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# Hegemony and Objectification: A Sexist Discursive Analysis of Egyptian Songs

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#### **Abstract**

Sexist songs are among the key tools for disseminating masculine hegemony. They lead to the normalization of sexist practices. This study investigated how sexism is constructed in Egyptian society in one form of popular culture, i.e., songs. It examined songs in two music genres: Egyptian Pop songs and Sha'by (folk) songs. To deconstruct sexist strategies in songs, we devised an interdisciplinary analytical framework that draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Psychology. It is guided by Ideological Strategies, Objectification Theory, and Terror Management Theory. This study fills a gap in the literature as it linguistically investigates women's representation in two different music genres. Findings showed that even though women in both genres were the target of oppression and unequal gender relations, it was the mind of the woman that was the target in Pop songs, while it was her body that was blazoned forth in Sha'by songs.

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#### 1. Introduction

"When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them." Aristotle

usic is one of the tools through which human cognitive perception that affects human behavior is formed. (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Prosocial media content, especially songs, can have positive effects on prosocial behavior (Greitemeyer, 2009). Good, uplifting music was found to increase helping tendencies in people (North et al., 2004). On the other hand, listening to aggressive song lyrics increased aggressive thoughts and hostile feelings (Carnagey & Anderson, 2004) and aggressive action (Fischer & Greitemyer, 2006). Thus, people who listen to rap and heavy metal music are reported to have more hostile attitudes (Rubin et al., 2001). Meanwhile, studies also showed that men's cognitive associations toward women, in particular, affect their attitudes toward them (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Thus, it is not surprising to find a surge of studies that measure the impact of sexist songs on gender perception and attitudes. It was found that misogynous music increases the aggressive responses of men toward women (de Boise, 2020; Fischer & Greitemeyer, 2006; Hyatt et al., 2017). This paper investigates how sexist songs are constructed to promote masculine hegemony and gender inequality.

Masculine hegemony establishes itself through the use of propagating certain gender characteristics as valued and socially accepted, while others are negatively portrayed and culturally rejected. Popular entertainment is sometimes a conduit of sexist ideologies (Daliri Beirak Olia & Ghorban Sabbagh, 2022). Songs, as a major component in any culture that reflects the customs and beliefs of the society, are among the key tools for propagating masculine hegemony and forming the cognitive perception of the society regarding gender roles (Schippers & Michalos, 2014). Lyrics, the true heart of a song, are a powerful method for the reproduction and dissemination of social and cultural beliefs, norms, and ideologies (Neff, 2014). They have a real effect on (sexist) audience attitudes (Rogers, 2013) and people's behavior (North & Hargreaves, 2000).

This study aims at examining gender ideologies as well as the construction of gender realities. It

also aims at investigating how language is employed and manipulated to maintain the status quo of gender inequality and masculine hegemony in the patriarchal Egyptian society. It dissects women's representation and genderrelated messages in two song genres: Pop and sha'by (folk). Guided by Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Psychology, we propose an interdisciplinary framework composed of (11) Sexist Discursive Strategies. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first paper to examine these two genres in Egyptian songs using the proposed framework.

Egyptian Pop Songs (EPSs) are the mainstream type of songs in the country, mainly targeting youth of both sexes. EPSs cater to people from different age groups and different strata of society, with more focus on the upper-middle and middle-educated classes. EPSs are songs that are aired on different radio stations and TV channels and are performed at most celebrations. Songs belonging to this genre are sung in Colloquial Cairene Arabic (CCA), a language variation that is widely recognized in the Arab world. On the other hand, Egyptian Sha'by Songs (ESSs) are defined as songs that are popular among the working class to the extent that they totally belong to them (Eissa, 2018). ESSs are of three main categories, the first of which is the song of anonymous origin (i.e., unspecified lyricist, composer, and singer) that is widely played in rural areas and among the working class. The second category is the ESS which expresses geographically local and cultural topics such as Delta, Bedouin, Upper Egyptian, and Nubian songs. The third category, which is the one under investigation, does not represent one region in Egypt but is rather expressive of a wider audience, with the CCA being the language variation used. This category is not part of Egyptian folklore, and its lyricists, composers, and singers are known. Even though the ESSs target the lower-middle and working class, they have their fans in all classes, especially the adolescents of the uppermiddle, educated class.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

This study adopts a qualitative and quantitative interdisciplinary approach. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), which is the theoretical framework adopted in this study, focuses on how gendered relations of power and gender ideology are (re-)produced in various social and discursive practices and gauges their impact on social relationships (Lazar, 2005). Feminist linguists argue that sexism in general, and linguistic sexism in particular, should not be regarded merely as an individual expression of gender beliefs, but it is rather a conflict between the two sexes over power and status (Mills, 2008). It is the product of the notion that one gender (usually men) is superior to the 'other' (in most cases, women) (Wilson, 1997) that leads to producing and reproducing social (gender) inequality (Gee, 1999) by legitimizing it and making its consequences graver (Brandt, 2011). FCDA holds that sexist language not only reflects cultural gender values but carries ideas and assumptions that are constantly reenacted to the extent that they become "so familiar and conventional we miss their significance" (Cameron, 1998, p. 14). We argue that such familiarity and conventionality are achieved through sexist songs and their lyrics, among other culture-disseminating tools.

In order to fully understand lyrics (as a form of text), we need to uncover what the singer does and the way this impacts the sociocultural contexts (Richardson, 2007). It is through the analysis of lyrics that one can have a window into the social structure of society at the time they were produced (Stack & Gundlach, 1992). Words constituting song lyrics are neither arbitrary nor randomly chosen. There are social and cultural factors that influence one's choice of words (Matiza & Mutasa, 2020). Our use of language is an elaborate process that is intertwined with the learned values and beliefs that govern a society. Language, as represented here in lyrics, indexes the social reality of a society and reflects the images in people's lives as well as the patterns of their social behavior (Thomas et al., 2004). Gender ideology and power relations are one area in which language plays a crucial role (Shokym et al., 2022). There have been extensive studies on the way language is used to disparage women and promote gender inequality and masculine hegemony (Cameron, 2005; Lazar, 2005; Sunderland, 2006; Talbot, 2006). Women representation in songs attracted the interest of a myriad of scholars (In rap songs: Pemberton (2008); Weitzer & Kubrin (2009); in pop songs: Chin et al. (2019); in rap and pop songs: Grönevik (2013); in pop, country, and rock songs: Gallee (2016); in tribal songs: Ghanya (2012); in folk songs: Al-Obeidi (2007), among others). Linguistic representation of women in Egyptian songs, however, received scant attention (*Mahraganat* 'i.e., *Sha'by* techno' songs: Aboubakr, 2017; El-Falaky 2015; El-Falaky & Mohamed, 2015). No previous study discussed the similarities and differences in women's representation in two different music genres (pop and *Sha'by*) in Egypt. Therefore, this study fills a gap in the literature, proposing an analytical framework designed for deconstructing sexist strategies in songs.

