

**GENDER ISSUES AND WOMEN'S PORTRAYAL IN
SECULAR AMHARIC SONGS PRODUCED IN
CASSETTES (IN 1997 E.C.)**

BY: TSION YOHANNES

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**By
Tsion Yohannes**

Approved by board of examiners

Chairperson of Department Graduate Committee

Signature

Internal Advisor

Signature

External Examiner

Signature

Internal Examiner

Signature

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Abstract

This study explored the content of 653 Amharic songs produced in cassettes in 1997 E.C. in order to assess women's portrayal and existing gender issues in the lyrics. The songs were analyzed based on a coding sheet that was developed using 16 physical traits, 19 personality traits and 3 variables on division of labor related to women. In addition, in-depth interviews were undertaken with 10 songwriters in order to assess what affects the content of songs, and to study women's role in writing lyrics.

The results show that the most dominant song types are songs on romantic love at 72.3%, while the least frequent song types are songs on unromantic love amounting to 1.8%. The result also revealed that the most frequent value in regards to personality traits is portrayal of the woman as dependent. This was found in 84 songs or 12.9% of the whole.

Women were presented with both positive and negative connotations. However, from the cumulative sum of the portrayals, the study generally affirmed the assumption that women's portrayal in Amharic songs produced during in 1997 E.C. is more negative than positive. This means that women are more portrayed as untrustworthy, dependent, irrational, incompetent, cruel, careless, haughty, jealous and as quitters than as trustworthy, independent, assertive, and fulfilling. Concerning division of labor, women were also portrayed as engaging mainly in domestic responsibilities than in the public sphere.

In relation to women's power over the messages transmitted through this media, it is also found out that women play limited roles (being only 6.9 % of the songwriters in 1997 E.C.). Therefore, this shows that what is considered to be women's experience is more expressed by men than women. The study also showed that women singers more than male singers, were found to transmit negative portrayals of women in relation to such traits as dependence, and incompetence. On the other hand, women singers were also observed portraying women more as assertive, and trustworthy. This shows that women are socialized into accepting and reflecting such definitions. Therefore, there is a need to increase women's confidence with regard to their capacity and skills.

Generally, the study is significant in its contribution as a background information for further studies aimed at assessing the effect of songs on the public, and on how women's portrayal in songs affects women's role in the public sphere.

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I declare that this thesis is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged:

Name of the student	Signature	Date
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I confirm that this thesis has been submitted with my approval as supervisor of the same:

Name of the supervisor	Signature	Date
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background

Worldwide, songs are used as means of entertainment and ways of emitting feelings and messages. Apart from transmitting messages, songs show societal perceptions and standards. Nevertheless, despite their role in transmitting messages and their appeal to the larger population, songs have been largely neglected in the research world. In line with this, gender issues and women's portrayal in Amharic songs is one of the unexplored areas, despite the fact that music is one of the growing industries, which can have positive as well as negative impacts on women's image. With this concern, this study focuses on Amharic songs produced in 1997 in Ethiopian Calendar, which were the most recent song records available at the inception of the research.

Content analysis of songs produced in cassettes is the main subject matter of this research, since songs (as one part of music) have important functions in society in the way they are used to express oneself and in the way they reflect the real and sometimes the unreal. According to Tibleste Asgedom (1982:26) people in Ethiopia, as elsewhere in the world generally listen to songs or sing to express their happiness, sorrow, religious feelings, patriotism, feelings of love, anger etc. Hence, music plays a great role in these aspects as a means of communicating a feeling.

Means of communication such as music socialize people into accepting or rejecting certain behaviors. In this regard, Ruth (1995:388) notes that some of the most important media like newspapers, radio, television, magazines, paintings, advertising, books and films carry ideas and they also serve as powerful tools in 'framing attitudes and forming opinions.' Thus, media teach people the desirable way to act and behave. Therefore, through ideas and images reflected in songs, one can also distinguish what is expected or what is considered as an appropriate behavior from the society. In relation to this it is also stated by Csikszentmihalya (1981: 335) that through the life cycle of a person, what one has learned from experience also determines what that person decides to do, how that person decides to act, and wants with whom to be.

Songs are also seen as statements of a society in which they are formulated. According to Lewis (1968 as cited in Woube 1995:1), songs are culture specific and vary from place to place in their content and the way they are sung. Like gender, songs are social constructs that are dynamic in nature. They can show people's mindset as well as the social, political, and economic situations in a county or area.

In line with the above assertions, the study explores women's image in Amharic songs produced in cassettes 1997 E.C. In addition to identifying women's image, the study also investigates to what extent women's reality, life experience, and worldviews have been presented by singers and songwriters. Moreover, other factors that affect songwriters' themes in their songs are explored. The difference between female and male songwriters' portrayal of women is also assessed.

The chief reason for conducting this research is to evaluate women's representation in songs, and power relations between women and men. The research is also conducted with the assumption that the image of women in this media should be studied, given songs' popularity and ensuing influence on the larger population. This allows for the generation of hypotheses on the reasons for women's under representation in different sectors.

Two major research methods are used in the research, which are content analysis of the songs, and in-depth interviews with songwriters. The theoretical framework for analyzing the data is Feminist Post-structuralist theory, which puts language at the center of its inquiry. Generally, this research is also conducted with the major assumption that Amharic songs produced in cassettes in 1997 E.C. convey a more negative than positive image of women.

This paper is divided into five major sections. They are introduction, review of related literature, research design and methodology, interpretation and analysis of data, and conclusion and recommendation parts. In these sections, how the research is conducted to present reliable and valid information and to ensure rigor is discussed. Furthermore, qualitative and quantitative presentation of the research findings on the portrayal of women in Amharic songs produced in cassettes in 1997 E.C. is made.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Currently, different traditional and modern secular Amharic songs are available to the general public in Ethiopia through cassette records, CDs, radio and television transmissions. These are increasing in quantity and variety. Moreover, they are part of everyday life as they are heard at home, in the streets and even in transportation services. Despite lack of sufficient attention to the issue, songs as part of media are serving as one way of socializing people.

The importance of studying language in order to understand how gender is constructed is emphasized by many authors. Johnson and Meinhof (1997:23) argue that language mirrors gender, and at the same time helps to build it. Furthermore, gender needs to be given attention since it defines people's identity, the roles they play, and according to Wiegman and Glasberg (1999: 3), how people look at themselves.

Songs also present and reveal gender relations, roles, norms and sanctions. However, prior investigation on women's image in Amharic songs has not been undertaken. Moreover, there are no studies undertaken on how songs relate to the life experiences of songwriters and singers. In addition to the inadequate attention given to the issue, there is also apparent lack of understanding on the possible effect of portrayals in lyrics on women.

Negative portrayals about women can influence women's achievement and their performance in different sectors. For instance, if the portrayal of women is more related to work in the private sphere, it may affect women's performance in the public sphere. In addition to affecting women's performance, portrayals through the mass media also affect the attitude of the public about women. These portrayals could be made in relation to women's competence, trustworthiness, independence and so on. Though there are no studies undertaken in Ethiopia in relation to what kind of images and female role models exist in songs, there are some studies done on such images in television and advertisement. In a study undertaken by Kenaw GebreSelassie (2006) on women's image on television advertisements, it was found out that the image of women is largely negative. However, because of lack of information on women's image in Amharic songs,

this study aims at assessing the existing portrayals and if there is a balanced image of women.

The widely held assumption about portrayals of women is that they are products of society. These images are transmitted, promoted and maintained through stories, pictures and a range of different media. Songs as part of popular culture also transmit perceptions about women. Moreover, songs are listened for recreational than educational purposes. Therefore, the way they transmit messages is subtle. In addition, songs are listened to by different age groups of people, including young children. Children in this aspect obtain impressions about the proper ways for women and men to behave from these subtle impressions transmitted by the media. Therefore, due to their high reception among the society and their possible effects, the study focuses on assessing contents of songs in relation to gender issues.

In relation to the effect of negative portrayals of women and their possible roles in socializing people, there is lack of understanding and awareness on the issue. Thus, songs with negative connotations are aired in both the national television and radio. However, in face of women's low participation in different sectors, the researcher believes in the need to promote a more positive and balanced image of women. In addition to this, songs can be utilized to change perceptions about women and can contribute towards improving their self-image and changing the status quo. Therefore, this study undertakes an assessment of all songs produced in 1997 in Ethiopian Calendar (i.e. September 2004-2005 in Gregorian calendar), to present a comprehensive overview of women's image in Amharic songs during that period.

1.3. Research questions

This research is formulated with the primary purpose of answering the following research questions:

- What are the images (most frequent traits) associated with women in Amharic songs?
- How do these portrayals fit into gender issues like femininity/ masculinity, patriarchy, and division of labor?
- What are the similarities and differences between portrayals of women in songs sung by women and men?
- How do these portrayals relate to the experience of singers and songwriters?

1.4. Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the images of women in Amharic songs in relation to gendered or culturally prescribed roles and to distinguish what kind of roles are sanctioned and what is considered as proper behavior for women according to standards set by society and expressed through songs.

The secondary purpose of this research is to assess women's position in the music industry with regards to their role in singing and writing songs. This information enables the researcher to evaluate to what extent women have been given voices through this media.

The research will bring attention to this issue, so that similar researches on different media can be undertaken on their portrayal of women. This will also serve as a way of bringing attention to the use of music and songs for constructive purposes concerning women's education, health and other development issues.

1.5. Significance of the study

This study is significant because of the following reasons. The first is related to socialization through songs. Songs, as part of media that is growing rapidly, can have a greater impact in socializing community into a certain mindset. Hence, the study explores certain features of songs in relation to women's portrayal, and can serve as a reference for those aiming to do research on the role and impact of songs in the socialization process. The study will serve as groundwork for the next generation researchers interested to probe more in relation to portrayals in songs and on their influence on behaviors and roles.

Despite the fact that this is an important issue, to date, there is a significant shortage of research documents on this topic or study area. The researcher believes that studies on women's portrayal need to be undertaken since women' image plays an important role in the way people perceive them and the way they are treated in social, economic and political sectors as well as in everyday life. In relation to this, the effect of songs in society is also another issue that needs to be explored. Therefore, this research is the first of its kind in providing information on women's portrayal in songs. The study can also be used as a springboard for further studies that will target popular culture and its effect on women.

It is also noted that there are no specific regulations or rules with regard to the content of song lyrics. Songwriters and singers have the choice of writing on the issues they are interested in and reflecting the values they want. Thus, songwriters as well as those who aim to challenge these attitudes and perceptions will benefit through a better understanding of the existing status of women both in the contents of the lyrics and in the music industry.

In addition to the previously mentioned facts, the research is also undertaken with the assumption that there is a more negative image of women in Amharic songs produced in this specific period of time. It is believed that portrayals need to be improved and a more positive image of women will improve women's reception as well as their status. The research can therefore contribute to the betterment of women's position in society by showing the need to change the practice of singers and song writes and indicating the

necessity of critically assessing their songs and their implications. The findings can be devised in bringing a certain level of awareness about the need to give attention to such powerful media like popular culture.

According to Sweetman (1995:5), popular culture is identified as a critical means of reinforcing the ruling ideas that define social relations. Moreover, Sweetman added that in addition to the dominant group's control in the media, there is a need to recognize the power and role of the media in challenging and changing the status quo. Media thus can also be used in a positive way to build the image of women, and to disclose role models for other women. For this reason studying the content of songs and portrayal of women will be constructive in challenging negative portrayals and in assessing who has power over the messages transmitted through songs, and how this affects the way gender is constructed.

To narrow the scope to a manageable size, the research is focused on recent songs (produced in 1997 E.C). However, it can also serve as a reference material for those who are interested to do a comparative analysis of contemporary and old songs.

1.6. Limitations of the study

Some limitations of this study are as follows:

- The research focuses only on Amharic language despite the fact that there are diverse ethnic groups and languages in Ethiopia. The research will thus, not be able to address the different portrayals in different languages, as it has to be manageable within the limited time and resource.
- The second limitation of this research is in relation to language. There is a need to translate some verses from Amharic to English. This is expected to reduce, if not change their original flavor. This is because of the use of the 'wax and gold' form of writing where one word or sentence may give different meanings in the way it is constructed. Nevertheless, in such cases meticulous work is done by the researcher to pinpoint the meanings related to women's portrayal in the examples cited.

- As the number of female songwriters is very limited, the researcher had a very limited access to conduct in-depth- interviews with females. This is found to be a result of a number of additional drawbacks. The first one is because of the very small number of female songwriters in 1997 E.C. The second reason is attributed to the women writers' invisibility. This is to mean that those female songwriters who are found in the list are not well known to the researcher's informants and the large majority of male songwriter population. Therefore, these factors made the process of gaining access to female songwriters difficult and limited.

1.7. Operational definitions

The following operational definitions are prepared by the researcher in order to categorize songs based on the content of the lyrics.

- Geographical song** – is song about geographical places, country etc
- Patriotic song** – are songs expressing loyalty to one's country or a location.
- Song sung for an occasion** – are songs sung on different occasions, like holidays, weddings...
- Songs on romantic love**- are songs focusing on romantic relations.
- Songs on unromantic love**-are songs related to non-romantic relations (family, friends)
- Song on a theme** – are songs on different concepts, arguments, issues etc (i.e. songs on concepts with the exclusion of those focusing on the above 5 categories)

Chapter Two

Review of related literature

This chapter is divided into six major sections. The first section is on the historical background of secular songs in Ethiopia. This looks into the different perspectives about the origin of secular Amharic songs in Ethiopia, and the development of music in general. In the second section, literature on overview of studies made on songs and content analysis in Ethiopia is presented. This is used to assess some related works done in relation to the topic in Ethiopia, and to show the need for a more comprehensive study on women's portrayal in secular Amharic songs.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the construction of gender through songs. This part is relevant for the study in the way it shows how femininity is a social construction and a learned way of acting. This section also shows some related findings and assumptions from literature review on femininity, and physical traits and personality traits associated with women.

In the fourth section, sexual division of labor is the focus. This shows women's roles and responsibilities in everyday life, and discusses how lack of reflections on these in different texts affects women. In addition, in the fifth section on sexism in language, literature is assessed to show how women have been made invisible through language itself. The last section is on the theoretical framework used in undertaking this research. This assesses the framework used in this study, which is feminist post-structuralist theory. This shows why the theory is selected and how it fits with the research questions.

2.1. Historical background of secular songs in Ethiopia

The origin of secular songs in Ethiopia has different narratives that differ in timeframe and account. Drawing on the work of (Ashenafi Kebede, 1971: 25), one assumption about the origin of songs in Ethiopia is related to the Hamito-Semitic immigrants. According to this perspective, it is believed that the Hamito-Semitic people who crossed over the Red Sea to Ethiopia brought their songs with them contributing to the birth of secular songs in Ethiopia. These races are believed to have used 'rituals, songs and dances to accompany sacrificial services of the dragon cult.' This account is accompanied by the hypothesis

that these songs might have mixed later with musical practices of the indigenous inhabitants to form the backdrop for Ethiopian secular and sacred music (ibid: 53).

The second assumption is linked with that of sacred music. In this aspect, the growth of secular songs is attributed to Saint Yared of the 15th century, who is well known for composing Ethiopian Orthodox church service music (ibid: 25). Since the time of Frumentius, the first bishop of Ethiopia, music had played prominent roles in church services. Church songs were coordinated by sistra, drums and dances. According to Ashenafi (1971:12) this church music was especially cultivated by ‘debteras’ and it was during the reign of Gebre Meskel (550-564 A.D) that Yared, ‘the great composer of songs and hymns, cultivated poetry, song and dance as a unified whole.’ Saint Yared is credited by those who study the history of churches with the invention of notation, creation of the Ethiopian spiritual church music and the three principles of singing, namely geez, ezil, and araray (ibid :40). In this regard, the assumption is that the secular music got much of its melodic patterns and style from the sacred music. According to Ashenafi (1971:55), the sacred was gradually adapted and developed through the azmaris who had church training. In his words, “the secular folk music tradition has flourished as the humble servant of the Christian religious music” (ibid: 55).

