valuable only when he is with her. This is suggestive of illicit sexual liaisons that men have, which are referred to as 'small houses' or side chicks for married men. However, it is also possible that unmarried men can also keep such liaisons.

The lyrics in (11) then come in to show that women do not enjoy the same privilege enjoyed by their male counterparts. It is a story about Maria, ironically linked to the biblical Mary (Jesus' mother), who in the side-line chant engages in an extra marital affair during her husband's absence. Her sexual liaison encourages her to flaunt her buttocks since the husband is not there to catch them. However, upon learning about the wife's unfaithfulness, she actually divorced and only gets to take her pots as part of the 'divorce settlement'. The Juxtapositioning (10) and (11) underscore the policing of female sexuality by patriarchy. Hakim (2016, p. 4) explains this by stating that:

> Women know who their children are, as they give birth to them. Men never have the same certainty about paternity, so sexual fidelity became crucial. Patriarchal laws were introduced to ensure married women stayed sexually faithful, and to deter male trespassers on another man's female sexual "property".

It is apparent that the chants naturalise cheating in men. Whilst women are expected to accept that men cheat, the chants do not, however, engage the effects of the cheating to the psyche of the women. This highlights how some patriarchal practices, such as cheating in this instance, can normalise negative behaviours that are detrimental to women. Women are not given the voice to speak out or divorce men on the basis of their indiscretions. They are actually expected to accept it as part of normal male behaviour.

Conclusion

The paper argues that side-line chants are an important social text that is used to weave the social fabric by participants. They are an important cultural text that can only be understood in the social context of their production and consumption. In this regard, they play a critical ideological function in so far as the negotiation of gender power relations is concerned.

In the process, they provide insights into tertiary students' attitudes towards GBV. Analysis of the purposively sampled side-line chants reveal that they are implicated in issues relating to policing of female sexuality. This comes out in narratives revolving around the asexualisation of women, their sexual objectification and issues pertaining to privileged cheating in men. The analysis also reveals that the patriarchal ideology plays a crucial part in the naturalisation of these narratives.

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