It is the aim of this study to highlight such notions. To achieve such an aim, this paper attempts to answer two research questions: (1) How is the language used in the songs to represent a negative image of women? (2) How does the negative image of women represented in the songs differ according to the difference in music genre? For this purpose, we devised an analytical framework that would account for the discursive strategies employed by the lyricists to construct the sexist social reality they advocate.

#### 3. Methodology

We used the Google search engine with the entries:أغاني عن النساء (songs about women) and النساء في الأغانى المصرية (women in Egyptian songs). Songs and lyrics were then retrieved, using both the YouTube application and Google search engine with the search entry كلمات أغنية 'lyrics'. Coding was divided into four categories as follows:

- 1. Songs belonged either to EPS or ESS. The choice was based on the wide popularity of these two genres and the diverse spectrum of audiences they address.
- 2. Songs belonged to different singers.
- 3. Songs were written and sung by male top chart artists.
- 4. Songs were rated as sexist. We applied Cameron's (2005) definition of sexist language, in which she specifies that a language is considered sexist if it represents the world from the point of view of men and their stereotypical beliefs about gender relations.

Four songs were selected, as shown in Table 1. Lyrics of the songs were translated by the second author. Original Arabic-language lyrics are found in Appendix 1.

Table 1

Details of the Four Songs

	Title	Singer	Music genre	Target Audience	# of words	Duration	Year of Production
1	أنا سي السيد (I am Si Sayyed)	Tamer Hosny	Pop Music	Upper- Middle/High Class	386 (215 Arabic & 171 English)	4.8 min.	2013
2	The) الراجل (Man	Ramy Sabry	Pop Music	Upper- Middle/High Class	109	2.50 min.	2017
3	بونبونايه (Bonbon)	Mahmoud El-leithy	Sha'by (Folk) Music	less-educated, lower-middle, working class	123	3.57 min.	2015
4	عاوز أتجوز اربعة (I Want to Marry Four)	Sa'd El- Sughayyar	Sha'by (Folk) Music	less-educated, lower-middle, working class	194	4.36 min.	2014
		Tota	812	15.23 min.			

#### 3.1. Sexist Discursive Strategies (SDS) Framework

We have devised an interdisciplinary analytical framework that draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Psychology. It is guided by van Dijk's Ideological Strategies (1998), Fredrickson and Roberts' (1997) Objectification Theory, and Greenberg et al.'s (1986) Terror Management Theory, van Dijk (1998) argues that intergroup discourse (here men and women) is polarized between the positive 'Us' and the negative 'Them'. The Objectification Theory posits that many women are sexually objectified and treated as an object to be valued for their use by others (Szymanski et al., 2011). The Terror Management Theory postulates that self-esteem is based on the extent to which the individual (here, women) satisfies culturally accepted behavior (Greenberg et al., 1986). The proposed model of analysis is composed of (11) Sexist Discourse Strategies (SDSs), as shown in Figure 1.

The Universalization strategy is used when the lyricist tries to lexically unify all men as one group with no marked differences. The singer uses the justification move to give grounds either explicitly or implicitly - for all male actions which are otherwise deemed unacceptable, simultaneously blaming women for any ensuing consequences. In a culture of blame that supports a culture of responsibility, the

blame/responsibility strategy holds women accountable for whatever happens to them, even "complicit in their own victimization" (Thapar-Björkert & Morgan, 2010, p. 32). Threat and Warning strategies entail either emotional or physical punishment. Threats occur when the singer explicitly or implicitly mentions the punishment, while warning is done when the singer warns the woman not to do certain acts without specifying the consequential result. The *Promise* strategy is used to entice the woman to act as men deem appropriate for the *Proper Female*. Another discursive strategy is proposed, where the man acts in loco parentis (i.e., in the place of a parent) to justify his hegemonic and unequal gender relationships. In their construction of the Us-vs.-Them mental representation, the lyricists emphasize Positive Men 'Us' Attributes and Acts together with the Negative Women 'Them' Attributes and Acts. Moreover, the Social Approval strategy draws on the fact that we, as human beings, obtain our self-esteem from societal and cultural approval. We acquire such approval by following a set of culturally and socially endorsed behavior (Greenberg et al., 1986). This strategy is employed to induce certain expected behavior (allegedly), befitting the proper female/male image. The Proper Male image is further reinforced by references to culturally recognized Male Domination Figures who symbolized masculine hegemony.

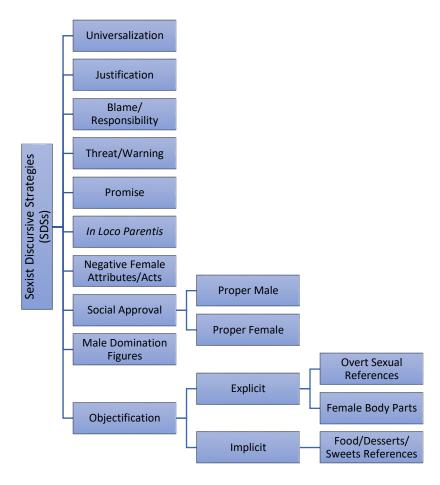


Figure 1
Sexist Discourse Strategies

Objectification is another discursive strategy that is used to disparage women and reduce them to mere objects. Women are sexually objectified to be valued for their use by others (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). This objectification can be done either explicitly through overt sexual references or descriptions of female body parts or implicitly via metaphors that link women to food, desserts, and sweets.

#### 4. Results

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the data under investigation.

#### 4.1. Egyptian Pop Songs (EPSs)

This Anglo-Arab Pop song was sung by Egyptian singer Tamer Hosni, and American Singer Snoop Dog. The song, as its title أنا سي أنا سي "I am Si Ssayed" suggests, clearly celebrates male dominance. The title draws on

a male domination figure, 'Si Essayed', who is a character that was originally introduced in the Cairo Trilogy of renowned Egyptian novelist Naguib Mahfouz. The name of the character is Essayed (Lit. master) Ahmad Abdelgawaad. But his wife, Amina, out of respect and fear, cannot use his first name without adding the prefix 'Si', which also means 'master'. Thus, the name itself can be literally translated as "master master." The character became a symbol of male domination, tyrannical superiority, and oppression of women.