The third assumption about the origin of secular songs in Ethiopia is associated with the Queen Sheba myth. There is not sufficient information on this issue; however, it is alleged that after returning from Jerusalem, Queen Sheba brought with her levities who were serving as musicians in the temple in Jerusalem (MOI, 1968:8 as cited in Woube Kassaye, 1995:25).

From the above three speculations, one can conclude that there hardly exists a common understanding and concrete evidence on the origin of Ethiopian secular music. The issue is still a subject of controversy. This may be attributed to either lack of information or lack of inquiry on the issue.

As in the case of the origin of music in Ethiopia, there is lack of comprehensive information on the history of secular Amharic songs. There are independent researches done on Amharic songs in different timeframes and contexts. Woube Kassaye (1997: 90) in his study presented data on Amharic songs produced before 1994 E.C. In this study the

researcher states that the first original cassette (that is ‘cassette having an established record label’) printed in Ethiopia was assumed to be Alemayehu Eshete’s album that was printed in 1974. However, with regard to albums printed on discs, Woube Kassaye (1995:30) notes that there were a few albums produced before the Italian occupation. Evidence of such records was also found from Falceto’s (2001:44) assertion that, in 1939 during the Italian invasion, about 248 songs featuring most famous Ethiopian artists were recorded.

However, until the beginning of 20th century, it was the “Azmaris”, who Ashenafi Kebede (1976:294) defined as “strolling poet musicians of Ethiopia” that monopolized secular music in Ethiopia (Solomon Mulugeta, 1993:13). The azmaris, despite their contribution to the growth of secular Amharic songs, were gradually marginalized from the current market. In this regard, (Ashenafi Kebede, 1976: 294) notes that the disappearance of the “azmaris” can be attributed to the growing accessibility of music on Radio.

Azmaris are well known for their ability to express ideas in poetic terms through use of words and phrases that have double meanings. They were able to reflect feelings, situations, and social issues through witticism and entertainment. Powns (1968:67) notes that these singers had a very important role in transmitting and maintaining traditions of Ethiopia. In his words he states that they ‘sing ‘of the past and preserve it for the future.’ Nonetheless, because they were not given enough attention and were overtaken by the market they are slowly disappearing and remaining confined to mead houses and traditional nightclubs (*Azmaris Betoach*).

From the above literatures, it was possible to look at likely explanations about how the secular Amharic song may have originated. However, in looking at the preference or popularity of songs in Ethiopia, there is still much research to be done in the area. Availability of such information will in turn lead to inquiries on the effect of songs on audiences. Concerning traditional songs, Ashenafi Kebede’s (1976: 292) assertion is that traditional country folk prefer “the soft, quiet, and clear tones of a single instrument in an intimate setting such as ‘tej bet’ or honey mead houses.” Azmaris are known to accompany their songs with these single instruments. In relation to the musical aspect of traditional songs, it was noted by Ashenafi Kebede that there is repetition of melodies, showing that high value and appreciation is rather attached to the meanings of songs

rather than to the musical aspects. Ashenafi Kebede (1971:56), in his words notes that “The verses in folk music are considered to be as important as the melody itself, if not more so.” Moreover, lack of purely instrumental music in Ethiopia’s traditional music also shows that the music is more vocal than instrumental (Ashenafi Kebede, 1977: 386). Thus, this importance attached to the verses strengthens the need to focus on portrayal and representation as found in song lyrics.

2.2. Overview of studies made on songs and content analysis

In general, songs have been marginalized in the research world. Agau (1992:3) asserts that this marginalization has been especially marked because of the fact that songs combine two characteristics. Songs embrace both the musical and language aspects, thus giving rise to difficulties in making a combined analysis of both components. She states that, in order to give songs due attention needed, it is necessary to separate the musical and language aspects and to do analysis from one of the two perspectives. Moreover, Leonard and House (1959), Howes (1958) and Meriam (1964) as cited in (Woube Kassaye, 1995: 23-24) argue that non-lyric music cannot be considered as language because it does not reflect values and norms in a given society. With this consideration, due focus should be given to studying the lyrics of songs in order to present an analysis of what their content is and to understand how it relates to the society in which they are constructed.

In Ethiopia, there is not much written with reference to songs and content analysis. Studies made on different issues related to content analysis and songs in Ethiopia are also undertaken in different contexts for different purposes. Although there is scant information on contents of songs with regard to gender issues, there are studies made on oral literature in Ethiopia. From a bibliography review (Fekade Azeze, 1994) it was able to infer that there are different works on Ethiopian oral literature in different senior essays by Language and Literature students, and in articles in ‘Zena Bahil’ and ‘Zena Lisan’ magazines. However, for the purpose of this research, only those studies made in relation to songs and with notable contributions to this research are mentioned below.

Concerning the issue, some researchers like Ashenafi Kebede (1971), Shelemey, K.K., Jeffery, P., & Monson I. (1993), and Zenebe Bekele (1987) have undertaken researches

on the musical (melodic) aspect of songs. With regards to studies on lyrics, there is a content analysis on Ethiopian songs and their implication to the education curriculum made by Woube Kassaye (1995), which was quantitative in nature and focused on categorizing songs based on different variables. This research has information on all recorded secular Amharic songs before 1994. There are also some researches carried out for graduate and postgraduate studies on women's image in proverbs and in different literature. Other than the research done by Woube Kassaye (1995), researches done in relation to this topic focused mainly on oral narratives, proverbs, plays and poetry.

There are few studies done on song contents, most of which are not mainly focused on gender issues. In relation to oral narratives and women's portrayal, Yeshe H/Mariam (1995) did a research on Amharic proverbs on Women in Ethiopia, and collected about 258 proverbs and analyzed 54 of them in order to look at the functions of Amharic proverbs in relation to the patriarchal system. She looked at how the proverbs portray women and their status in the society, and related the proverbs with different issues like sexual division of labor, violence, motherhood and wifehood.

Ashenafi Kebede (1971) in his work started with general introductions about Ethiopia- the geography, climate, historical and cultural background and different periods. He also looked further into sources of music and song types, song texts and musical instruments in Ethiopia. Moreover, the role of Azmaris and their destiny in the "technological age" were studied, after which he made musical transcriptions, analyses and descriptions. In this study Ashenafi took Amharic lyrics, and transcribed, and discussed 14 songs in detail. He then analyzed the scale, rhythm, meter, tempo, frequency, range, texture and form of songs.

In relation to women's portrayal there is one recent work undertaken by Kenaw Gebreselassie (2006). This research focused on women's image in Advertisements that are transmitted through Ethiopian Television. The researcher was able to look at the content of advertisements and infer that there are widespread gender stereotypes that are transmitted through this media to the general population.

From the researches undertaken on Amharic songs, it was also found out that there are some classifications. These classifications of songs are not uniform, but show variations depending on the purpose and content of the study undertaken.

According to Ashenafi Kebede (1971: 60-75), types of Ethiopian secular music can be classified into the following categories. These are

- **Zefen** or secular songs that express happiness
- **Ingurguro**- songs of complaint
- **Shilela** – patriotism songs
- **Lekso** – songs of woe and sadness
- **Yebaelet zefenoch and yeserg zefenoch** (i.e. holiday and wedding songs)
- **Misgana** – songs of praise , especially sung by traditional singers (Azmaris)
- **Zemenawi zema** – modern songs printed in commercial establishments or through producers, and
- **Political songs** – songs with political content

Woube Kassaye (1995:19) on his part classified secular Amharic songs into the following category:

- Traditional music**- is music that usually uses traditional musical instruments, with ideas related to the culture and formulated into culturally and socially meaningful sounds.
- Modern music**- is that which utilizes the present and most recent techniques, methods and ideas in music. (Here the author has not specified whether this includes both the melodic and lyrical aspects.)
- Modern native oriented** - traditional forms of music modified in accordance with the definition provided for modern music. This may imply traditional songs that are accompanied with modern musical instruments.
- Modern foreign Oriented** - substitution of non-Ethiopian forms of music employed, in accordance with definition provided for modern music.

Woube's classification includes both the lyrical and melodic contents. However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will focus on what Ashenafi Kebede (1971:60-75) called 'Zemenawi Zema' or modern songs produced in commercial establishments. Thus, secular Amharic songs produced on cassettes in 1997 E.C. will be analyzed to assess gender issues and women's portrayal in the lyrics.

Generally, the above researches are related to Amharic songs, proverbs, or women's portrayal. However, one can infer that there is a need for a comprehensive work on gender issues in secular Amharic songs in order to assess the portrayal of women that is transmitted to the public through popular culture. Moreover, a research combining qualitative and quantitative information on women's portrayal in Amharic songs through utilization of a feminist theory is not readily available. Thus, this research will be useful in presenting a new outlook at the issue.

2.3. Gender construction through songs

Culture and gender are both intertwined and interdependent (Sweetman, 1995: 8). Culture, by definition is a 'pattern of expectations' about how to act in any given situation, and behaviors and beliefs of members of society. Culture indicates the norms that shape everyday life (Andersen, 2006:27). These patterns of expectation are communicated to the public through different channels like parents, friends, the media, schools, and religious organizations (ibid: 21). These institutions have important roles in socializing people about gender roles and identities.

Music is also an aspect of culture, which is dynamic. It contains both lyrical and melodic components. Moreover, it is shaped by people's actions and transferred from generation to generation. Music is also generated and regenerated, gives to, and borrows from other cultures (Tibleste Asgedom, 1982: 27). In addition, Zenebe Bekele (1987:45) states that, the influence of music on people and people on music is interconnected. In this aspect, this media can also be cited as a place where values and perceptions of those in the making of this media are transferred to the larger community.

As the social system changes, the particular ways in which music is produced, distributed and consumed changes. This implies that music at any given time may contain 'traces of

the past, influences of the present and projections into the future' (Attali, 1985:19 as cited in Woube Kassaye, 1995: 29). Therefore, it is very important to study the content of songs, as they can also play important roles in generating changes with regard to gender inequalities.

In regard to promotion of ideal feminine traits, (Bordo, 1993: 94) states that 'the rules of femininity have come to be culturally transmitted more and more through standardized visual images.' In relation to this, it can also be included that ideal feminine traits are not transmitted only through visual images. Music and songs also play important roles in the way they serve in transmitting messages, expectations and stereotypes to the larger population.

Femininity and masculinity are social constructions. According to Jackson and Scott (2002:311), femininity is 'a process through which women are gendered and become specific sorts of women.' Male and female identities are expressed in language, thus constructing images as well as re-enforcing the existing ideals. They are not innate characteristics of individuals, but arise from social action and interaction (ibid: 283). The statement that "women are made rather than born" applies to this assertion. Women, therefore, internalize and display the expected characteristics.

Similarly, masculinity is also a social construction, which establishes certain characters to be exhibited as ideal male behavior, conduct, and way of reaction. However, it is not possible to provide a clear-cut universal definition of what feminine and masculine characters are as the values and ideals vary from culture to culture and language to language. Weedon (1994:22), and Bristor and Fischer (1993:521), state that the meanings of femininity and masculinity vary even between discourses within a single language and between different feminist discourses within that language.

The issue of femininity and masculinity is also connected to another front, i.e. the issue of body image. According to Bartky (1990 cited in Jackson and Scott, 2002: 319), the ideal feminine body is constructed through disciplinary practices in the need to conform to the ideal image. The fact that extreme measures ranging from undergoing plastic and reconstructive surgery and strict dieting, that frequently end up in severe health problems have been observed in the quest to conform to the standard expectations. In this regard,

Jackson (1992:182) states that personality traits like masculinity, femininity and gender roles can also influence one's bodily image. These characteristics contribute to differences in body image perception among females and males. Using the existing categories and stereotypes and the frustrations these categories bring about, the beauty industry is turning this to its advantage and exploiting people (Jackson and Scott, 2002: 405).

Although research on the social construction of body image is lacking in Ethiopia, reports are obtained from studies undertaken in other parts of the world. One such finding, based on the socio-cultural perspective, from the United States showed the following. It was found out that physical appearance is more important for females than males because the culture values an attractive appearance more in females than in males. Hence, females take more actions to enhance their attractiveness (Jackson, 1992:202). This study also states that physical attractiveness stereotype is stronger for females than for males as established from reviews made on literature. It is further asserted that, unattractiveness has more negative societal implications on females than on males (ibid: 72-106).

In addition to physical images, certain personality traits are also delineated for females and males in different cultural contexts. Femininity is usually discussed in relation to appearance and physical image. As Skeggs (1997:102) asserted 'physical appearance may be less of a sign of femininity than wider practices such as caring'. In different cultures, there are different sets of expectations from females and males. In some cultures while caring is meant to connote one behavioral trait attributed to women, men are expected to have difficulty in expressing their emotions, such as not to shed tears in public (Jackson and Scott, 2002: 419). Thus, femininity and masculinity vary from place to place, not only in reference to physical traits, but also in behavioral traits and ways of acting.

Joan Acker, a feminist sociologist uses the concept of "gendered institution" to explain that gender expectations are passed to men and women through institutions, but at the same time, the institutions are also structured along gendered lines. These institutions show 'stereotypical expectations in social, economic, and political hierarchies' (Andersen, 2006:31), and shape perceptions about reality (Fillion, 1997:287). Moreover, this assertion that institutions inculcate gender expectations can be supplemented with the

idea that most institutions are patriarchal reflecting low participation and presence of women.

On the other hand, differing from the above perspective, Wilkinson (1976:161) inferred that unlike the expectation to find idealistic portrayals that reveal the sex-role stereotypes, the element of “romantic love” might present unexpected images of women and men. This differs from expectation of men to be portrayed as “active, courageous, aggressive and independent”, and expectation of women to be seen as “passive, emotional and petty”.

In looking at the effect of media on people, some of the arguments are as follows. According to Martin (1995:11) it is stated that mass media and formal education are under the control of dominant groups who create ideologies to sustain their position and existing inequalities. To this end, Barrett (1980: 84-113 as cited in Richardson and Robinson, 1993: 124), comments that ‘Ideology can be a powerful source of inequality as well as rationalization of it’. Andersen (2006:56) also emphasizes this point with the argument that dominant culture has distorted women’s image with stereotypes that are used to “legitimize the status quo”. She adds that these stereotypes do not represent the real life experience of women in different societies. In relation, Tuchman (1979:542) notes that even some unintentional practices in the media may in fact subordinate or misrepresent women.

However, it is important to note that popular culture can also be channeled to convey and build positive images about women. According to Andersen (2006:59), it is stated that ‘popular culture can be transformative. This shows that people have ‘the ability to interpret, resist and change.’

2.4. Sexual division of labor in texts

Popular culture is one of the media conveying impressions about the proper roles of women and men, their gendered identities and their self-concepts (Andersen, 2006: 56). In addition, through this media it is possible to see if women’s contributions have been recognized, to what extent it is valued or whether it is valued at all.

Women in Ethiopia and elsewhere are engaged in different types of work. These can be divided into productive and reproductive work in addition to work done for maintaining social cohesion. Due to the existing sexual division of labor, women are shouldering the burden of getting subsistence and carrying out domestic responsibilities. In relation to domestic and agricultural tasks, they also work more and longer each day than men. In some studies, it has been revealed that women work more than 15 hours per day (Zewdie and Junge 1980; as cited in Tsion and Ayalnesh, 1992:8). However, despite their contributions and responsibilities their role has not been recognized and their work is rather considered as leisure. Bonner et al (1995:3) supports this statement with the claim that 'Women's work is 'valued' or judged and criticized in a variety of ways, but nearly always within the context of patriarchal culture and its norms. Consequently, women's role has been undervalued through the years. Women are subordinated not because their work is unimportant. The widely prevalent attitude is that women are consumers than producers. However, according to (Leacock et al, 1986:6), women's labor in production and reproduction is fundamental to the maintenance of economic systems.

In this regard, from representations in popular culture it will be possible to assess to what extent women's roles and responsibilities are recognized, and valued.