English is the language chosen for both the intro and the outro of the song. There are also five stanzas, two in Arabic and three in English. The choice of the English language to be the language of the intro and outro serves to *universalize* the message of the song, which is men's superiority and women's subordination. The message delivered is enhanced by the fact that there are two singers of two different cultures who hold the same androcentric ideas.

Such universalization is achieved through the reiteration of the same ideas about the womenmen relationship in both languages.

# Excerpt 1

#### [Snoop Dogg]

Tamer Hosny, Hero! Big Snoop Dogg **HAHAHA** 

Uh

Yeah!

Check this out!

It's only one man in the house baby And he wears the pants, so dance

Dance

Dance to the rhythm with set phone

[Tamer Hosny]

You, Snoop

[Snoop Dogg]

Yeah

[Tamer Hosny]

Welcome to our World

[Snoop Dogg]

Nephew, go ahead!

The initiatory discursive remarks by both singers are pivotal in steering their cynical and dual attack against women later. To establish their male domination, Dogg calls Hosny "hero," announcing that there is "one man in the house", who "wears the pants," a metaphor for being in control and making decisions. Then he asks the woman to dance, celebrating this fact. This sets out the Us-vs.-Them dichotomy from the very early start of the song, where the woman has to please the man by dancing. Dogg asserts that there is "only one man" in the house, implying that this "man" is the only one entitled to give orders and be obeyed. Welcoming Dogg to "our world," Hosny seeks to convey the idea that his co-singer, who comes from a different culture, also shares the universal belief of supposedly superiority. Dogg calls Hosny his "nephew," which serves as a unification sign of all men as one extended family against the "other" women. Dogg's "go ahead" was Hosny's cue to sing in favor of men.

# Excerpt 2

#### [Tamer Hosny]

To you I am addressing my words, and to anyone (woman) trying to cancel the difference between the man and the woman No darling, there are two differences

Your insistence on comparing us makes your femininity disappear from my eyes Do you remember when you said 'yes' when I was upset, didn't I kiss you? It's I who say what you must do Whatever I order, you must obey (strictly) Like, for example, honey, what you should wear or what you shouldn't Beware that I, once on any day, find you come back (to me) late, darling. You know what will happen and, of course, you know the rest Yes, I'm Si Ssayed It's my way or the highway Yes, I'm Si Ssayed (If) you don't like my words, then leave.

The singer draws impenetrable borders between the man and the woman, individualizing his words to his female addressee and generalizing them among all other women in an attempt to undo the difference between them. He is cynical of women seeking gender equality. This is done through the combination of a term of endearment with a negation marker in لا يا حبيبتي 'no darling', which expresses cynicism and objection in this context. Thus حبيبتي 'darling' here is not an affectionate reference, but a catcall meant to belittle the addressee. This argument is supported by Vasung (2020), who argues that "pejorative connotations and hints of sexism (occur) even in the case of terms of endearment, which are supposed to express a special intimacy and congeniality" (p. 212). Challenging any inroads into gender equality, the singer specifies that it is not only one difference between men and women, but two, in في فرقين"there are two differences," using the grammatical duality which contextually pinpoints dissent with the "other."

The song associates femininity with subordination. The singer uses a blaming strategy as he puts the blame on the equalityseeking woman for losing her own femininity in his eye. In such a case, he is implicitly justified to lose interest in her as a woman. In the next line, he links femininity with obedience as he associates her saying "yes" (to his commands) with the woman being rewarded with a "kiss." The song explicitly draws the image of the subordination of women. Thus, the man "says" while the woman "obeys." Employing the in loco parentis strategy, he is the one who tells her what she should wear and what she should not. The use of the affirmative and the negative here implies absolute male power. The use of the word "for example" indicates that the commands mentioned here are mere instances that extend to include women's other acts. The same discursive strategy is manifested when he warns the woman against ever coming home late. Given the fact that this is usually what parents do to children, the singer wields the same authority, treating the woman as a child – a relation between a superior and a subordinate.

The song also uses a triple-emphasis warning in the phrase إياكي مرة في يوم أنا الاقي Beware that I, once, on any day, find you', where three lexical items are used to accentuate the message: 'beware', 'once', and 'on any day'. Then the singer shifts from warning the woman to threatening her by potentially disparagement or violence in إنتى فاهمه أيه الى ها You know what will" يحصل وطبعاً انتى عارفة الباقي happen and, of course, you know the rest." The main reason behind the singer using threats here is to convince his female addressee of the utility and inevitability of his commands, which is called "fear-arousing persuasive messages" (Peters et al., 2013, p. S9) or "fear appeal" (Tannenbaum et al., 2015, p. 1178). We argue that the usage of endearment terms like "darling" and "honey" emotionalizes the threats, adding to their efficacy.

#### Excerpt 3

#### [Snoop Dogg]

I'm the hero, the man, the head of the castle! No misunderstand there is no types of hassle! All agreed by the one you'll beat by The only way is my way to follow my lead! Shake you make you a better woman! With more hugs and plugs and better love me! Cool as the breeze, the flowers in the trees Al Salam Aleiko Si Ssayed

Snoop Dogg reiterates the same ideology embraced in the Arabic stanzas of the song. The man is depicted as "hero," "the man," "the head of the castle." According to Dogg, such depiction cannot be controverted or be subject to "hassle." In declaring the man as the leader whose "only way" women should follow, the English verse echoes the Egyptian one in denigrating the call for equality. This excerpt is more explicit than the Arabic excerpts in declaring that the woman may be exposed to

aggression in "shake you," thereby sanctioning physical violence against women. Unlike the Arabic parts, the English lyrics provide no justification for such potential violence. Such actions are given normalcy through the universalization strategy represented in "all agreed," which renders everything being said as a matter of fact. The clause "make you a better woman" may be interpreted as making her more obedient and submissive. The English verse explicitly refers to sex "more hugs and plugs" as the method of discipline which will make the woman completely subdued, compared to "breeze, flowers, and trees." The use of Al Salam Aleiko (i.e., peace be upon you), the greeting of Islam, by Snoopy Dogg juxtaposes his gender bias with the culture of his Muslim co-singer, to whom he refers as Si Ssayed.