2.5. Sexism in language

The importance of understanding language in order to assess existing values has been emphasized by different authors. Scott (1988:3 as cited in Lennie, 1999:100) and Zimmerman (1987 as cited in Davies and Elder, 2006:304) state that language is a crucial means of understanding how social relations are conceived and also one of the most important means through which gender is shaped and constituted. Feminists also assert that gender identity is not natural, given or inborn, but rather formed within language and open to alteration and reform (Richardson and Robinson, 1993: 163). In addition, analysis of language with regard to who has control over the means of producing and reproducing it, and whether the language itself contributes to strengthening the dominant group's position should be undertaken to decide whether sexism exists in that language.

Thus, as gender identity is formed within language it is important to note whether women have been given enough roles to influence language, or if they have received reasonable

representation. The feminist assertion is that women have been marginalized and language is male dominated. With regard to the English language, Jackson (1992:8-9) notes that there is apparent male domination and gendered connotations. The example cited here is the common English use of masculine pronouns as applying to the whole society. Use of pronouns like 'he', and 'his', to refer to any unspecified or unidentified person who may in fact be either female or male is unjustified. In support of this, it is pointed out that supposedly gender-neutral meanings may not in fact be gender-neutral. They may in reality increase the invisibility of women in texts (Logan, 1997: 221). Thus, Amharic language should also be studied to assess whether there are existing biases against women in the language, the invisibility that may exist and to study if women do not get fair representation.

2.6. Theoretical framework

Feminist theory is based on a series of assumptions, one of which is that women's and men's experiences are different and that the world is not the same for women and men.' (Jaggar and Rothenberg, 1993:81). One of the viewpoints is that situations and experiences are diverse in different cases- i.e. in different geographical and cultural contexts. This idea disputes with the concept of 'essentialism' which according to (Bonner et al, 1995: 2) argues that women are 'born, not made', and that 'womanhood' is innate rather than socially constructed.'

Feminists, with regard to language have argued that 'male domination is encoded in language'. This silences and fails to recognize women (Smith 1997; Spender 1985 cited in Lennie, 1999:100). However, they also argue that such meaning systems can be contested and subverted. A feminist post-structuralist perspective also sees language as a site where a neutral means of expression does not exist at present. Language is the central element in post-structuralist analysis. For this purpose, this research will take post-structuralist theory as a theoretical framework. In this perspective, language is the tool through which 'people represent and understand their world, including who they are and how they relate to one another' (McDowell and Pringle, 1994: 254). Moreover, post-structuralists assert that understanding how social relations work and how they are conceived helps to show how institutions are organized and how people's identity is determined (McCann and Kim, 2003:379).

Post-structuralist theory focuses on the analysis of social organization, social meaning, power and individual consciousness in language. Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social relations and organization and their likely effects can be defined and challenged. 'Language is also the place where our sense of ourselves or identity is constructed.' (Weedon, 1994: 21-22). According to this theory, social reality, or the so-called natural world does not have a fixed meaning which language reflects or expresses. Language is contextual and not fixed, thus showing the fluidity of social reality. However, post structuralists declare that the existing reality in a given context cannot be known independently of language (McDowell and Pringle, 1994:12).

Post-structuralists center on Derrida's concept of deconstruction. However, feminist post-structuralists go beyond this original concept of deconstruction, and pay special attention to the social and institutional context in order to address power relations in everyday life (Weedon, 1987:25 cited in Lennie, 1999:101). It is recognized that post-structural feminists have advocated for the deconstruction of the category 'woman' (Richardson and Robinson, 1993:66). This is to mean that, there is a need to pull apart the ways in which the different meanings of femininity have been constructed in order to expose how patriarchal culture has imposed on and influenced this construction.

In addition, Lennie (1999:101) states that deconstruction allows an understanding of the gaps and silences in gender relations and paradoxes in the discourses. Deconstruction allows feminists to show the thinking, which inspires and lies beneath language, and the way this contributes to undermining the values and knowledge associated with women.

In relation to patriarchal culture and representation, Davies and Elder (2006: 123-127) note that women do not have the power to voice their interests and make decisions on issues affecting them. Thus, without this power to define their interests, women are susceptible to accept the definitions and decisions made by others. In this regard, most women who accept the ideas and values of patriarchal ideology are more likely to accept it and reproduce it in their work rather than challenge it. In this regard, the researcher will look at dominant discourse (in this case patriarchy) which has 'Othered' women (Donovan, 2004:159).

Generally, in addition to the issue of women's representation and image, one should also look at the concept of under-representation. George Gebner (1972:28-187 cited in Tuchman, 1979:533), states that as much as representation in the media signifies social existence, under representation also indicates symbolic eradication.

Chapter Three

Research design and methodology

3.1. Research methodology

The methodology used in this study is both qualitative and quantitative in line with the feminist emphasis of reaping in-depth information with women at the center of the inquiry. According to Lather (1988:570), “To do feminist research is to put the social construction of gender at the center of one’s inquiry.” Therefore, with this objective, quantitative methodology is used to obtain a quantitative (numerical) understanding of the issue, while qualitative methodology is devised to describe and explore the problem. In this regard, relevant information is collected from primary and secondary sources. Employment of qualitative methodology is in addition relevant in obtaining rich, in-depth and descriptive information. According to Marshall and Rossman, (1995:39), the strength of qualitative methodology lies in its use in exploratory or descriptive research. Moreover, qualitative research is also essential in the quest for a deeper understanding about ‘participants lived experiences of the phenomenon’. Generally qualitative research was assumed as soft research and attributed to feminist research studies. However, quantitative methodology has also been utilized in feminist researches in order to get a quantitative understanding of women’s status. In this regard, it is stated that,

Feminist researchers favor qualitative methods, because they let (one) describe and analyze power relations. Yet there are other ways-quantitative ways –to describe such power relations. Feminist scholars in a number of disciplines have stated emphatically that descriptive statistics can be enormously useful in learning about patterns and structures of social inequality. (Kirsch and Mortensen, 1999:95)

Therefore, in its combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, this research utilizes a way in which knowledge produced by one is enhanced by information obtained through the other.

In addition to the above assertion, feminist research also allows the use various research methods or tools. Feminist research has been creative and innovative in its approach and its use of language than the conventional methods. Moreover, Reinharz (1992:269) notes that the focus of feminist research is social change, and to undertake a study ‘for women

rather than only of women.’ With this consideration, this research is conducted to assess women’s image and representation as well as power relations. This will be useful in bringing attention to the issue of under representation and misrepresentation so that the research can also serve the purpose of being not only ‘of women but also for women’.

3.2. Research design

3.2.1. Sampling techniques

With regards to the song records, all the cassettes produced in 1997 E.C. are taken and analyzed in this research. The year 1997 E.C. is selected as the timeframe for the study since it was the most recent data available at the inception of the study.

In relation to the in-depth interviews with singers and songwriters in 1997 E.C., the list of these two groups was compiled. Afterwards two informants were selected who introduced the researcher to 2 interviewees. After being introduced to these two interviewees, a snowball sampling was used where the interviewees introduced the researcher to more interviewees from the list.

3.2.2. Sample population

In the case of content analysis of songs, 64 cassettes consisting of 653 Amharic songs are analyzed using content analysis as the research tool. The total population is taken in this study because of lack of a chart (labeling) of songs in Ethiopia based on their popularity. For example, there is a research undertaken on the social and musical content of Rap music in United States, after taking samples using the billboards charts (all rap singles that appeared in the weekly *Top 100 R&B Billboard Magazine* charts from Jan. 1, 1979 through Dec. 31, 1995.3). This sampling was used with the assumption that this provides comprehensive information on most popular songs that are listened by the majority of song listeners (Lena, 2006: 480-481). However, in the case of this research, this lack created a constraint in selecting songs based on their popularity. Therefore, all Amharic songs produced in cassettes are the target of this study due to the need to get a comprehensive quantitative data. Moreover, songs produced in cassettes, rather than songs sung in commercial establishments and by ‘azmaris’ are the focus of this research because of their accessibility to the wider population.

In the case of in-depth interviews, songwriters are taken for the study because they are knowledgeable on the issue and because of the assumption that they are key actors in transmitting gendered roles and images through the lyrics they write. For this purpose, 10 interviewees are taken from songwriters who have written songs in 1997 in order to relate their responses with the contents of their songs. This consists of 9 males and 1 female writer.

3.3. Instrumentation and data collection procedures

The research focuses on the issue of representation and presenting a detailed and thorough description of the situation. Thus, as a qualitative tool, in-depth interview is utilized whereas content analysis is devised in order to gather quantitative information on the issue.

3.3.1. Content analysis

Content analysis is selected as a method because of its importance in describing and exploring the content of the texts when using a large sample. According to Andersen (2006: 59) content analysis reports what is there. In another definition, content analysis is put as a key non-reactive research methodology (i.e. non-intrusive) and described as follows:

Content Analysis is a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. (Neuman, 1997:272-273 as cited in Macnarama, 2003)

According to Starosta, (1984 cited in Starosta, 1988:371), in content analysis data can "speak for themselves". However, it is also mentioned here that simple reports of frequency tables and statistical difference 'strip important layers of interpretation from data.' Starosta mentions that simple quantification is unsatisfactory to the reader. Therefore, with this consideration the researcher utilizes quotations and texts from the lyrics in order to supplement the quantitative content analysis data with qualitative information.

3.3.2. In-depth Interview

In-depth interview is carried out with songwriters in order to understand how their songs relate to their experiences, what they think about the portrayals, and to study if women's participation in both songwriting and song improvising is satisfactory.

In-depth interviews are conducted with songwriters through use of semi-structured interview questions (See Appendix H). Semi-structured interviewing is one of the tools used in qualitative studies. As Reinharz (1992:18) states this interview does not require a long duration of researcher participation. Moreover, since it is not structured it allows 'free interaction between the researcher and interviewee'. In-depth interview is also preferable due to its special quality in 'maximizing discovery and description', and because it allows access to and use of people's own words and descriptions of the phenomenon under study (ibid: 18-19).

3.3.3. Interview procedure

After being introduced to the interviewees through the informants and other songwriters, the researcher undertook the interviews with each interviewee for a duration of 30-45 minutes. In this regard the interviews were recorded (for six interviewees) and notes taken (for four interviewees who were not willing or were reluctant to be recorded). The recordings were also transcribed and further assessed for patterns. Generally, 8 semi-structured interview questions were used for the study (See Appendix H). From these interviews, the relevant ones are taken for analysis of the findings.

Generally, the researcher keeps the relevant ethical consideration of maintaining confidentiality or anonymity of the respondents.

3.3.4. Coding procedure

Before embarking on the coding process, the initial step was to undertake a preliminary assessment of the lyrics in order to identify and form categories. After identifying recurring ideas, codes were developed by the researcher. Thus, based on the preliminary observation of characteristics in the lyrics, the following three major semantic categories are developed for the coding process. A complete list of 17 behavior portrayals, 16

beauty portrayals and 3 responsibility types concerning division of labor are used in the coding sheet in order to assess the image of women in the lyrics (See Appendix I).

The following operational definitions are prepared for use by the coders.

1. Beauty traits– traits that are expressed with appreciation as being appealing to the eye or to the mind. This could include physical as well as non-bodily characteristics if they are expressed in association with being beautiful. For eg, if the woman’s way of speaking, wit, and charm put her to be defined as beautiful

2. Personality traits – In the preliminary analysis, it was found out that the following descriptions are found in relation to personality traits. Thus, the descriptions were organized into categories, which are defined as follows and used in the coding sheet.

Assertive - in this aspect, the woman is portrayed as somebody who speaks out, is communicative, playful and is not afraid to express or to defend herself.

Careless - This implies inconsideration of consequences, indifference to making mistakes or hurting somebody.

Cruel - This value implies that the woman lacks kindness, or is able to bring pain on others

Common identifiers- heartless, without mercy, hurtful

Dependent- This trait expresses the notion of needing protection, (mentally, financially or physically) and relying on others for a meaningful existence.

Common identifiers - Examples of such traits are terms like, if the woman says “I can’t live without you”, “I can not think without you”... or if the man says, ‘I am here to protect you’

Fearing loneliness – this value is used to show that the woman in the song expresses her fear of being alone or a male singer portrays the woman as being afraid to be alone without companions, i.e. male companions.

Fulfilling - here the woman is put as somebody who is valued and brings pleasure to one’s life.

Haughty- In this study, this trait can imply any of the following characters.

Common identifiers - showing disdain to others, thinking things and people are below oneself.

Independent - The woman in this case is portrayed as strong, self-reliant and free to make her own decisions without control from others. For example – a woman saying ‘I am strong’, ‘I have decided to leave’ is affirming her independence.

Innocent- in this case it implies not being aware of worldly things, or evils, lack of experience, being naïve.

Irrational- somebody who is portrayed as lacking wit to understand things, is unintelligent or somebody who takes action without giving attention to the consequences.

Jealous – A woman is put as being unjustifiably suspicious of being displaced by another person.

Patient – A patient person is one who endures suffering or tries to forgo other’s faults.

Quiet/ Shy- In this value the woman is put as not assertive or outspoken or as afraid to speak out or express herself.

Quitter- This value conveys the idea that the woman portrayed easily gives up since she does not know what to do or is unable to function without help. In this case, the woman can also express herself as not knowing what to do without another person, or as losing direction.

Trustworthy- this value suggests that the woman is portrayed as somebody who can be trusted, somebody who is not disposed to cheat, or lie, or is faithful

Common identifiers- faithful, true, dependable

Untrustworthy- this value suggests that the woman is someone who one cannot depend on, misleads, is not reliable, is not honest or worthy of trust. This trait also implies somebody who is unfaithful or is a cheater.

Common identifiers- misleading, undecided, could not keep a secret, liar, cheater,

Incompetent– in this aspect the woman’s capacity is undermined. That can be capacity to make judgments, to decide, physical capacity, and mental capacity. Eg. If the woman does not have the capacity to accomplish something.

In filling out the coding sheet, the coders are required to observe both manifest and latent contents. As Roberts (1989:148) states, in cases where the coders are required to identify latent contents and make ‘impressionistic judgments’, reliability should be ensured through rigorous training and supervising of coders. Therefore, after designing the coding sheet, training was given to two coders, and a pilot coding was conducted on 20 cases in order to test the clarity of the coding sheet and intelligibility of the operational definitions. After discussing on the definitions and coming to a common understanding, a reliability test was conducted using 50 different cases, in two intervals. Moreover, a coding instruction was also given as part of the coding training. (See Appendix J)

As Dooley (1995:119) states, assigning a series of numbers for each variable or measure makes it suitable for analysis. For this purpose, as a final procedure in the coding process, each variable in the coding sheet was assigned a number and filled into an SPSS program for analysis.

3.3.5. Justification for coders’ size

As Logan et al (2001: 624) states one type of power that can change the course of the research is the power to impose the researcher’s own meanings, values and definitions on a situation. Thus, this challenge is a result of an unnecessary exercise of power from the researcher. Therefore, for the purpose of eliminating this challenge, two coders (1 female and 1 male) were selected by the researcher and given training on the coding sheet, so that they will undertake an independent coding.

3.4. Reliability

After undertaking a coding on the initial 50 cases (which are part of the sample under study), inter coder reliability was undertaken to assess the level of agreement between the two coders. Thus the data was fed into an SPSS program and kappa was calculated. Cohen’s kappa is one of the most ideal measures in assessing the level of inter coder agreement. Therefore, personality traits were taken and kappa was computed to assess the

level of agreement between the two coders. In this regard, personality traits rather than physical traits were taken for the study since personality traits display not only manifest but also latent contents, which require the coders' judgment.

After undertaking this, it was found out that there was a need to acquire higher inter-coder reliability. Therefore, after engaging in discussions, the coders were again given 50 other cases. From this second computation it was found out that the Kappa test shows a satisfactory reliability measure with the lowest result found at 0.658 (the woman as cruel) and going as high as 0.912 on three personality traits (i.e. the woman as assertive, untrustworthy and as afraid of loneliness). (See Appendix A)

3.5. Data analysis

In order to analyze the data that was obtained from the songs, SPSS (Statistical package for Social Studies) program was used. Through this program, the researcher inferred data through computing descriptive statistics. This helped to reap information on frequencies, cross tabulations of the different variables and percentages. Frequency and percentage were calculated for all the variables, while cross tabulation was made across the different types of traits, song types and background information on the singer and songwriter. In addition, regressions were made to assess the relationship that exists among variables at 95% level of significance. Thus a statistical overview to the problem was able to be collected.

The data from the content analysis was supplemented with information obtained from the in-depth interviews in order to understand causes, validate, and enrich the quantitative information.

Chapter Four

Presentation and discussion of findings

This chapter examines the portrayal of women in secular Amharic songs produced in 1997 E.C. It was found out that Amharic song cassettes produced in this period are 64. This consists of 662 songs. From these, 653 songs are taken for the study. Nine songs were not coded because of inaudibility of the lyrics.

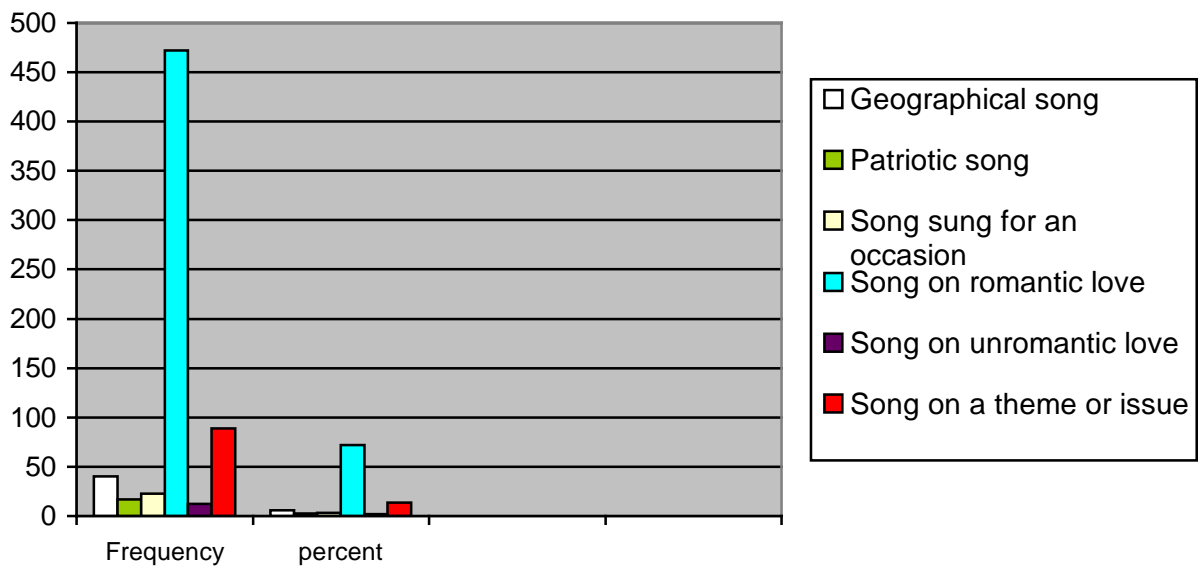
Three major coding categories are utilized in order to analyze the songs. The content of songs was coded with respect to women's appearance (physical traits), women's character (personality traits), and the type of work assigned to women. The coding sheets were encoded in SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Studies) program, after which percentage, frequency, regression and cross tabulation of the different variables were calculated. In addition, the result of in-depth interviews with 10 songwriters is also presented.

This chapter shows key findings of the study in two major sections. The first part consists of presentation of the findings, while in the second section the findings are further analyzed in connection with the specific research questions and the theoretical framework.

4.1. Presentation of findings

Results on types of songs and their percentage distribution are inferred from frequency calculations by SPSS. It was found out that the majority of songs fall under the category "songs on romantic love" with a percentage of 72.3, while the least observed type of song is song on unromantic love, which amounts to 12 or 1.8% of the songs. The frequency distribution of different types of songs is shown in the following chart.

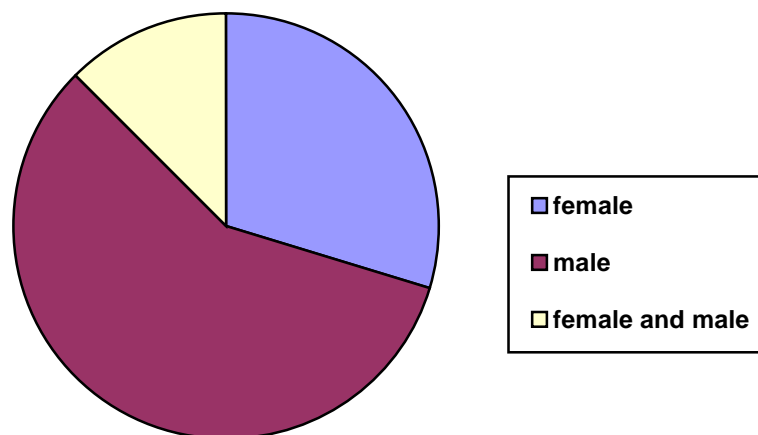
Chart 1 -Frequency and percentage distribution of songs by type (category)



Generally, types of songs in the category, put in descending order are i.e. songs on romantic love 472 (72.3%), songs on different themes or issues 89 (13.6%), geographical songs 40 (6.1%), songs sung for occasions 23 (3.5%), patriotic songs 2.6 (2.6%), and song on unromantic love 12 (1.8%).

The proportion of women to men singers and songwriters found from the content analysis indicates that there is a very disproportionate distribution with women singers much lower in number than male singers. Women singers consist of 19(29.7%) of the total of Amharic song singers in 1997 E.C., while men comprise of 37(57.8%) of Amharic singers. The remaining 8(12.5%) cassettes are produced by groups. (See Appendix 2)

Chart 2- Distribution of singers by sex



A significant gap in proportion is observed between songs written by women and men. In this aspect it was found out that only 51 (7.8%) of the songs were written by women while 523 (80.1%) of the songs were written by men. 0.3% were written together by men and women, whereas the authors of the remaining 11.8% of the songs are not specified.

Table 1- Frequency distribution of songs by sex of the songwriters

	Value	Female		Male		Total
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
1	No. of Songwriters	7	6.9%	94	93.1%	101
2	No. of singers who have written lyrics for their own songs	9	23.7%	29	76.3%	38

In relation to the number of lyricists, it was found out that women lyricists are 7 (6.7 %) of the whole Amharic songwriters who wrote songs in 1997 E.C., showing a most significant gap in proportions. Men consist of the majority i.e. 94 or 93.1% of this group. This data refers to the number and percentage of songwriters who wrote songs for others, and does not include those who wrote songs for themselves. With respect to those who wrote lyrics for themselves, it was found out that there are 9 women and 29 male singers who wrote their own lyrics. Thus from the above data it is found out that in the different distributions concerning participation, females' contribution is much less than that of the male's.

4.1.1. Physical traits associated with women

In assessing portrayals associated with beauty traits, 16 coding categories were utilized to assess what traits are used to connote beauty (see Appendix I) From these 14 are physical traits while 2 are non-physical traits associated with beauty. It was found out that all the 14 traits are used in the songs as a way of portraying the woman as beautiful.

Table 2 - Frequency and percentage distribution of physical traits used to connote a woman's beauty

	Values	Frequency (No. of songs in which the description appears)	Percent from the total number of songs
1	General beauty	107	16.4%
2	Eyes	31	4.7%
3	Teeth	30	4.6%
4	Skin	26	4.0%
5	Hair	14	2.1%
6	Height	11	1.7%
7	Hips	10	1.5%
8	Lips	9	1.4%
9	Breast/chest	6	0.9%
10	Legs	5	0.8%
11	Neck	5	0.8%
12	Waist	5	0.8%
13	Thinness	2	0.3%
14	Nose	1	0.2%

The most observed value from the coding sheet is “general beauty” of the woman, which is used in 107 (16.4%) of the songs. In addition to connotations to general beauty in 107 of the songs, there are also specific physical traits associated with beauty. The second most frequently used value is appreciation for the beauty of the eyes, which is used in 31 (4.7%) of the songs. Generally, the above traits ,which are put in descending order (Table 2) show the frequency of different physical characteristics which are used to indicate the woman's beauty.

Concerning non-physical characteristics used to indicate the beauty of the woman, it was found out that ‘charm’ was used in 15 (2.3%) of the songs and ‘good fragrance’ was used in 9 (1.4%) of the songs to connote a woman's beauty.

4.1.2. Presentation of data related to personality traits

With regards to personality traits, the study reveals that positive as well as negative traits are associated with women. The positive traits are assertiveness, independence, trustworthiness, rationality, and being fulfilling or important. Traits with a negative connotation, which are assigned to women are carelessness, cruelty, dependency, haughtiness, irrationality, jealousy, untrustworthiness, incompetence and the quality of quitting.

Table 3- Frequency table of personality traits

	Values	Frequency (No. of songs in which the description appears)	Percent (from the total number of songs)
1	Dependent	84	12.9%
2	Fulfilling	75	11.5%
3	Untrustworthy	68	10.4%
4	Trustworthy	67	10.2%
5	Irrational	59	9.0%
6	Cruel	44	6.8%
7	Incompetent	44	6.7%
8	The woman as fearing loneliness	39	6.0%
9	Patient	34	5.2%
10	Shy/ Quiet	26	3.9%
11	Assertive	25	3.8%
12	Independent	25	3.8%
13	Careless	22	3.4%
14	Haughty	21	3.2%
15	Rational	21	3.2%
16	Well behaved	20	3.1%
17	Innocent	16	2.5%
18	Jealous	15	2.3%
19	Quitter	15	2.3%

With regard to the positive portrayals (assertiveness, independence, trustworthiness, rationality, and being fulfilling), it was found out that there are a total of 213 references (i.e. cumulative sum) in the songs. In looking at the negative personality traits (i.e. incompetence, quitting, jealousy, irrationality, haughtiness, dependence, cruelty and carelessness), the cumulative sum is found to be 372.

Other than these two opposite ends, there are character traits that are put in a separate category as non-aligned features. These are traits, which are found in between the negative and positive extremes. These traits are assigned in this group by the researcher because of their variations in portraying women depending on the contexts they are used. Under these categories are found, innocence, shyness/quietness, patience, being ‘well-behaved’, and fearing loneliness. For example, it was found out that the definition of being well behaved varies in the songs, ranging from abiding by norms and custom, to spending more time at home than in the public sphere. Generally, these traits are not given definite values because their meaning is contextual and its implication for women also varies.

The cumulative sum of these characters is found to be 135. The following results show the results obtained and the value attached to these traits.

Table 4 - Frequency distribution of non-aligned personality traits by type of reference

	Traits	Reference to the trait by the singer	Frequency	Percent
1	Fears loneliness	Positive reference	6	0.9%
		Negative reference	-	-
		Neutral reference	33	5.1%
2	Innocent	Positive reference	5	0.8%
		Negative reference	7	1.1%
		Neutral reference	4	0.6%
3	Patient	Positive reference	23	3.5%
		Negative reference	-	-
		Neutral reference	11	1.7%

4	Shy/Quiet	Positive reference	10	1.5%
		Negative reference	6	0.9%
		Neutral reference	10	1.5%

From the table it is inferred that, except for the trait of being innocent, all the other traits are mentioned as more positive than negative characters. However in the trait ‘fearing loneliness’, the majority of the reference (i.e. 33 songs or 5.1%) was observed in the songs with no connotation or no value attached to it. In this case, the portrayal of women as fearing loneliness with no value attached to it implies that it is assumed ordinary for women to display such characteristics.

4.1.3. Presentation of data related to division of labor

In relation to the type of work associated with women in the lyrics it was found out that there were 4 specific responsibilities attached to women. These are doing embroidery, spinning, basketry, and work associated with cooking - such as preparing the food and serving it. In this aspect, it was found out that doing embroidery, and basketry were mentioned in only 1 song each, while preparing food was mentioned as a good quality in 3.7% of the songs. Spinning was mentioned in 1.4% of the songs.

Table 5- Frequency distribution of types of work associated with women

	Type of work	Frequency (No. of songs in which the description appears)	Percent (from the total number of songs)
1	Work associated with cooking (preparing food)	24	3.7%
2	Spinning	9	1.4%
3	Doing embroidery	1	0.2%
4	Basketry	1	0.2%

4.1.5. Presentation of data on in-depth interviews

Concerning in-depth interviews, 10 respondents were taken after getting entry to the sample through snowball sampling process. From these 10 respondents, 9 are male, while 1 is female. This disproportionate sample between males and females was acquired due to the very low number of female songwriters and their being unrecognized (unknown) by others. Thus, it limited the probability of getting their addresses and gaining access to entry. With reference to this, it is observed that there are only 7 female songwriters in 1997 E.C., one of which is found to live abroad. However, most of the remaining female songwriters not recognized by my informants and the other interviewees. It is assumed by my informants (who are well-informed songwriters themselves) that these female songwriters may have written only those few songs or it may have been a noncommercial contribution to the singers.

The age distribution of the interviewees is presented in the following table.

Table 6 - Age distribution of in-depth interviewees

	Age Group	Number of interviewees
1	26-30	1
2	31-35	4
3	36-40	4
4	41-45	-
5	46-50	1

4.2. Analysis and discussion of findings

4.2.1. Analysis of women's role in the music industry

The purpose of this study is to look at women's portrayal in songs and to assess women's contribution and role in the formation of that image. This is supported with the post-structuralist assertion that how institutions are organized helps to understand how people's identity is determined (See section 2.6). Thus, the major part of the analysis focuses on the most frequent traits associated with women, and how these fit into different gender issues, such as the concept of femininity, division of labor and patriarchy. In addition, the study also assesses if there are differences in the way women are portrayed by women and men singers and songwriters, and looks at where songwriters get their ideas.

Women singers consist of 19(29.7%) of the total of Amharic singers in 1997 E.C., while men comprise of 37(57.8%). The remaining 8(12.5%) cassettes are produced by groups. The fact that the majority of the singers were males while women comprised the minority of the singers implies that there is lack of women's participation in the music industry. Moreover, it was found out that women songwriters are even smaller in number than women singers consisting of only 6.7% of the songwriter population in that period.

The small number of female songwriters is attributed to a number of factors. From the point of view of a female informant, it was found out that this low participation is a result of women's lack of self-confidence and fear of competing with the already well-known male writers. This interviewee said that she has also been in similar circumstances. The first time she wrote, and was given comments to make some improvements, she refrained from writing for some time. She attributed this to lack of confidence, and her fear of competing with the already well-established male songwriters. Lack of confidence was also mentioned by six other interviewees. However, two male interviewees also said that women's low participation is a result of the nature of the job. Most of the writing is undertaken in the nighttime where the singers and songwriters meet together to discuss. One of the interviewees said that in the meetings they get together and chew chat with the singers. Thus according to this interviewee, this may be a difficult situation for women to work in. Concerning this point the female interviewee said that she has not encountered

such problems and that she works in her own setting. She has not been obliged to work at night with singers and she said that she has gotten offers for her lyrics even from Ethiopian singers working abroad.

Another different comment in relation to women's low participation comes from one of the interviewees. He stated that women have many responsibilities including raising children. He said that he knows certain very talented women who found it difficult to cope with the household responsibility, taking care of their children and the music business. In relation, he noted that two of the most well known female songwriters have moved abroad for a better life. Another factor mentioned by an interviewee is that there are not many well-known female singers. Moreover, this industry is dominated by males who are renowned and established in the business. Therefore, not only women, but also men who are not recognized find it difficult to succeed in the market. Other than these reasons, an interviewee also mentioned that though there are some women who write poetry, writing lyrics is different. He said that one has to know how to write lyrics and women's low participation in this area may be associated with their lack of capacity and inexperience.

All the interviewees stated that their lyrics are the product of their experiences. They write based on ideas brought by the singers, and their observation from people around them and their surrounding. In this regard, all the male interviewees said that they have written songs for females at some point in their carrier and did not find it difficult to portray women's feelings in their lyrics. The general statement was that they observe behaviors, experiences and women's lives from their mothers, wives, sisters and women around them. The female interviewee also said that she has written songs for men, and that she does not find it difficult to portray men's experience. She said that there are common feelings among males and females and that since most of the songs have romantic themes it is not difficult. One of the male interviewees said that they usually write songs for males, which when women singers (clients) turn up are changed into songs to be sung by women. He said that in some cases they just make some adjustments since most lyrics focusing on romantic love apply for both women and men.