#### Excerpt 4

# [Tamer Hosny]

Believe me, any girl has the key to her lover's heart

and she can suddenly turn him from a monster into a child holding her hand

My fear for you is out of my love of you, not like what you say about me

Beatitude to the one who makes me weep, babe, and not make the people laugh at me

Why are you<sub>plural</sub> (i.e., girls/women) like this? What is your<sub>plural</sub> mind made of?

You<sub>plural</sub> take everything as a challenge, without doing anything

every day a big fight

for the most trivial reasons, including jealousy I'm sick and tired. I don't want to hear anything.

The song exclusively puts the *responsibility* and blame on women for men's conduct which is depicted as a response to women's actions. The woman bears the *responsibility* for having the "key" to her lover's heart. At first glance, this may seem as empowering women. A closer examination, however, shows that it is a strategy of justification for whatever a man does as the outcome of, and reaction to, the actions of the woman who failed to make him act differently. So, if the man is a "monster," it is because the woman did not do what she ought to (which was not specified in the song) in order to turn him into a "child holding her hand." The song justifies male domination as originating from man's fear for the well-being of a woman - another use of in loco parentis strategy. Not only does this type of hegemonic relation deny

a woman her equal rights, but it also reproduces the stereotypical image of the weak, fragile woman who is in constant need of protection. The same in loco parentis strategy is used again in the last line, where he prods her into accepting his instructions even if they are so stringent that they lead her to weep – an implied act of cruelty. The justification he provides is that if he makes her laugh, as a sign of the relinquishment of his orders, she will then be the laughing stock of people who will deride her for not obeying him.

The song then addresses women in general, shifting from the second person singular to second person plural, using the exclamatory questions: إنتو ليه عاملين كده ليه؟ "Why, youplural (i.e., girls/women), are like this?" and ودماغكو What is yourplural mind made up" دى معموله من أيه of?" This discursive shift to plurality, which is also represented in کل حاجه و اخدینها تحدی "Youplural" کل حاجه و اخدینها take everything as a challenge," makes the singer talk on behalf of all men mocking women's negative acts and attributes. This alludes to the Us (men) vs. Them (women) dichotomy in which men are portrayed as suffering from women's conduct of taking everything as a challenge, of picking up a quarrel every day for the slightest reason, and of harboring presumably unwarranted jealousy. The repetition of the determiner کل 'every' with 'thing' and 'day' stresses the intolerability of women's exasperating behavior that makes men "sick and tired." Any violent reaction by men is thus tacitly justified.

# Excerpt 5

#### [Snoop Dogg]

Right she's smooth with some eye tear foam Everything is so tight, gotta get you so right My liberty to have the agility To educate and elevate about liberty The king is the king, whether east or west The real king steps with his empress oh yeah, and mine is fine as wine If she knew better, she makes me do better

With more explicit references to physical beauty, such as "smooth" and "tight," the English lyrics also link the beauty of the woman to submission. Thus, the beauty of the woman is further delineated when she is oppressed by a man and starts to cry as in "some eye tear foam." The English lyrics also draw the Us-vs.-Them dichotomy, showing a world where "liberty" is exclusively bestowed upon men as in "my liberty." There is also an explicit reference to man's right to sexually exploit the "agile" woman as in "my liberty to have the agility." Meanwhile, the woman is negatively represented in being an ignorant person who only knows about "liberty" from the man who will "educate and elevate" her in this respect. The English stanza echoes the universalization of men's superiority and domination more explicitly than the Arabic lyrics by the use of "the king is the king, whether east or west," where the man is avouched to be the king everywhere. Women are also dehumanized and likened to a worldly pleasure in which men indulge, i.e., "wine."

# (The Man) الراجل 4.1.2.

Rami Sabry is a renowned singer and music composer who won the Best Arab Singer Award in 2008 and 2019. This song, which won the best song award in 2020, is analyzed in the following excerpts:

#### Excerpt 6

I want to tell you something; listen to me over what will be said.

When the man speaks, the woman mustn't obstinately argue with him

She shouldn't say 'done' only verbally, and then she forgets it next day.

She must understand and evaluate him if she wants to get along with him

Since if she treats him kindly, tenderly, lovingly and sincerely

She asks for whatever she wants (however precious), get pampered and is treated like a

But once she makes a mistake, she gets punished, for how could he possibly forgive her? You have a wrong idea about the world; seemingly you haven't learnt.

The song starts with a command to the woman representing the gender in general, 'listen," followed by a series of "اسمعي commands and instructions. The imperative here is aimed at grabbing her attention in an overtly superior manner. The introductory sentence عايز أقول لك حاجة "I want to tell you something" represents an initiatory gesture of goodwill, or Captatio benevolentiae (Calboli Montefusco, 2011), aiming at capturing her attention. But this gesture is goodwill only on the surface as it is followed by a very superior,

imperative tone إسمعي مني اللي هينقال "Listen to me over what will be said." The relative clause "اللي هينقال" "what will be said" projects a positive male image embraced in the folk culture where the domineering man passes down a series of orders or advice to be followed by his subordinate woman. Universalization is induced by the genericity in the definite Arabic article 'الراجل' and 'الست' and its English equivalent 'the'. Using "the man," which means "any man" or "all men," the lyricist attempts to instill in the audience the idea that the precepts he preaches are socially approved everywhere.

The lyrics allude to negative actions women perform. While the woman is described as an obstinate arguer, she says "yes" to the man only flippantly and soon forgets it the next day. The male lyricist blames the woman for not understanding or evaluating the man or treating him "kindly," "tenderly," "lovingly," or "sincerely." The singer resorts to a promise strategy where the man is portrayed as a munificent and gallant person ready, if the woman treats him properly, to give her whatever she asks for, pamper her and treat her like a queen. So, if she treats him kindly, he, and more generally, the society, will treat her like a queen - a promise that bears a clear sign of social approval. But if she makes a mistake, the woman receives an opposite message, where she is threatened with both punishment and social disapproval. Another example of the discursive strategy of threat is adduced in: "قهم She must understand " "وتقدّر قيمته لو عايزة تكمل وياه and value him if she wants to complete life with him." The woman here is threatened with being abandoned or divorced if she fails to value the man. The woman is blamed for being a wrongdoer ("once she makes a mistake") who deserves punishment without any potential plea for clemency ("for how could he possibly forgive her?"). The trajectory of male criticism reaches its apex in the last line, where the singer scolds her for having an erroneous idea about the world and didactically enjoins her to learn. It also purports to both the negative female image and the condition that the woman is in need of such instructions so as to secure social approval, which she lacks in his eye.

#### Excerpt 7

When a man loves, he loves wholeheartedly A woman who understands that would be comforting, knowing how to please him.

He does not get callous unless he feels that the woman doesn't want to keep his company. She who keeps her home and her household

She who keeps her home and her household secrets is flawless.

She who is patiently gets along with her conditions gets her problems solved quickly. She who stirs problems is well known to be useless

I'm done, let's see how she will end up/behave?

To obtain *social approval*, the woman is urged to comply with (15) acts and refrain from doing (4) others in order to keep her *proper female* image. A woman is held responsible for understanding man's needs, appeasing him, and sparing troubles. Only if she does that can she know how to please the man. On the other hand, if she stirs problems, she is useless. Among these acts, which are detected in Excerpts 6 and 7, she should "understand" and "value" the man; she should treat him "kindly," "tenderly," "lovingly," and "sincerely"; and she should "learn" how to "understand life" properly. Besides, she should "keep her household secrets," and "patiently get along with her conditions with him," where the word "conditions" is left unspecified. The acts she is instructed not to make are: She should not "argue obstinately" with him; she should not say "yes" to his commands flippantly, nor should she forget them; and she should not raise problems. This superior commanding strategy exhibits an androcentric bias which "occurs when male experience is treated as the norm, whereas female realities are not considered or are relegated to the abnormal" (Epp et al., 1994, p. 451).

The lyrics showcase two male *attributes*, one liked by women and the other admired by the song's male audience. The first is the portrayal of the man as a great romantic lover in "when a man loves, he loves wholeheartedly." The second is when the man loses his kindness to cruelty only if the woman does not give him due attention. According to Nell (2006), cruelty is defined as "the deliberate infliction of physical or psychological pain on other living creatures, sometimes indifferently, but often with delight" (p. 211) (Italics are ours). As a threatening tone, the man is justified to be cruel, either physically or psychologically, or both, to the woman only if she shows she does not care about him anymore - an action which is depicted as tantamount to dereliction of her duty that triggers a male backlash. The last line is imbued with a threatening tone "it is over and done! Let's wait and see how you'll end up/behave." The entire portrayal here further stereotypically inculcates in the audience the Us (men) vs. Them (women) dichotomy, with each group being depicted as having the same positive/negative attributes in a strategic move of universalization.

# 4.2. Egyptian Sha'by Songs (ESSs)

The data included two songs that are categorized as sha'by (folk) songs. These are عايز اتجوز أربعة Bonbon' and عايز اتجوز أربعة 'I want to marry four (women)'.

#### (Bonbon) بونبوناية (Bonbon)

The predominant theme is female seduction, with the woman being reduced to her physical beauty. The song focuses on the *objectification* of women by drawing a series of metaphors that are related to sex and desire. The woman is either food, dessert or sweets to be devoured by the man to appease his desire. This is done either by directly using words of sweets, food and candies, or words that usually collocate with them (See Tables 2 & 3). Comparing women to food entails that women are

cognitively reduced to the state of a desirequenching object. Faludi (2009) argues: "Denoting a woman by a food name equates her with objects and triggers her -unconscioussemantic derogation" (p. 152). She is thus viewed as "something consumable delicious." According to Hines (1999), such desserts are 'semantically isomorphic' in the sense that they are "firm on the outside, soft or juicy in the middle" (p. 152).

Not only does this song objectify women as desserts, but they also sexualize them by depicting their body parts. Sexual *objectification* occurs whenever a woman's body, body parts, or sexual functions are separated from her person, reduced to the status of mere instruments, or regarded as if they were capable of representing her (Bartky, 1990). In other words, when objectified, "women are treated as bodies - and in particular, as bodies that exist for the use and pleasure of others" (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, p. 175). They are portrayed as a decorative sexual object (APA, 2007). Tables 2 and 3 show the lexical choices of the names of foods and desserts used to address women. as well as those of women's body parts and their collocating adjectives/ phrases.

Table 2 Women as Foods & Sweets

S	Names o	of foods & sweets	Words collocating with foods		
	Arabic word	Translation	Arabic word	Translation	
1	بنبوناية	bonbon	طعمة	luscious	
2	ملبساية	toffee	فریش	fresh	
3	بسكوتاية	Biscuit	وش القفص	nubile	
4	كيك	cake	طازة	fresh	
5	مشمشاية	apricot	تحلیلی بقی	Pretty luscious	
6	حتة لوزاية	A piece of almond	حلاوتك زايدة حته	Pretty yummy	

Table 3 Words & Collocations Describing Parts of a Woman's Body

S	Words describing	g parts of a woman's body	Collocating adjectives/phrases		
	Word	Translation	Word	Translation	
			سمباتيك	Supple, lithe	
1	قوامها	Body shape	فأته	Drop-dead, one of a kind	
			مفيهش غلطة	Flawless	
2	خدودها	Her cheeks	طعمة	luscious	
			استيك	slender	
3	وسط	Waist	مش بلاستيك	eyesore	
			محتاج خرايط	Sexy, alluring	
4	عودها	Her figure	ولعة	Very hot, toothsome	
5	جمالك	Your beauty	معدى	stunning	
6	حلاوتك	Your sweetness	زايدة حته	Prepossessing; lush	
7	رمش عينك	Your eye lash	يجيب رجل التخين	Absolutely seductive	

The following excerpts can further contextualize the *objectification* of women:

#### Excerpt 8

A bonbon, a toffee Hey *Signorita*, a biscuit Her body is lithe Her cheeks are as delicious as a cake

While the first two lines describe a woman as "bonbon" and "biscuit," the last two lines concentrate on her body, depicting it as "lithe" and her cheeks as "delicious as a cake." Metaphors conceptualizing women in terms of desire-appeasing objects are the product of chauvinistic gender ideologies and further instill them in society as a normal way of thinking. According to Hines (1999), "such metaphor reduces women to the status of powerless and inanimate but desired objects" (p. 148).

#### Excerpt 9

Where have you got that from? Why too unresponsive, why?

Is it because you're fresh and nubile?