However, one of the comments by a male respondent was that the female singers do not understand the lyrics he writes for them. They even usually ask for simpler lyrics.

Another interviewee's observation was also that he has encountered cases where the singers (both males and females) do not understand the content even after they have sung it.

Generally, from the small number of female singers and low participation of female singers with regard to the lyrics it can be noted that the post-structuralism theory on the ruling apparatus being in the hands of males applies to this case (See section 2.6). As McConnell-Ginet, et al (1980:61) state, this study affirms, "Women's experience when recorded has usually been recorded by men and through the medium of language developed by men." This shows that in the case of Amharic lyrics, men have control over the production of cultural assumptions and stereotypes. It can be inferred that this process (songwriting) has not yet enabled the expression of women's experiences through their own voices. In relation to the representation of women's reality by men, it is noted that if women do not have the power to define their interests and their reality, they are obliged to accept the definitions given to them by others (See section 2.6).

Their lack of participation with regard to changing the content of the songs shows that women are socialized into accepting these definitions. In this regard, lack of assertiveness is also considered as another cause for their being inactive. This is evidenced in the songwriters' as well as the women singers' assumption that women singers do not know much about writing songs. This was especially observed in interviews with two male respondents who expressed their uncertainty about the writing skills of women singers. This lack of expectation to work and comment on lyrics socializes women singers into accepting what is defined by the male figure as valid. However, a comprehensive study has to be undertaken with female singers in order to determine their role, their attitudes, as well as their opinions on lyrics.

From the interviews, it was inferred that in addition to women's lack of confidence there is also the belief that women do not have the capacity to cope in what is believed to be the 'masculine work environment'. This was observed in the references to women's inability to stay up nights and work with singers. However, it should be noted that when the need arises, women are also able to work during nighttimes. This is evidenced by the presence of female singers who work in different nightclubs. Moreover, as noted from some songwriters, all male songwriters do not necessarily work at night with singers.

In addition, the fact that women are not expected to work in such settings limits their role in the music industry. In line with Andersen's (2006:31) assertion, the institution itself inculcates gender expectations that are stereotypical (see section 2.3). Such alienations in the market in turn affect women songwriters' self-confidence. As George Gebner (1972:28-187 cited in Tuchman, 1979:533), states though representation in the media shows social significance, this under representation of women shows that they have not been given enough significance in this sector.

4.2.2. Analysis of data related to physical traits

In looking at the references to general beauty in the songs, an assessment was made on the relationship of this variable with sex of the singers.

SS = Sex of the singer
 SW = Sex of the songwriter
 TS = Type of song
 UB= General beauty

$$UB = -7.663E-02 + 0.226 SS - 3.860E-02 SW - 1.087E-02 TS$$

(0.088) (0.030) (0.021) (0.013)

From this, it was found out that sex of the singer significantly affects the frequency of references to general beauty of women at 95% level of significance. This showed that there are differences in the way women are portrayed by women and men singers. However, no direct relationship was observed between sex of the songwriter and reference to general beauty at a level of significance of 95%.

Consequently, in assessing sex of the singer it was found out that from the 107 references to general beauty, the majority of the portrayals (98.1%) are made by male singers. The remaining 1.9% references are by female singers.

In addition to the prevalence of general beauty, there are particular body parts associated with beauty in the songs. These are found in the specific references to physical characteristics such as eyes, teeth, skin, hair, height, hips, lips, breast, legs, neck, waist and thinness (which are put in descending order by frequency). This focus on physical traits shows the importance attributed to the beauty of a woman and the association of beauty with femininity. This focus on attractiveness has implications on the

unattractiveness of a woman (See section 2.3). In line with Jackson's (1992: 72-106) assertion, the importance attached to women's beauty- observed from the frequency of traits connoting beauty - shows that unattractiveness can also have societal implications for women (See section 2.3). This will affect women's self-confidence as well as the priority they give to their physical appearance.

From the references to these physical traits, the researcher was able to outline two major categories. The first are traits that are used to show admiration of certain physical traits, without no sexual undertones. The second type of physical traits is associated with sexual connotation. In this regards, it was found from the study that there are physical traits with sexual undertones, referring to body parts such as hips and breasts.

The following examples show the value attached to physical traits of women and indications of sexual undertones.

Text 1 - **ጠዋትና ማታ ዳሌሽን ሳየው፤**
 ልቤ መሸፈቱ መወንበዱ ነው።

Looking at your hips, morning and night,
My heart is becoming unruly.

(From the song 'Mela beyign', written and sung by Muluken Mesfin)

In this song, the man is expressing his fixation with the woman's hips. Here it can be inferred that hips are one of the body parts associated with desirability of the woman. In addition, breasts, waist, and calf were mentioned in other songs, showing that value is attached to these physical parts of a woman in defining desirability.

Text 2 - **እንደጠሳ ዳገት ቁጭ ብሎ ጡቷ፤**
 ልክ እንደሸንኮራው የሚያስጎመጅ ባቷ።

Her breasts are pointed like Tosa hill,
And her calf is as tempting as sugarcane.

(From the song 'Tenayewa', sung by Abebe H/Michael, songwriter unspecified)

Text 3- ሸብረብ ይላል ዳሌሽ ሲራመድ ፤
 ቢያቅበዙብዙኝ የኔ አንቺን መውደድ።

Your hip ‘shebreb’ [a kind of movement] when you walk,
 Your love for you takes me up and down.

(From the song ‘Habesha negn’, written and sung by Muluken Mesfin)

In the first song, the singer is referring to certain physical features like breasts and calf, while in the second song the singer is focusing on the woman’s hip.

In relation to this, level of significance was calculated in order to assess the effect of sex of the singers on the reference to hip.

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 \text{HP= Hip as connoting beauty} & & & \\
 \text{HP= -2.667E-02 + 2.000E-02 SS + 5.126E-03 SW - 5.265E-04 TS} & & & \\
 (0.029) & (0.010) & (0.007) & (0.004)
 \end{array}$$

In studying this relationship, it was found out that sex of the singer significantly affects the frequency of hips as connoting a woman’s beauty at 95% level of significance, since all the references to hips in the songs are written and sung by men.

Though there are less number of physical traits with sexual undertones than those with admiration for facial features (see section 4.1.1.), the existing references show that in such cases where these body parts are mentioned, they indicate the woman as a sexual object to be gazed.

Generally, it was found out that sex of the singer affects the frequency of the following traits - hair, height, skin, teeth - at 95% level of significance. In relation to these traits, it can be concluded that, male singers more than female singers associated beauty of the woman with the above mentioned traits. This presents an idea about what is desirable in a woman from a man’s perspective. This is assumed to affect women’s perceptions about their roles and images. It increases the value given to their physical appearance, which in turn affects their body image (See section 2.3). Such expectations, which are generated, and transmitted through mass media, shape women to accept and attempt to achieve these

features. These songs, as part of culture also socialize the public into accepting the traits associated with women (See section 2.3).

The observation from these physical characteristics also revealed that there are some references to beautifying products in the songs. The following lyrics show cases where women are encouraged to beautify themselves using products such as kohl and other ornaments.

Text 4- *ያይኖቿን ሽፋሽፍሉን ሳየው ስር ከሉን፤
ቀልቤ ብትን ይላል ልቤ ብክንክን።*

When I look at her eyelashes, on which local kohl is applied
I lose my wit and my heart does a somersault

(From the song ‘Enanit’, sung by Yihune Belay, songwriter
Tsegaye Debotch)

In this song, the singer is admiring the woman’s eyelashes, and the fact that she has applied kohl to her eyes. He is indirectly encouraging the use of kohl in his reference to it as having such an effect on him.

Text 5- *ከሉን ማን ከሎሻል ንገራኝ በሞቴ፤
የኛ ልጅ እንኳን ተኳከላ ያምራል የሷ ገላ።*

Please do tell me who put on your kohl (eyeliner),
It is not only when putting this on that our daughter’s body looks good.

(From the song ‘Tewubeshal Alu’, written and sung by Gete
Anley)

Here, the singer is expressing that the woman is beautiful even without applying kohl. However, his suggestion is that though the woman is naturally beautiful, she becomes even more beautiful when puts on makeup.

Text 6- *ፀጉርሽን አስወበው አሰርተውታል፤
አይንሽንም በኩል አሳምረውታል።*

They have adorned your hair with braids,
And they have beautified your eye with kohl.

(From the song ‘Yegnama Mushira’, sung by Tefera Negash,
songwriter- unspecified)

In this song too, there is encouragement of the use of kohl. In addition, the hairdo of the woman is appreciated.

Text 7- አይንሽሎ እንደርግብ አምርቦት ተኩሏል፤
በእንቁ ድሪ አጊጦ ደረትሽ ተውሏል።

Your eye enhanced by kohl is beautiful like that of a bird’s.
Your chest is beautified, adorned by a pearl necklace.

(From the song ‘Wub nesh’, written and sung by Henok Mehari)

Here, a reference to jewelry as a beautifying product is observed. This is seen as enhancing the beauty of the woman’s neck and chest. Again, use of kohl is also promoted in the song.

Generally, the above four cases cited in relation to use of kohl and jewelry are sung by male singers. These expectations to conform to the ideal feminine image, requires women to give attention to the minute details and subject their bodies to changes in line with the required standard of beauty. Thus, such expectations make women’s body what is termed as “docile bodies”. This means that women’s bodies become subject to external change and alteration (See section 2.3).

The implication of frequent association of femininity with beauty should be given attention, since this can lead to a need to fit to the standard image through extreme disciplinary exercises. As per Jackson’s assertion (see section 2.3), this could be exploitive for women since they are obliged to conform to the ideal image. At the expense of women, this is advantageous for the beauty industry.

Different from the above physical characteristics, in two of the songs beauty is associated with being very young. One of the singers mentions the beauty of the young girl and uses different verses to show his desire for her. A part of the lyrics says that:

Text 8- ገና ህፃን ልጅ ናት ለጋ ያልበሰለች፤
 ስጋዬን ጨርሳው ካጥንቱ ተጋባች።

She is just an infant, still not matured,
She has finished up my flesh and is getting to my bone

(From the song ‘Lijinetwa’, sung by Natnael Haile, songwriter Abel Melkamu)

Though this is only part of the whole lyrics, in this song the singer praised the beauty of a young girl. In the entire lyric, he mentioned each of the physical characteristics he admires in detail. However, the implication and the socializing effect of such lyrics in face of the existing child molestation and rape cases should be assessed. Again, both references to a female child’s beauty are made by male singers and songwriters.

Generally, in regards to traits associated with beauty, the study confirms the statement made by Bordo (1993:94). It relates to the assertion that, the rules of femininity are being transferred more and more through standardized portrayals transmitted by media, such as television (See section 2.3). In this case, it can be included that rules of femininity are also being transmitted through audio materials that present homogenizing images of women through their specific references to body parts that connote beauty and desirability.

4.2.3. Analysis of data related to character traits

The study shows that gender expectations with regard to personality traits are also transmitted through songs. From the 653 songs analyzed, different emotions towards and about women were found. Despite the fact that the majority of the songs (72.3%) were on romantic love, emotions ranging from trust to anger, mistrust and scorn were observed.

As mentioned earlier, the most frequent character associated with women is the image of women as dependent. This trait implies that the woman is relying on others (financially,

physically or mentally) and is in need of protection. This was portrayed by both women and men.

An example of this is shown by one of the lyrics:

Text 9- ና ገላ ውብ ዛላ፡ እንድትሆንልኝ ጣራ ከለላ፤
 ስንት አስቤ አልሜ በየትኛው አቅሜ፤
 ብቻዬን እንዳልቀር ታምሜ ናልኝ አለሜ።

Come my handsome, and be my refuge,
How can I plan and dream with my limited capacity,
Come to me so that I won't be ailing alone,
You are my everything,

(From the song 'Asayegn', sung by Meskerem Negussie,
songwriter Shimelis Abera)

In this song, the woman is voicing her inability/incompetence to fulfill her plans without the man's presence. She is expressing her reliance on him in order to plan, work and live.

As seen in section 4.1.2, women are portrayed as dependent not only by men singers, but also by female singers and songwriters. In this case, women's lack of action and even transmission of these portrayals shows that they believe in or have accepted the definitions associated with them. This relates with Davies and Elder's (2006: 123-127) assertion (see section 2.3), that most women who accept the ideas and values of patriarchal ideology do not contest and question such portrayals. Instead, they pass on or spread those ideas to others because of their belief that the definitions are right. In this regard, socialization has played a big role in implanting such perceptions into the minds of women and men.

The interviewees in this study also noted that except for a few cases, the majority of singers (both women and men) do not usually comment on the content of lyrics, but accept the definitions presented to them and portray that. However, it was also mentioned by some of the interviewees that, some singers (both female and male) do not understand the meanings of the lyrics. In addition, this transmission of negative traits by women themselves shows that these women have accepted these as natural or innate characters

rather than social constructions that are a result of such socializing practices. In this regard, women themselves need consciousness on the effect of generating and regenerating of negative portrayals.

In relation to this transmission of patriarchal ideologies by females, the following lyric can serve as an example.

Text 10- እዘዘኝ እዘዘኝ እዘዘኝ፤
 ሁሉን ነገራን ላንተ ብያለሁ፤
 ያልከኝን በለኝ እችለዋለሁ፡፡

Rule over me (3x),
I have devoted everything to you
You can say anything and I will bear it.

(From the song ‘Ezezegn’, sung by Enanu Dubale, writer Mulugeta Abate)

In this song, that is written by a male songwriter, the singer is stating her willingness to deal with anything the man does because she loves him. She is confessing her patience and whole devotion to him. And she is expressing her will to give up her whole authority.

With regards to being dependent, it was found out sex of the singer has an effect on the frequency of the trait at 95% level of significance.

SS = Sex of the singer
SW = Sex of the songwriter
TS = Type of song
WD= the woman as dependent

$$WD= 0.721 - 0.282 SS + 2.156E- 02 SW - 7.525 E-03 TS$$

(0.180) (0.061) (0.042) (0.027)

In 25 songs, women singers put being dependent as a positive trait, whereas a lower number of men (in 10 cases) put this as a positive quality. Concerning the trait of being independent, there are fewer references to the woman as displaying this character.

However it was also observed that from the 7 references made to this trait by men, in 5 cases male singers put being independent as a negative trait. These findings show that there is a higher designation of women as dependent, and a prominent assumption of dependency as a positive character. In contrast, in most of the cases the woman's being independent is mentioned with disapproval.

The observation from the above data is that, despite the fact that dependence of the woman is negative; women singers have accepted and promoted this definition of the woman as dependent as a positive quality. In line with Davies and Elder's assertion, it can be noted that women are playing key roles in transmitting patriarchal ideologies because of acceptance of these values (See section 2.6). This is a result of socialization where women are led to accept that they need to rely on the male figure for protection. This also shows that women are undermining their own capacity and contribution to their households. This is observed in their acceptance of the definition that they are reliant or dependent. This shows that the importance attached to women's contributions is less valued and not usually taken into account (see section 2.4). The fact that their contribution is not valued and their portrayal is as dependent also creates the picture of men as 'male bread winners'. Such images put women in a subordinate position and as Andersen (2006:56) notes these 'legitimize the status quo' (see section 2.3).

The second most frequent character associated with women is one of appreciation- i.e. portrayal of the woman as fulfilling. This trait was found in 11.5% of the songs. Some examples of such verses are follows.

Text 11- የህይወት ጥበብ እውቀትን አገራሼ ፤
 ለእድገቴ መሰላል ለውጤት አድራሼ ፤
 ቢከፋኝ አፅናኜ ቢደክም መንፈሴ ፤
 እሷን ፈጥሮልኛል ከራት ናት ለነፍሴ።

The one who feeds me knowledge and wisdom,
 The one responsible for my success
 The one who raises up my spirits when I am weak and unhappy,
 God has made her for me; and she is the pride of my life.