Please be kind to me. I wish that you sweeten my mouth

Maybe things could go easy and it may turn into marriage

This excerpt depicts women in both an objectifying and sexualizing way. Admonishing her to be too 'unresponsive' to reciprocate his admiration of her, he ascribes the reason for this to her physical freshness and nubility. Sexualizing his talk by asking her to "sweeten" his "mouth," he makes a lame *promise* that they might get married in an unexpected turn of events.

Although the explicit expression of men's lust in a song is uncommon in conservative Egyptian society, they are described in Excerpt 10.

# Excerpt 10

Your waist is elastic, not plastic Her figure is very hot, and I'm horny She's got a drop-dead, flawless body shape If only you give me a smooch, can't hold myself anymore.

The man is drawn as driven by lust, regarding the woman as a mere sex object. This is done through the use of sexually explicit phrases such as الينى قطة "horny," نارى والعة give me a

smooch," مش مستحمل "can't hold myself anymore."

#### Excerpt 11

Her eyelash can drag the most resistant of men (i.e., absolutely irresistible)

A bit of skirt (a real stunner), a rare currency Your (waist) shake scored the highest viewing percentage

Your waist needs maps (i.e., sexy) and my heart is on fire

Your 'no' can be sold in cassette tapes.

The woman is *objectified* in phrases focusing on parts of her body like 'eyelashes' and 'waist'. The singer uses a derogatory address form of a girl, بن which, in collocation with "stunner" imparts a sexually offensive phrase like "a bit of skirt." The lyrics also show male lasciviousness in metaphors such as "your (waist) shake scored the highest viewing percentage," "your waist needs maps," "heart is on fire" and "your 'no' can be sold in cassette tapes" — an innuendo of her sexually arousing voice.

# 4.2.2. عايز أتجوز أربعة (I want to marry four)

The Us-vs.-Them dichotomy is clearly delineated in this song, where the man is entitled to overstep conventional social boundaries, and the woman is reduced to an utterly submissive creature, always ready to serve her 'master' so as to secure *social approval*. In the following lines, we shall discuss the representation of the man.

# Excerpt 12

I am a womanizer.

I adore women.

I wish I married four (women); since I'm mad like a hatter.

I will cherry-pick them one by one, and force them to live in one flat.

I am a man of my word; and I'll subdue them into being at my beck and call.

I will be a man; not a follower of her advice.

A monster at home, never womanish.

Whoever of my wives would upset the other, I'll divorce her (instantly) by a word.

I want to be a tough guy, with an unyielding personality

Like Haj Metwally and Harun Er-Rasheed.

The song begins with the man attempting to draw a *proper-male image* in two representations:

(1) Flaunting his masculine hegemony, and (2) Exhibiting his subordination of women. Firstly, he takes pride in his machismo, declaring that he is a womanizer who adores all women. Aware that being a 'womanizer' can be countenanced by many men but criticized by others, he, in a caveat to prevent misinterpretation of promiscuity, declares that he wishes to marry four women, the maximum number allowed for a Muslim man to marry. However, he does not wish to do that out of piety or adherence to دماغی مطرقعة Islamic teachings but out of being 'mad like a hatter', thus appealing more to the younger male generation. Secondly, he specifies his domineering actions in هنقيهم واحدة 'I'll cherry-pick them one by one' - an expression that commodifies and objectifies women. His threatening overtones represented in such utterances as "force them to live in one flat" instead of providing separate flats for each one, "subdue them" to obey his commands to the letter, and instantly "divorce" any one of his four wives if she dared to upset the other. As for his attributes, they were portrayed to further emphasize the message he intends to convey. So, he is "a man, not a follower of her advice," "a monster at home, never womanish." These examples need unpacking as he uses the noun phrases/ adjectives located before and after 'not' and 'never' as if they were antonyms or in binary opposition, although they are not. It is clear here that "a man" is not the opposite of "a follower of her advice," nor is "a monster at home," the antonym of "never womanish." This further reinforces the hegemonic-versus-submissive representation of men and women.

The lyricist uses three *male domination figures*. Besides "Si Ssayed," which was discussed in (4.1.1), he likens himself to *Haj Metwally*, the main male character of an eponymous Egyptian TV series in which he, represented as having an insatiable appetite for women, married four wives vying to win his satisfaction. The man is also portrayed as Harun Er-Rasheed, the fifth caliph of the Abbasid dynasty (786–809 A. D.), who, according to folk culture, is the quintessence of multiple relationships with women. The reference here is meant to normalize the singer's polyamory and reinforce his proper-male image among his folk audience.

The following excerpt analyses the representation of women.

# Excerpt 13

I want to try all sizes.

The slim and the plump.

One of them would gratify me, the other would pamper me, and she who doesn't like it can redemptively divorce herself.

I wish I would be pampered, coddled and spoilt. They would kneel down and kiss my hand (in submission).

I will send any one of them who would upset her co-wife to her mom.

The woman is objectified, sexualized, and commodified in 'try all sizes'. To keep her proper-female image and attain social approval and desirability, the woman is responsible for 'gratifying', 'pampering' and 'bowing and kissing' the man's hand in utter submission. If any one of his 'co-wives' refuses to toe the line, she is *threatened* to be sent to her mom – a tacit reference to being expelled from his home. She is also threatened that she can plead for khul' (a type of divorce in Islam in which the woman abdicates all her lawful financial rights to redeem herself of her husband).

The two songs representing the EPS genre showed more similarities than differences (See Figure 2). In both songs, the SDSs of blame/ responsibility, negative female attributes/acts, and social approval were the most frequently used – albeit with varying degrees. Thus, while blame/ responsibility was the most prominent SDS in 'I am Si Ssayed', it was the social approval in 'The man'. Both songs also employed the threat/warning SDS. One of the major differences between the two songs is that 'I am Si Ssayed' employed in loco parentis and universalization while they were almost nonexistent in 'The Man'. This can be ascribed to the fact that 'I am Si Ssayed' is an Anglo-Egyptian song where universalization is expected to be used with high frequency. Even though both songs propagated masculine hegemony, one chose to employ in loco parentis while the other opted for promises to induce female obedience. The two ESS songs, on the other hand, showed one point of similarity, the use of *objectification*, yet varying degrees. The fact that 'I want to Marry Four' mainly used social approval and positive male attributes/acts more than objectification shows the attempt of the lyricist to propagate polygamy as part of the proper male image.