(From the song ‘Mela nat’, sung by Netsereab Tewolde,
songwriter – not specified)

In this song, the singer is expressing the woman’s importance in his life. He is also attributing his success to her and portraying her as fulfilling. The fact that a trait that appreciates women is the second most frequent characteristic shows that, women’s presence in the man’s life is appreciated by a larger number of singers. It was observed that these appreciations are attached to the woman’s role as a nurturer and a caring person, though only in few instances is the woman appreciated for her role in supporting the household economy.

The regression also shows that sex of the singer significantly affects the portrayal of women as fulfilling at 95% level of significance.

$$\begin{aligned} &SS = \text{Sex of the singer} \\ &SW = \text{Sex of the songwriter} \\ &TS = \text{Type of song} \\ &WF = \text{the woman as fulfilling} \\ &WF = -0.118 - 0.147 SS - 9.596E-03 SW + 5.935E-03 TS \\ &\quad (0.088) \quad (0.030) \quad (0.021) \quad (0.013) \end{aligned}$$

Thus, the effect of singers on this portrayals from the cross tabulation of sex of the singer with frequency of traits, shows that women are portrayed more as fulfilling by male singers than female singers. Since the nature of the trait implies reference to females by males, this outcome is expected.

The third most frequent character associated with women is untrustworthiness. This trait was found in 68 (10.4%) of the songs, and it implies that the woman is misleading, dishonest, unreliable and not worthy of one’s trust. Being a cheater is also categorized under this trait.

Some of the verses used to imply women’s untrustworthiness are shown below.

Text 12- ተማምለን ነበር እንዳናንቀላፋ፤
ተኝተሽ ተገኘሽ መተማመን ጠፋ።።

We had promised each other not to fall sleep,
However, you were found sleeping, and there is no trust lost between us
now

(From the song ‘Eyew Demamu’, sung by Abebe H/Michael,
songwriter-not specified)

Here the singer is explaining that despite their promise to each other not to cheat, the woman was found sleeping with another person. In this case, it is implied that while the man has been true to his word, the woman broke the promise.

Text 13 - አንቺን ያመነና ጉምን የጨበጠ፤
ህይወቱ ምስቅልቅል የተገለበጠ።

One who trusts you is like one who is trying to grasp mist,
His life is messed up and chaotic

(From the song ‘Anchin yamene, sung by Seif Adanech Bishaw,
songwriter- not specified)

The singer in the above text implies that one who trusts the woman is misfortunate.

Text 14 - አልከዳህም ብለሽ ቃል ገብተሽ ለልቤ፤
እንደጴጥሮስ ከዳሽኝ ሶስቱ፡ አዘነብሽ በቃ ስሜቱ።

You pledged to my heart that you would be trustworthy,
But you forsook me three times as Peter did,
I am disappointed in you.

(From the song ‘akukulu’, sung by Shewandagn Hailu, songwriter
Tewodros Kassahun)

Text 15- ለእናቷ ለአባቷ መስላ የተማረች፤
የአሜካን ቦርሳ እያንጠለጠለች...
እናቷም ይላሉ ‘ልጅ ትማራለች’፤
አባቷም ይላሉ ‘ልጅ ትማራለች’፤
እንዳበደ ውሻ ጫካ ትዞራለች።

She tries to give the impression that she is going to school,
 But she carries an American brand purse...
 And her mother says 'my daughter is going to school,'
 Her father says, 'my daughter is going to school,'
 But she goes around in the forest like a mad dog.

(From the song 'Mame', sung by Engedaw Gessese, writer not specified)

In all the above 4 cases, the woman is portrayed as untrustworthy, a liar, and a cheater. In text 15 the female is put both as a deceiver and as an irrational person.

In looking at the relation of sex of the singer to the portrayal of women as untrustworthy, it is inferred that sex of the singer significantly affects this portrayal at 95% level of significance. Here no significant relationship was observed between sex of the songwriter and the image of women as untrustworthy at 95% level of significance.

SS = Sex of the singer
 SW = Sex of the songwriter
 TS = Type of song
 WU= the woman as untrustworthy

$$WU = -0.353 + 0.233 SS + 7.245E-02 SW + 9.572E-03 TS$$

(0.160) (0.054) (0.037) (0.024)

From the negative references to the woman as untrustworthy, only 5.3% are sung by women, while 84.2% are written and sung by males. The rest 10.5% are sung by males but sex of the songwriters is unspecified. Generally, this shows that male and female singers' portrayal of women as untrustworthy highly varies with male singers' portrayal of this character predominating in the study.

Other than the above characteristics in relation to negative images, women are also found to be portrayed as irrational (in 9.0% of the songs), cruel (6.8%), incompetent (6.7%), careless (3.4%), haughty (3.2%), jealous (2.3%), and quitters in 2.3% of the songs, in decreasing order of frequency. Most of the references to the woman as irrational are found in the latent contents of songs. However, concerning the woman's portrayal as incompetent the following examples are found.

Text 16- እመት አይሞላልሽ አይሳካልሽ፤
 እንስራውን አምጪው ወሀ ልቅዳልሽ።

Lady, you are always far behind in the work,
So give me the pot and let me carry water for you.

(From the song ‘Aho Muna’, sung by Tefera Negash, writers Melese and Samuel)

In text 16 the singer is stating that the woman is not able to fetch water which is one of her tasks. In this case, because she was not able to accomplish that, the man is volunteering to do the task for her, while at the same time mocking her inability. In another verse, a singer is undermining the woman’s capacity to interpret his dream, or his implied wish (which is his love for her).

Text 17- አወይ ወይኔ ወይኔ ህልሜን ነግራሽ፤
 እንዳትፈቺው ሳውቀው እንዳይሆንልሽ።

Alas, I told you my dream, [implication of the singers’ love for the woman]
Through I know that you are not competent to interpret it

(From the song ‘Emiye’, sung by Yihune Belay, writer Ayalew Getaneh)

In this text, the man is telling the woman about his wish. However, he is stating that she is not capable to interpret it. This lyric thus indirectly tells about the incompetence of the woman in the song to understand the singer.

In the following text, the man is accusing the woman of not being able to accomplish something and therefore gossiping and blaming others to cover her incompetence.

Text 18- የራስሽን ድክመት ለመሸፈን ብለሽ አርገሽ ተጠያቂ፤
 ሌላውን ታሚያለሽ ስሙን እያጠፋሽ ስለሆንሽ ውዳቂ።

You try to cover up your weakness.
Therefore, you make others liable,
And you gossip because you are a useless person

From the song 'Anchin Yamene', sung by Seif Adanch Bishaw,
writer- not specified)

With regards to portrayals about the incompetence of the woman, the observation from the lyrics was that these focused on the woman's lack of capacity to make good judgments, and make decisions. As observed before, this trait was found in 44 songs (see table 3).

SS = Sex of the singer
SW = Sex of the songwriter
TS = Type of song
WIC= the woman as incompetent

$$\text{WIC} = 0.583 - 0.256 \text{ SS} - 1.804\text{E-}02 \text{ SW} + 8.885\text{E-}03 \text{ TS}$$

(0.140) (0.047) (0.033) (0.021)

From this regression, it was found out that sex of the singer significantly affects the portrayal of women as incompetent at 95% level of significance. However, there is no significant relationship between sex of the songwriter and type of song in relation to women's portrayal as incompetent.

In looking at the references to women as incompetent, it was found out that 81.07 % of the songs are sung by women, while only 18.91% of the songs are sung by men. This shows that women in these cases have displayed low self-esteem and self worth. This can also relate to the high rate of portrayal observed in relation to the trait of the woman as dependent (See section 4.2.3). This reveals the female singers' portrayal of themselves as less capacitated to accomplish things, and as having less physical and mental capacity (See Section 3.3.4.). Since all the songwriters note that they write songs from the experiences of people around them and their own encounters, it can be concluded that women are portrayed as incompetent because the widely held assumption promoted through socialization is that women are incompetent. Here again, such assumptions legitimize the status quo of males who are found in positions requiring more competence.

In this regard, these ideologies can give rise to inequality, and can be used to rationalize statuses (see section 2.3).

In relation to non-aligned character traits , specifically to patience and shyness, it was found out that these traits have more positive than negative values attached to them (Table 4). The promotion of such traits is reflected and presented in the following verses.

Text 19- የፍቅር፡ መገለጫ አይናፋርነቷ፤
እንደፈረንጆቹ አይቀድም አንደበቷ።

Her love is expressed through her shyness,
She is not one to speak out like the white people

(From the song ‘Eri embuwa’, sung by Solomon Tekalign, writer -
Not specified)

Text 20- ቀጥ ብላ ለማየት ሰውን ትፈራለች፤
ባህሏን አክባሪ እመቤት ወጣት ነች።

She is afraid to look straight at people,
She is a young lady who abides by the cultural norms

(From the song ‘Wey girum’, written and sung by Mesfin Abebe)

Text 21- አይቼ ቆንጆ የምታምር አይናፋር፤
ባንዴ ተረታሁ እጄን ሰጠሁ ለፍቅር።

I saw a beautiful girl who is also shy,
And I immediately gave myself up for love

(From the song “konjo bay”, Singer Yohannes Alemu, songwriter
Tadesse Kiflew, from the group record –Championa Collection)

In the first song, the singer is stating that unlike the white people, the woman is shy and this reflects her love for him. In the second example, the woman is portrayed as somebody who is afraid to look up, is shy and is not assertive. However, this is put as respecting one’s culture and is an admired trait in the song. In both cases, the singers are supporting women’s lack of assertiveness, or lack of voice. In the second text, it was seen

that a woman who does not look up or look straight at people is assumed as 'well mannered'. However, this has an effect of limiting women's assertiveness, and decreasing their role in the public sphere, and in the social, economic and political sectors, thus hampering their self-development.

Femininity is a social construction where women learn 'the right way' of behaving as women. From the songs, the promotion of traits such as shyness and timidity show that women are expected to portray these behaviors since they are considered as a desirable way for a woman to behave. These are not innate characteristics but are transmitted and embedded in society through such portrayals promoting them (see section 2.3). In line with Weedon's (1994) assertion, language here is found to show social relations and to take part in the formation of identities; which in this case is the formation of shy and quiet women (see section 2.6).

4.2.4. Image of women by women singers versus men singers

In studying personality traits, the effect of sex of the songwriter, singer, and type of song on the traits is assessed. In relation to this, the study revealed that sex of the songwriter and types of song do not significantly affect the portrayal of women in relation to personality traits at 95% level of significance. In this regard, unlike Wilkinson's (1976), findings that the element of 'romantic love' might have unexpected images of women, this study shows that women's representation and portrayal does not significantly change across different types of songs. However, it was found out that most of the personality traits are affected significantly by sex of the singer at 95% level of significance.

In addition to the previous traits explained in section 4.2.3., other traits, which are affected by sex of the singer, are portrayal of the woman as trustworthy, shy, patient, cruel, careless, assertive and well behaved.

Table 7- Frequency of personality traits significantly affected by sex of the singer

	Traits observed in the songs	Percentage of songs sung by females	Percentage of songs sung by males
1	Trustworthy	64.2 %	35.8 %
2	Shy	65.4 %	34.6 %
3	Patient	79.4 %	20.6 %
4	Dependent	67.1 %	32.9 %
5	Independent	68 %	32 %
6	Cruel	2.3 %	97.7 %
7	Careless	17.2 %	82.8 %
8	Assertive	60 %	40 %
9	Well-behaved	0 %	100 %

From this, it was observed that portrayals of women as trustworthy, shy, patient, dependent, independent, and assertive, are most frequently found in songs sung by women. However, it was found out that, portrayals of the woman as cruel, careless, well behaved are most frequently found in songs sung by males. In the case of the trait of being well-behaved, it was inferred that 100% of this trait is found in songs sung by males.

Generally, from analysis of the findings concerning personality traits, it was found out that sex of the songwriter does not affect any of the personality traits at a 95% level of significance. It was observed that both women and men songwriters promote positive as well as negative images of women. However, it was also inferred that the negative portrayals of women are more predominant than the positive portrayals. Therefore, there is a need to change the consciousness of both women and men songwriters and singers on the promotion of a balanced image of women. In this regard, women's awareness on the need to present a more positive image about themselves should be enhanced. Lack of women's self-esteem, in this case is one aspect that has to be studied and addressed.

Generally, the high prevalence of negative portrayals about women, and women singers role in transmissions of such ideals, show that the socialization process has led women to accept such definitions as right and to transmit them to the larger public. In addition to socialization, women singers' lack of confidence to contest such ideologies presented by the male songwriters, is another reason for the higher number of negative portrayals by women singers. As Martin (1995) notes, in this case songs as part of mass media are under the control of dominant groups (i.e. males) who promote ideologies that are sustaining the existing inequalities (see section 2.3).

4.2.5. Analysis of data related to harassment against women

As Tuchman (1979:542) notes some intentional or unintentional portrayals in the media may in fact negatively affect women and relegate them to subordinate positions. Likewise, the presence of verses promoting harassment against women will also have the effect of normalizing such practices. In relation to this, some phrases (either intentional or unintentional) promoting harassment against women were observed in the songs.

Some of these are translated and explained as follows.

Text 22- አብሮ አደጉ ንደፊ ቢሰማ ወንድሟ፤
ያመጣልኝ ነበር ማታ በጨለማ።

If her brother who is also my friend had known,
He would have brought her to me at night in the darkness!

(From the song 'yager lij', written and sung by Erkyihun Bitew)

Text 23- ልታጠቅ ዝናሬን ልጫነው ፈረሱን፤
ሳትያዝ ያቺ ሽጋ በፍፁም ልቤ አይረጋ።

Let me carry my band of cartridges, and gird my horse,
Because if that beauty is not caught, my heart will not be at rest

(From the song 'Teshuma Bambaw dagna' , sung by Tamirat Molla, songwriter Girum Haile)

Text 24- ደሴ ሳስፈልግ ተያዘኝ ሽዋበር፤
 ከወዳጅ አምልጣ ወደጎልት ልትርቅ ነበር።

When I was searching in Desse for her, she was found in ShewaBer,
Where did she think she was going after escaping from her lover.

(From the song ‘Tenayewa’, sung by Abebe H/Michael,
songwriter- not specified)

Text 25- አሞራ ሁኔታ ገደባሁ ስፍራሽን፤
 አፈርሰው ነበር ቤትሽን።

If I were an eagle and knew your whereabouts,
I would have come and brought down your house

(From the song ‘Jemern’, written and sung by Abebaw Asrat)

Text 26- እምቢ ብላ ነበር እየኮበለለች፤
 ባቲ ላይ ሳትደርስ ተገርፋ ተያዘኝ።

a) She was escaping and being unmanageable,
But she was found before she reached Bati, and was whipped and caught

b) She was escaping and being unmanageable,
But she was found at Agarfa, before she reached Bati,

(From the song ‘Bati’, sung by Engidaw Gessese, writer-not
specified)

In the above cases, some of the texts were found to have more than one meaning because of the form of writing in the wax and gold form in Amharic where the verses give different meanings. However, in looking at the content of the songs that is related to women’s portrayal, it was found out that in the cited examples women were not showing signs of consent or feelings of love for the singer. Unwillingness was observed in the texts, and the women are forced back to stay in a relationship that they do not want. Transmission of such values promotes harassment and the use of force against women.

Text 27- ልገረፍ ልቀጣ በመውደድ አመጣ...

Let me be whipped and punished, when it comes to love

(From the song ‘Salayih Alwulim’, sung by Selamnesh Zemene, songwriter Amha)

Though the above are references to harassment by male singers, in text 27 the woman implied that she would do anything for love by figuratively stating that she is willing to undergo physical punishment for love. This song is written by a male songwriter, but reproduced by a female singer. Despite the fact that the above is a figurative speech, attention should be given to the way it can be interpreted and understood by the audience, and how the public can understand it as women’s willingness to be physically punished if it is for love.