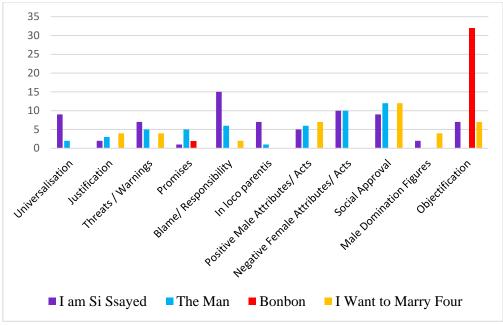


Figure 2
Sexist Discursive Strategies (by Song)

The quantitative analysis showed that there were more SDSs used in EPSs (63%) than in ESSs (37%). This can be explained in view of the target audience. We argue that the more educated the audience is (like the EPS case), the more there is a need to employ discursive strategies to achieve a goal. As a genre, EPS almost evenly employed three SDSs, namely, social approval, negative female attributes/acts, and blame/responsibility (See Figure 3). In

EPS, the SDSs propagate women subordination as a socially expected state of affairs, induced by women's (alleged) lack of positive characteristics and possession of faulty traits. The employment of *blame/responsibility* renders them responsible for all acts of male cruelty and misconduct. ESS, on the other hand, relied on the *objectification* of women, catering to women's desire to be beautiful and seductive.

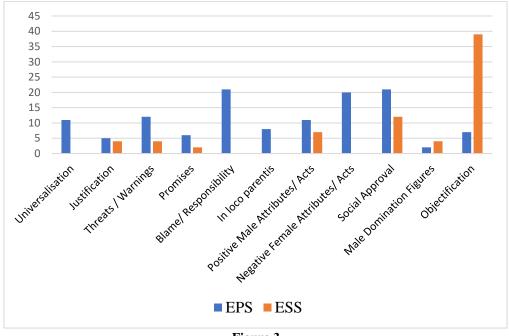
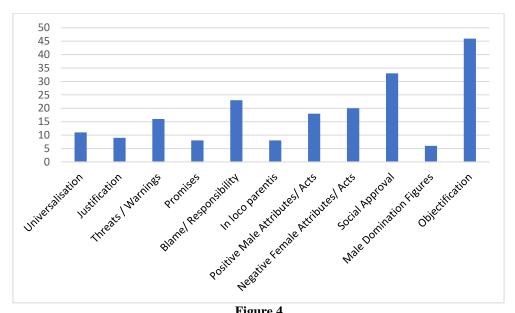


Figure 3
Sexist Discursive Strategies in EPSs & ESSs

The overall analysis showed that there were 6 SDSs that were most frequently used in the sexist songs: objectification, social approval, blame/responsibility, negative female attributes/ acts, positive male attributes/acts, as well as

threat/warning strategies (See Figure 4). We believe that such results should be taken into consideration in the construction of egalitarian, anti-sexist discourse (Section 5).



Sexist Discursive Strategies in the Four Songs

# **5. Concluding Remarks**

Songs express the fundamental ideologies of the culture in which they originate (Citron, 2000). Among these ideologies are those related to gender, as we partly form our concepts pertaining to relationships with the opposite sex from the music we listen to (Gallee, 2016). Sexist songs appeal to both genders and, therefore, lead to the normalization of sexist practices, which generate gender 'inequalities' (Jobo, 2016, p. 59). This deems it necessary to see the inner workings of such sexist discursive practices in order to counteract them. This study has attempted to investigate how sexism is constructed in Egyptian society in one form of popular culture, i.e., songs. The study of different musical genres can offer significant insights into different fabrics of social groups (Gallee, 2016). Social groups tend to have their own distinct sexist ideologies and approaches to gender issues. Hence came the need to compare sexist strategies in the two most widely popular music genres in Egypt: EPS and ESS. Overall, the analysis showed that sexist songs depended more frequently on Objectification, Social Approval, and Blame/Responsibility strategies, while Male Domination Figures, In loco parentis, and Promises were the least used.

Comparing the two music genres in terms of SDSs, the analysis revealed that Social Approval was significant to both genres, albeit more frequently used in EPS. The lyricists in both genres used Social Approval to achieve the desired form of gender relation. Meanwhile, though *Objectification* was the most frequently used strategy, this is due to its use in ESS and not in EPS. Objectification constituted more than half the SDS occurrences in ESS, while it occurred only in 5% of the SDSs employed in EPS. Occurrences of *Objectification* in EPS were limited to the English verses of "I'm Si Ssayed" sung by Snoop Dogg. We can, therefore, conclude that as far as EPS is concerned, the Objectification of women was not the focus of sexism.

Moreover, while *Blame/Responsibility* was of significant importance to EPS, it was nonexistent in ESS. A potential reason is that since both *blame* and *responsibility* need a good degree of 'epistemic state' and sophistication in the audience (Chockler & Halpern, 2004), ESS

lyricists were apparently too reluctant to include this strategy in their songs. Nor were some other strategies detected in ESS songs such as *Universalization*, *In loco parentis* and *Negative Female Attribute* and *Acts*.

The above points suggest that the orientation of Sexist Discursive Strategies in EPS is quite different from that of ESS. In both genres, the male/female dichotomy is delineated from different perspectives. In the EPS genre, emphasis is laid on the universal dichotomy between the hegemonic, powerful, wise men who command and the obstinate, ignorant, troublesome women who are bound to obey. In the ESS genre, on the other hand, the dichotomy is more of a sensual nature, mainly based on the objectification of women who only serve as sex objects to please the man. We can conclude that even though women in both genres were the target of oppression and unequal gender relations, it was the mind of the woman that was the target in EPS while it was her body that was blazoned forth in ESS.

We believe that the study of discourses of hegemony is mainly aimed at reaching more egalitarian societies. Based on our findings, we argue that egalitarian (i.e., anti-hegemonic) discourses within a society should be audiencesensitive in terms of the discursive strategies employed. For any such discourse to be effective, it has to take into consideration the socio-economic and class variables and utilize the same tools used to disseminate sexist notions about social relations and gender roles. Our proposed SDS framework can be employed to construct discourses of gender equality and just social power relations. Any anti-sexist discourse has to reverse the workings of the SDSs. Such discourse has to resist any objectification of women to reduce them to the state of a desired object. It also has to refute the that gender roles are claims predetermined and culturally approved. It needs to stress that women are not responsible for male misconduct and should not bear the responsibility for male actions. Moreover, such egalitarian gender discourse should address the 'Us-vs.-Them dichotomy', where women are depicted in a negative light. It has to vitiate the claims of grave consequences women would incur in case they fail to succumb to masculine hegemony. In future research, our proposed SDSs framework could be further investigated as to whether it could apply to other forms of sexist discourse. It is our firm belief that such studies may contribute to changing masculine hegemonic ideologies, which, being a social construct, are possible to change (Connell, 1987).

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# Appendix 1

This Appendix contains the original Arabiclanguage lyrics of the four songs.

# **Egyptian Pop Songs (EPSs)**

(I am Si Sayed) أنا سي السيد

# Excerpt 1

[Snoop Dogg] Tamer Hosny, Hero Big Snoop Dogg **HAHAHA** Uh Yeah! Check this out! It's only one man in the house baby And he wears the pants, so dance Dance Dance to the rhythm with set phone [Tamer Hosny] You, Snoop [Snoop Dogg] Yeah [Tamer Hosny] Welcome to our World [Snoop Dogg] Nephew, go ahead!

# Excerpt 2

[Tamer Hosny]

ليكي الكلام ولأي واحدة تحاول تلغي الفرق ما بين الراجل و بين الست وبیں ہے۔۔ لا یا حبیبتی فی فرقین إصرارك على المقارنة ما بينا بيضيع من عيني أنوثتك فاكرة كلمه حاضر لما اتقالت وأنا زعلان مش بوستك أنا الى اقول تعملي أيه أنا الى اقوله تمشى عليه ان الى الوت سسى ب زى مثلا كده يا حبيبتى تلبسى أيه وما تلبسيش أيه رو . إياكي مرة في يوم أنا الاقي ہیے رکی ہے۔ رجعالی متأخرة یا حیاتی إِنتِي فالهمه أيه الى ها يحصل وطبعاً انتي عارفة الباقي . تى كى - يست آه أنا سي السيد وكلامى هو الى ها يمشى آه أنا سي السيد مش عاجبك كلامي طب امشي

# Excerpt 3 [Snoop Dogg]

I'm the hero, the man, the head of the castle! No misunderstand there is no types of hassle! All agreed by the one you'll beat by The only way is my way to follow my lead!

Shake you make you a better woman! With more hugs and plugs and better love me! Cool as the breeze, the flowers in the trees Al Salam Aleiko Si Ssayed

# Excerpt 4 [Tamer Hosny]

صدقینی ای واحده معاها مفتاح قلب حبیبها ها تقدر فجأه تحوله من وحش لطفل ماسك ايدها وخوفى عليكي من حبى ليكي مش زى ما بتقولي عليا ده يا بخت من بكاني يا بنتي ولا ضحك الناس عليا أنتو ليه عاملين كده ليه ودماغكو دي معموله من ايه كل حاجه واخدينها تحدى من غير ما أصلاً تعملوا أيه كل يوم خناقة كبيرة على أتفه الأسباب والغيرة بجد تعبت زهقت خلاص مش طايق أسمع انا ولا سيره

# Excerpt 5 [Snoop Dogg]

Right she's smooth with some eye tear foam Everything is so tight, gotta get you so right My liberty to have the agility To educate and elevate about liberty The king is the king, whether east or west The real king steps with his empress oh yeah, and mine is fine as wine If she knew better, she makes me do better

#### (The Man) الراجل

# Excerpt 6

عايز أقولك حاجة اسمعى منى في اللي هيتقال لما الراجل يتكلم الست متعندش معاه متقولوش حاضر في كلام يتقال تاني يوم تنساه تفهمه وتقدر قيمته لو عايزة تكمل وياه ماهى لو بتعامله بطيبة وحنية وحب وإخلاص تاخد عينه وتدلع ويصونها وتتشال ع الراس وقت ما تغلط تتحاسب يسامحها على أي أساس إنت فاهمة الدنيا غلط بابن متعلمتيش

#### Excerpt 7

الراجل لما يحب بجد يحب بكل ما فيه واللي بتفهم بتريح وبتعرف إزاى ترضيه مبيقساش غير لو حس إن الست دي مش باقية عليه واللى تحافظ على بيتها وأسرار بيتها دي تبقا تمام واللي بتصبر على حالها مشاكلها بتتحل أوام واللي تألف في مشاكل معروف إنها أي كالم خلص الكلام أما نشوف أخرتها معاكي إيه

#### Egyptian Sha'by Songs (ESSs)

(Bonbon) بونبوناية

# Excerpt 8

بونبوناية ملبساية يا سنيوريتا يا بسكويتة قوامها سمباتيك خدودها طعمة كيك

# **Excerpt 9**

من أين لكِ هذا؟ ليه تقلانة ولماذا؟ ولا اكمنك فريش وش القفص وطازة وحياة ابوكي رقي نفسي تحليلي بوقي يمكن ربك يسهل بقى وتقلب جوازة

# **Excerpt 10**

وسط استك مش بلاستك عودها ولعة وناري والعة قوامها فلتة مفيهش غلطة قوامها فلتة مفيهش غلطة آه لو تديني قطة مش مستحمل يا قطة انتي جمالك معدي وحلاوتك زايدة حتة انا شوفتك قلبي هيس بعد اما كان كويس وانا بقى هديكي صوتي لو كان للحب ريس آه مشمشاية حتة لوزاية

# Excerpt 11

عليها رمش عين يجيب رجل التخين بت قادرة عملة نادرة عليكي هزة تعمل اكبر نسبة مشاهدة وسطك محتاج خرايط وانا قلبي بجد شايط دي كلمة لاء منك تتباع ياختي ف شرايط

# (I want to marry four) عايز أتجوز أربعة

# Excerpt 12

أنا راجل بتاع ستات انا بحب الستات موت انا بحب الستات موت نفسي أتجوز أربعة، أصلى دماغي مطرقعة نفسي أتجوز أربعة، اصلى دماغي مطرقعة أنا أصلي كلمتي واحدة، هامشيهم على العجين هبقى راجل مش شورتها واللي هاتز عل دُرتها، أنا هارمى عليها اليمين عايز ابقى راجل شديد شخصيتى من حديد زى الحاج متولى وزى هارون الرشيد

#### Excerpt 13

عايز اجرب كل المقاسات الرفيع والتخنان دة تظبطني ودة تدلعني واللي مايعجبهاش تخلعني انا نفسى اتهشك ويدلعو فيا في الرايحة والجاية يوطو يحبو على اديا واللي هنزعل درتها هروحها عند مامتها