The conclusion by the researcher is that song as part of popular culture has high influential powers (see section 2.3). However, the appropriate consideration or attention has not been given to the way women are portrayed (see section 2.2). For example, there are rules and penalties for harassment against women. Nonetheless, due attention is not given to such portrayals promoting harassment and normalizing the action. Therefore, the implication of these images should be further studied and attention should be given to the portrayals in songs since it addresses the public and inculcated certain ideologies.

4.2.5. Analysis of data related to division of labor

In the study, it was found out that women’s responsibility is mostly related to their role at home and in the private sphere than the public. No professional responsibility has been attached to women in any of the songs. Most of the job responsibilities assigned to males are related to farming and being a fighter, while women are predominantly associated with work in the kitchen (i.e. cooking and serving food) and spinning.

Text 28- አባቷም ጆግና ነው አልሞ ነጣይ፤
 አራሽ ነው ወንድሚም ፡ እናቷም ፈታይ...

Her father is a hero, and a sharpshooter,
Her mother is a farmer, and her mother spins...

(From the song ‘Jemeregn’, written and sung by Abebaw Asrat)

Text 29- ያደገች ናት በስነስርአት፡ ትገኛለች ከናቷ ማጀት፤
...ሰው አታውቅም አትወጣም ከቤት ጓደኛዋ ሆኗል ፈትልና ስፌት።

She is well brought up; she is found in her mother's kitchen
She does not know people; and does not go out,
Her friends (her pastime activity) are spinning and basketry

(From the song 'Yager lij', written and sung by Erkyihun Bitew)

Here, the singer is declaring that the woman is well behaved because she is always in the kitchen and she does not go out of the house. He puts her as somebody who spends her time spinning and sewing. Her roles are limited within that environment.

Text 30- ብፈትል ብፈትል አልሞላ አለኝ ቋቱ፤
ለካንስ በፍቅር ነበር በረከቱ

I spun and spun, but the 'quat' (a kind of container) would not fill,
I understand now that it used to fill up because of love.

(From the song 'Himeme', sung by Genet and Gizachew, song writer – Damte Mekonnen)

From the above examples and inferences made to women's role (see table 5), there is a rigid division of labor where women are shown as working in the household. In the first example, men are portrayed as heroes and farmers, while women are appreciated for their skill at spinning. Nevertheless, the role of women in the different farming activities has not been mentioned and this conceals the fact that they are a producers as well as consumers. However, in some studies it has been revealed that on average Ethiopian women work more than 15 hours a day (See section 2.4).

In looking at the responsibilities assigned to women, it is inferred that they are related to work in the private sphere rather than work taking place in the public sphere. The types of work associated with women also do not show their contribution in meeting subsistence needs. Rather their work is portrayed as pastime activity. Leacock et al (1986:6) has noted that it is widely assumed that women are consumers rather than producers. In one of the

songs, the singer says that the wife of the man who is working in the farm is always happy and smiling, while the wife of the man who is not working is in woe. In this case, the image of the woman is one of dependence on her husband for her livelihood. She is not reflected as a productive person who is also contributing towards support the household. However, Ethiopian women's productivity is affirmed by Pankurst (1990:361), who states that women in Ethiopian history had major roles in the economy of the country because of their involvement in a range of activities. This varies from handicraft, household responsibilities to agriculture. Therefore, this study affirms his assertion that women's contribution has been given little attention despite their roles in the economic, social, and political history. Moreover, other aspects of their life, like trading and managing the household economy are also not mentioned in any of the songs. Under representation of these, in addition to confinement of women's roles to the specific activities mentioned (see table 5) create the impression that women's contribution is low.

4.2.7. Analysis of data related to sexism in language

In relation to sexism in language, three specific references are found in the songs. One example of this is the tendency to use the male pronoun to refer to heroism.

Text 3- ጃግንነት ቢሉ ወንድነት ቢሉ
 If they talk about heroism,
 If they talk about maleness...

(From the song 'Yachi yeminijar konjo', sung by Genenew Assefa, songwriter- unspecified)

In this song, bravery and heroism are appreciated. However, here heroism is directly associated with maleness.

Text 32- እንደጃግንነቱ ያምራል ውበቱ፤
 ወንዳወንድነቱ ደፋርነቱ...
 His looks are attractive as his heroism is.
 His manliness, his bravery...

(From the song 'Gebriye', suug by Zuriash Abiyu, songwriter- Mesele Getahun)

It was also found out in the second text that bravery is directly associated with the quality of being a male. These images that are found in the two cases show that, the direct reference to bravery as manliness eliminates the possibility of ‘womanliness’ being associated with bravery. In this case, while man is taken as the reference to heroism, exclusion of the reference to woman shows that the woman is considered as the ‘Other’. As Logan (1997) notes, use of such terms increase women’s invisibility (see section 2.5). They also cover and hide women’s function in relation to such activities that can be related with patriotism

In addition to these two references, it was also observed in one text that a supposedly gender-neutral sentence might in fact increase women’s invisibility (See section 2.5).

Text 33- የማእረግ ልብሱ ካባው ኮፍያው፤
ያሳያል ለሁሉም አዋቂ መሆኑን።

His graduation gown and cape
show to everyone that he is educated.

(From the song ‘Enkuan des yalachihu’, written and sung by Teddy Ab, from the record Afro Abyssinia collection)

In the above example, the song is used to appreciate and congratulate a graduate. This is a song sung for an occasion, which when all its content is seen is intended to address all graduates. In this case, when it comes to specifying the topic to a single person, the singer is obliged to use the male pronoun. Here the language itself in the way it is structured makes women invisible. In this regard, it can be noted that lack of female pronouns creates lack of role models for women audiences.

Generally, the researcher believes that there is a need to undertake a comprehensive study on sexism in Amharic language as a whole, since in line with the feminist post-structuralist assertion one of the invisibilities of women is attributed to language (see section 2.5 and 2.6)

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusion

5.1. Summary

The study is conducted to assess gender issues and women's portrayal in all Amharic songs (653 songs) produced in 1997 E.C. From these it was found out that the majority of the songs fall into the category romantic songs, showing high appeal and preference for this category. From this study, it was also found out that women's participation and role is much lower than that of males in both singing and songwriting. Especially with reference to songwriting, it was found out that women wrote only 7.8% of the 653 songs. Concerning women songwriters, it was also found out that women lyricists consist of 6.9% while male songwriters amount to the high majority (93.1%) of all songwriters.

Generally, through examination of manifest and latent content of Amharic songs, the researcher was able to infer information on the portrayal of women through this media. It was found out that concerning character traits of women, the negative traits were found to be more predominant. In looking at the negative traits associated with women, it was observed that women are represented as untrustworthy, dependent, cruel, careless, haughty, incompetent, irrational, jealous, and as quitters. These presented women as indifferent to hurting somebody, as intentionally inflicting pain on others, as needing protection (mentally, financially, and physically), as unfaithful, liars, cheaters, incompetent to undertake activities (be it physical or mental), as lacking intelligence to understand things, as unjustifiably suspicious, and at last as easily giving up.

Concerning the positive character traits in the songs, it was found out that women are portrayed as trustworthy, assertive, independent, and fulfilling. These depicted women as somebody who is able to speak out, who can defend herself, is self-reliant, and free to make her own decisions. In addition, with respect to the characteristics of being trustworthy, women were portrayed as true, dependable and faithful.

Generally, the cumulative sum of characteristics showed a higher number of negative connotations in reference to women. Therefore, the research affirmed the underlying

assumption of this study that women's image or representation is more negative than positive in Amharic songs produced in 1997 E.C.

Other than those characteristics in the two categories, in the traits put as 'non-aligned', women were also portrayed as innocent, quiet or shy, well behaved and patient. The majority of the references to these traits are promoting these traits rather than opposing them. Therefore, this showed that women are more expected to cultivate and reflect characteristics of shyness, innocence, patience, and to be well behaved. The definition of being well behaved varies in different songs, but it is mostly found to be the quality of abiding by norms and custom. Other than this trait of abiding by norms, and not being outspoken, few particular definitions of being well behaved are presented in the songs.

In reference to the preceding characteristics, interviews were also conducted with songwriters. From these it was inferred that women have limited roles in writing as well as modifying the lyrics of the songs. However, the male interviewees' assumption is that, males can rightly reflect women's experiences and needs in the songs they write. They note that women singers do not comment much on the lyrics of the songs. Their assumption is that women singers as well as the audience are satisfied with the work (the lyrics) they present.

In addition to the above personality traits, femininity was also found to be associated with beauty (physical and non-physical). However, the physical characteristics are predominant with 14 traits or bodily features used to refer to the woman's beauty. Concerning non-physical traits, it was found out that women's fragrance and way of speaking were admired.

5.2. Conclusion

In line with the purpose of assessing women's image and existing gender issues in Amharic songs produced in 1997 E.C, it was found out that there is a higher negative portrayal of women. In addition, it is noted that concepts that limit and hamper women's role in different sectors are also put as positive in some of the songs.

From the findings of the study, the researcher infers that the high prevalence of negative portrayal of women may be associated with the low participation of women in writing as well as singing songs. However, another observation is that women were also promoting negative images in some songs. Therefore, this shows that singers' and songwriters' lack of awareness, and acceptance of such definitions about women, are some of the factors leading to a higher prevalence of negative images about women. Thus, the socialization process has affected women's self-image as well as the images they transmit through their songs.

It can be concluded that language is a means of reproduction of culture. However, in this aspect, language has not been used by women to voice their own hopes, wishes, disappointments, strengths, weaknesses, experiences and feelings. In most of the cases, what are assumed to be their stories are studied and presented to them by male songwriters. Since most of the female singers are just reiterating what is written for them, it is not possible to say that they have been given voice through this media. However, women were also found to be reproducing negative portrayals of women, and encouraging traits such as dependence and shyness. Thus, as part of the society they are also transmitting values that re-enforce women's subordinate position and relegate them to the private domain. The researcher believes that these hinder women's development in the public sphere -which is essential for their general development in education, health, economy, and politics. Therefore, women songwriters need to look at the implications of their lyrics, and their possible role in balancing the image of women.

In relation to the positive images like trustworthiness, assertiveness, and being independent, it was also found out that women singers related these with women more than male singers did.

However, in looking at the references to women as incompetent, and dependent, it was also found out that the majority of the songs displaying these are sung by women. This also illustrates the need for consciousness development of women singers and songwriters on their role, and on the effect of such portrayals in the socializing the public.

In relation to the above assertion, it was also observed that despite women's involvement in a range of activities and in productive work, they are mainly portrayed as mainly engaged in domestic responsibilities. This makes their role in contributing towards the household economy invisible. The association of women mostly with domestic responsibilities also shows the need to balance this image. Through songs, women role models who are participating in the public sphere should be created.

This study also verifies that there is lack of women's participation in the music industry, especially with regards to songwriting. This was attributed to a number of reasons by different songwriters. The main assumption held is that women are capable, but do not have the confidence to engage in this activity and business. However, the assertion by one respondent is that there is still a need by the women to have improved lyric writing skills, since writing lyrics is different from writing poetry. There are also attitudes that songwriting is a difficult job for women to be engaged in, because women find it difficult to handle this with the household responsibility and, because it requires working during the night with singers. The only female songwriter interviewed also associated this low number of women with lack of confidence and fear of competing in the already male dominated environment. From the above assertions by the interviewees, it was observed that there are stereotyped expectations from the institution itself, which hamper women's participation. Thus, there is a need to change the existing stereotyped assumptions by singers and songwriters in order to enhance women's role in the industry. The presence of more female role models in the business is expected to encourage more women to be involved in songwriting and in expressing their reality from a woman's viewpoint.

In addition, the frequent references to women's beauty also showed society's pressure on women to conform to the standards. This is believed to lead women to regulatory activities. Thus, as a future directive, the image of women that is also maintained by images transmitted through music clips should be studied for their possible effect on women's body image.

The fact that there are also some songs promoting harassment of women shows the need to look critically at messages transmitted through mass media and popular culture. Therefore, in order for alleviative measures to be effective, such perceptions that could possibly socialize people into accepting harassment should not be reflected and reproduced. Otherwise, actions that are undertaken to alleviate this problem, such as securing and executing rules and regulations will become futile. In relation to this, the presence of songs professing love for and appreciating very young girls' beauty should also be scrutinized for the possible effect these could have in increasing child rape and molestation. Thus, the researcher believes that popularity of songs and their effect on the public should be explored.

Generally, this research serves as a background for other researches which are aimed at studying the effects of portrayals on communities, or which focus on promotion of a balanced image of women. Moreover, it shows the need for a more comprehensive study of Amharic language and other Ethiopian languages for possible forms of sexism and biases against women. The findings also show that women and men singers' lack of participation in the lyrics production process should be assessed.

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Appendix A

Inter coder reliability- Kappa test result

	Variable (Personality Trait observed)	No. of cases tested	Reliability measure (kappa)
1	Assertive	50	0.912
2	Careless	50	0.847
3	Cruel	50	0.658
4	Dependent	50	0.822
5	Fears loneliness	50	0.912
6	Fulfilling/ Precious	50	0.847
7	Haughty	50	0.790
8	Incompetent	50	0.765
9	Independent	50	0.765
10	Innocent	50	Not calculated *
11	Irrational	50	0.852
12	Jealous	50	0.790
13	Patient	50	0.728
14	Quiet/ Shy	50	0.847
15	Quitter	50	0.728
16	Trustworthy	50	0.875
17	Untrustworthy	50	0.912

* Kappa measure for the value is not computed because the trait was not observed by both coders in the 50 cases.

Appendix B
List of female singers

	Name of the Singer
1	Aster Awoke
2	Aster Endale
3	Betelhem Dagnachew
4	Bitseat Seyoum
5	Ejigayehu Shibabaw
6	Eyerusalem Asfaw
7	Fikiraddis Nekatibeb
8	Halima
9	Kebebush Negash
10	Kidist Ayalew
11	Meskerem Negussie
12	Misrak Ephrem
13	Monica Sisay
14	Netsanet Melesse
15	Saba Kebede
16	Selamnesh Zemene
17	Tsehay Debebe
18	Zinash Tsegaye
19	Zuriash Abiyu

Appendix C
List of male singers

	Name of the Singer
1	Abebaw Asrat
2	Abebe H/Michael
3	Alemayehu Eshete
4	Anteneh Werash
5	Benyam Shifa
6	Dagnachew Worku
7	Damtew Ayele
8	Degol Mekonnen
9	Demere Legesse
10	Dereb Zenebe
11	Engidaw Gessese
12	Erkyihun Bitew
13	Fitsum Demissie
14	Genenew Assefa
15	Getachew Gadissa
16	Gete Anley
17	Henok Abebe
18	Henok Mehari
19	Jembere Belay
20	Melkamu Mulat
21	Melsew Asefa
22	Mesfin Abebe
23	Michael Belayneh
24	Muluken Mesfin
25	Nega Berhanu
26	Netsereab Tewolde
27	Sergualem Tegegn
28	Seyif Adanech Bishaw
29	Shewandagn Hailu
30	Solomon Tekalign
31	Tadesse Gidyelw
32	Tamirat Molla
33	Tefera Negash
34	Teshome Mekonnen
35	Tewodos Kassahun
36	Wondimu Jira
37	Yihune Belay

Appendix D

List of cassettes produced by more than one singer (groups)

	Title of the Record
1	Abeba Desalgn and Tigist Fantahun
2	Afro Abyssinia Collection
3	Aratu Yebahil Almazoch
4	Championa Collection
5	FM Collection
6	Genet Masresha and Gizachew Teshome
7	Huletu Abebawoch
8	Rahel Girma and Seble Girma

Appendix E

A. List of male songwriters

	Name of the songwriter
1	Abebaw Asrat
2	Abebe Berhane
3	Abel Melkamu
4	Abrish Zeget
5	Abnet Agonafir
6	Adane Meherete
7	Adinew Wolde
8	Alemayehu Demeke
9	Amanuel Yilma
10	Amha Tewedaj
11	Andualem (Chombe)
12	Amha Yideg
13	Asnake Gebreyes
14	Aychiluhim Mengistu
15	Ayalew Getaneh
16	Ayele Haile
17	Aylachew Mengistu
18	Biniamer Ahmed
19	Bisrat Garedew
20	Bamlak Beshir
21	Daniel Mulugeta
22	Dereje Teferi
23	Damtew Mekonnen
24	Dereje Eshetu
25	Desalegn Fantahun
26	Dereje Mekonnen
27	Dawit Tilahun
28	Eshetu Wondimu
29	Endale Admike
30	Elias Melka
31	Eyob Berhanu
32	Ermias Tadesse
33	Fassil Tekalign
34	Fitsum Kassahun
35	Feleke Maru
36	Girma Fiche
37	Gete Anley
38	Girum Haile
39	Girma Moges
40	Girma Beyene
41	Getnet Enyew

42	Geremew Kebede
43	Habtamu Bogale
44	Hareru Negash
45	Henok Tesfahun
46	Henok Negash
47	Hailu Tsegaye
48	Isayas Setegn
49	Kebede Adido
50	Kinfe Abebe
51	Kifle--
52	Mesele Getahun
53	Moges Teka
54	Mesfin Abebe
55	Mulugeta Borga
56	Mulugeta Abate
57	Merid Abate
58	Mezgebe Idosa
59	Mulugeta Afework
60	Nega Yohannes
61	Neway Tenlign
62	Paulos Yared
63	Shimelis Abera
64	Sirak Tadesse
65	Surafel Abebe
66	Surafel Wondimu
67	Samuel Tadesse
68	Solomon G/Tsadik
69	Samuel Kebede
70	Solomon Mesfin
71	Sentayehu Demissie (Geda)
72	Samson Mammo
73	Tilahun Gebre
74	Tadesse Geleta
75	Tsegachew H/Eyesus
76	Tesfaye Lemma
77	Tesfaye Eshete
78	Tesfahun Damtew
79	Tamiru Nigussu
80	Tsegaye Debotch
81	Tibebe Tamirat
82	Thomas Abebe
83	Tadele Kifelew
84	Temesgen Damena
85	Tamene Mekonnen
86	Tsefa Berhan
87	Wossen Abay
88	Wasihun Belay
89	Wasihun Demissie

90	Yilma Gebreab
91	Yohannes Getachew
92	Yenew Akalu
93	Yohannes Belay
94	Zimbelachew Difek

B. List of male singers who have written for their own songs

	Name of the singer/ song writer
1	Abebaw Asrat
2	Abebe Fekade*
3	Alemayehu Eshete
4	Akilu Mekonnen*
5	Anteneh Worash
6	Binyam Shifa
7	Degol Mekonnen
8	Dereje Meheretu*
9	Ephrem Gosaye*
10	Erkyihun Bitew
11	Fitsum Demissie
12	Getachew Gaddisa
13	Gete Anley
14	Henok Mehari
15	Jembere Belay
16	Melkamu Mulat
17	Melsew Assefa
18	Mesfin Abebe
19	Misikir Awol*
20	Mintesinot Tilahun*
21	Muluken Mesfin
22	Netsereab Tewolde
23	Semahegn Belew*
24	Tadese Gidyew
25	Teddy Ab*
26	Wondimagegn Tesfaye *
27	Wondimu Jira
28	Yamlaksira Badarga*
29	Yihune Belay

* These are singers who contributed their songs (wrote and sang) in a group song record (cassette).

Appendix F

A. List of female songwriters

	Name of the song writer
1	Almaz Teferra
2	Hana Manmedu
3	Mahder
4	Meron Yikumengist
5	Sebelewongel Mammo
6	Senait H/Melekot
7	Sosina Tadesse

B. List of female singers who have written songs for themselves

	Name of the singer/ songwriter
1	Aster Awoke
2	Betelhem Dagnachew
3	Eleni Berhanu*
4	Ejigayehu Shibabaw
5	Meskerem Berhanu*
6	Misrak Ephrem
7	Tsehay Debebe
8	Zinash Tsegaye
9	Zuriash Abiyu

* These are female singers who contributed their songs (wrote and sang) in a group song record (cassette).

Appendix G

List of verses in Amharic in the order mentioned in the text.

- Text 1 - ጠዋትና ማታ ዳሌሽን ሳየው፤
 ልቤ መሸፈቱ መወንበዱ ነው።
- Text 2 - እንደጠሳ ዳገት ቁጭ ብሎ ጡቷ፤
 ልክ እንደሸንኮራው የሚያስጎመጅ ባቷ።
- Text 3- ሽብረብ ይላል ዳሌሽ ሲራመድ፤
 ቢያቅበዘብዘኝ የኔ አንቺን መውደድ።
- Text 4- ያይኖቿን ሽፋሽፍሉን ሳየው ስር ከሉን፤
 ቀልቤ ብትን ይላል ልቤ ብክንክን።
- Text 5- ከሉን ማን ከሉሻል ንገሪኝ በሞቱ፤
 የኛ ልጅ እንኳን ተኳኩላ ያምራል የሷ ገላ።
- Text 6- ፀጉርሽን አስወበው አሰርተውታል፤
 አይንሽንም በኩል አሳምረውታል።
- Text 7- አይንሽም እንደርግብ አምሮበት ተኩሏል፤
 በእንቁ ድሪ አጊጦ ደረትሽ ተውቧል።
- Text 8- ገና ህፃን ልጅ ናት ለጋ ያልበሰለች፤
 ስጋዬን ጨርሳው ካጥንቱ ተጋባች።
- Text 9- ና ገላ ውብ ዛላ፣ እንድትሆንልኝ ጣራ ከለላ፤
 ስንት አስቤ አልሜ በየትኛው አቅሜ፤
 ብቻዬን እንዳልቀር ታምሜ ናልኝ አለሜ።
- Text 10- እዘዘኝ እዘዘኝ እዘዘኝ፤
 ሁሉን ነገሪን ላንተ ብያለሁ፤
 ያልከኝን በለኝ እችለዋለሁ።

Text 11- የህይወት ጥበብ እውቀትን አገራሼ፤
ለእድገቱ መሰላል ለውጤት አድራሼ፤
ቢከፋኝ አፅናኝ ቢደክም መንፈሴ፤
እሷን ፈጥሮልኛል ኩራት ናት ለነፍሴ።

Text 12- ተማምለን ነበር እንዳናንቀላፋ፤
ተኝተሽ ተገኘሽ መተማመን ጠፋ።።

Text 13 - አንቺን ያመነና ጉምን የጨበጠ፤
ህይወቱ ምስቅልቅል የተገላበጠ።።

Text 14 - አልከዳህም ብለሽ ቃል ገብተሽ ለልቤ፤
እንደጴጥሮስ ከዳሽኝ ሶስቴ፡ አዘነብሽ በቃ ስሜቴ።።

Text 15- ለእናቷ ለአባቷ መስላ የተማረች፤
የአሜካን ቦርሳ እያንጠለጠለች...
እናቷም ይላሉ 'ልጄ ትማራለች' ፤
አባቷም ይላሉ 'ልጄ ትማራለች' ፤
እንዳበደ ውሻ ጫካ ትዞራለች።።

Text 16- እመት አይሞላልሽ አይሳካልሽ፤
እንስራውን አምጪው ወሀ ልቅዳልሽ።።

Text 17- አወይ ወይኔ ወይኔ ህልሜን ነግራሽ፤
እንዳትፈቺው ሳውቀው እንዳይሆንልሽ።።

Text 18- የራስሽን ድክመት ለመሸፈን ብለሽ አርገሽ ተጠያቂ፤
ሌላውን ታሚያለሽ ስሙን እያጠፋሽ ስለሆንሽ ውዳቂ።።

Text 19- የፍቅር መገለጫ አይናፋርነቷ፤
እንደፈረንጆቹ አይቀድም አንደበቷ።።

Text 20- ቀጥ ብላ ለማየት ሰውን ትፈራለች፤
ባህሷን አክባሪ እመቤት ወጣት ነች።።

Text 21- አይቼ ቆንጆ የምታምር አይናፋር፤

ባንዴ ተረታሁ እጄን ሰጠሁ ለፍቅር።

Text 22- አብሮ አደጉ ንዴ ቢሰማ ወንድሚ፤
ያመጣልኝ ነበር ማታ በጨለማ።

Text 23- ልታጠቅ ዝናሬን ልጫነው ፈረሱን፤
ሳትያዝ ያቺ ሽጋ በፍፁም ልቤ አይረጋ።

Text 24- ደሴ ሳስፈልግ ተያዘኝ ሸዋበር፤
ከወዳጅ አምልጣ ወዴት ልትርቅ ነበር።

Text 25- አሞራ ሁኔ ባዉቀዉ ስፍራሽን፤
አፈርሰው ነበር ቤትሽን።

Text 26- እምቢ ብላ ነበር እየኮበለለች፤
ባቲ ላይ ሳትደርስ ተገርፋ ተያዘኝ።

Text 27- ልገረፍ ልቀጣ በመውደድ ከመጣ...

Text 28- አባቷም ጀግና ነው አልሞ ነጣይ፤
አራሽ ነው ወንድሚም ፡ እናቷም ፈታይ...

Text 29- ያደገኝ ናት በስነስርአት፤ ትገኛለች ከናቷ ማጀት
...ሰው አታውቅም አትወጣም ከቤት ንደኛዋ ሆኗል ፈትልና ስፌት።

Text 30- ብፈትል ብፈትል አልሞላ አለኝ ቋቱ፤
ለካንስ በፍቅር ነበር በረከቱ።

Text 31- ጀግንነት ቢሉ ወንድነት ቢሉ

Text 32- እንደጀግንነቱ ያምራል ውበቱ፤
ወንዳወንድነቱ ደፋርነቱ...

Text 33- የማእረግ ልብሱ ካባው ኮፍያው፤
ያሳያል ለሁሉም አዋቂ መሆኑን።

Appendix H

Semi-structured interview questions for lyricists

1. Background of the interviewee - sex, age, educational level, occupation, birth place.
2. How long have you been writing lyrics? How did you start writing?
3. Where do you get your ideas for lyrics?
4. What factors influence the contents of your lyrics?
5. What do you think about women's representation? Do you think there is a realistic portrayal in the songs you write? If so, where and how do you observe/get those characteristics/ images you put in your lyrics?
6. Do you think that song lyrics have an impact in changing people's thinking/attitude? If so, do you think about this impact while writing your lyrics?
7. What do you think is the reason for the low number of women lyricists? Are situations conducive for women in the market?
8. Have you ever written for women singers? How do you feel when you write for women singers? Do you think you can rightfully represent women's reality? **(for male interviewees)**
9. How do you characterize women in contrast to men in your lyrics?
10. What kind of reactions and comments have you got so far from the men/women listeners? Is it positive/negative? Do women like the way you portray them?

Appendix I

Coding sheet

Coder Initials: _____

Title of Song: _____

Name of Singer: _____ Sex of singer: _____ sex of the song writer: _____

	Type of songs (Song Category)	
1	Geographical song	
2	Patriotic song	
3	Song sung for an occasion	
4	Song on Romantic love	
5	Song on Unromantic love	
6	Song on a theme or issue	

	Features displayed as women's characters in the song	Positive image (image with a positive connotation)	Negative image (image with a negative connotation)	Neutral (with no connotation)
1	Beautiful			
	Breast/chest			
	Eyes/ eyebrows			
	Fragrance			
	Hair			
	Height (tallness)			
	Hips			
	Legs			
	Lips			
	Neck			
	Nose			
	Skin			
	Teeth			
	Thinness			
	Unspecified beauty			
	Waist			
	Other --			
2	Behavior			
	Assertive			
	Careless			
	Cruel			
	Dependent			
	Fears loneliness			
	Fulfilling			
	Haughty			
	Independent			

	Innocent			
	Irrational			
	Jealous			
	Patient			
	Quiet/ Shy			
	Quitter			
	Rational			
	Trustworthy			
	Untrustworthy			
	Incompetent			
	Well behaved (Terms used to express why the woman is called well behaved are _____ _____			
	Other behavior traits observed-			
3	Type of work associated with women			
	Embroidery			
	Spinning			
	Work in the kitchen			
	As idle (not working or as encouraging idleness)			
	Other --			

4. Does the song encourage harassment or violence on women? Yes No

If yes, write the terms used in the lyrics

Appendix J

Coding instruction

- a. Please write your initials in each coding sheet
- b. Fill out the name of the song in each coding sheet.
- c. Please refer to the attached definitions of terms while filling out the coding sheet.
- d. Type of songs (Song Category) is a classification based on the lyrics of the songs, and what messages they focus on.
- e. One coding sheet will be used per each song.

Appendix K

Operational definitions for coding sheet

Type of songs (Song Category)

1. **Geographical song** – is song about geographical places, country etc
2. **Patriotic song** – are songs expressing loyalty to one's country or a location.
3. **Song sung for occasion** – are songs sung on different occasions, like holidays, weddings...
4. **Songs on Romantic love**- are songs focusing on romantic relations.
5. **Songs on Unromantic love**-are songs related to non-romantic relations (family, friends)
6. **Song on a theme** – are songs on different concepts, arguments, issues etc (with the exclusion of those with themes from category 1-5)

Definitions for coding variables

1. Beautiful—traits which are expressed with appreciation as being appealing to the eye or to the mind. This could include physical as well as non-body related characteristics if they are expressed in association with being beautiful. For eg, if the woman's way of speaking, wit, and charm put her to be defined as beautiful...etc.

2. Behavior - The categories which are used for coding purposes are defined as follows.

- **Assertive** - in this aspect, the woman is portrayed as somebody who speaks out, is communicative, playful and is not afraid to express or to defend herself.
- **Careless** – This implies inconsideration of consequences, indifference to making mistakes or hurting somebody.
- **Cruel** – This value implies that the woman lacks kindness, or is able to bring pain on others .

Common identifiers- heartless, without mercy, hurtful

- **Dependent-** This trait expresses the notion of needing protection, (mentally, financially or physically) and relying on others for a meaningful existence.
 - **Common identifiers** - Examples of such traits are terms like, if the woman says ‘I can’t live without you’, ‘I can not think without you’... or if the man says, ‘I am here to protect you’
- **Fearing loneliness** – this value is used to show that the woman in the song expresses her fear of being alone or a male singer portrays the woman as being afraid to be alone without companions, i.e. male companions.
- **Fulfilling** - here the woman is put as somebody who is valued and brings fulfillment and pleasure to one’s life.
- **Haughty-** In this study, this trait can imply any of the following characters.
 - **Common identifiers are-** giving overt value to one, or showing disdain to others, thinking things and people are below oneself.
- **Incompetent** – in this aspect the woman’s capacity is undermined. That can be capacity to make judgments, to decide, physical capacity, and mental capacity. For example statements terms like ‘I can easily win you over’, ‘you make weak decisions’, ‘you can not make up your mind’...
- **Independent** - The woman in this case is portrayed as strong, self-reliant and free to make her own decisions without control from others. For example – a woman saying ‘I am strong’, ‘I have decided to leave’ is affirming her independence.
- **Innocent-** in this case it implies lack of experienced, being naive, or not being aware of worldly things, evils etc.
- **Irrational-** somebody who is portrayed as lacking wit to understand things, is unintelligent or somebody who takes action without considering the consequences.
- **Jealous** – A woman is put as being unjustifiably suspicious of being displaced by another person, or somebody who envies what another person has.
- **Patient** – A patient person is one who endures suffering or tries to forgo other’s faults.
- **Quiet/ Shy-** in this value the woman is put as not assertive or outspoken or as afraid to speak out or express herself.
- **Quitter-** This value conveys the idea that the woman portrayed easily gives up since she does not know what to do or is unable to function without help. In this case, the

woman can also express herself as not knowing what to do without another person, or as losing direction.

- **Single** – in this case this variable means that the woman is put as not married or not as dating anyone either in a positive or negative connotation.
- **Trustworthy**- this value suggests that the woman is portrayed as somebody who can be trusted, somebody who is not disposed to cheat or is faithful.

Common identifiers- faithful, true, dependable

- **Untrustworthy**- this value suggests that the woman is someone who misleads, is not reliable, honest or worthy of trust. This trait also implies somebody who is unfaithful or is a cheater.

Common identifiers- misleading, undecided, could not keep a secret, liar, cheater