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Caricaturing Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashave’s Mutating Music Identity. Case of WhatsApp and Facebook Discourses

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ABSTRACT

With music being part of our everyday lives, audiences easily get attached to the musicians and have certain expectations from their favourite musicians. This study set out to investigate the perspectives of the audiences on Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s mutating music identity. To achieve this objective, the researcher focused on Facebook and WhatsApp comments on Fungisai’s switch of genres. Qualitative research approach was employed in this study as the researcher was seeking to unpack the various meanings behind these comments. Archival research and virtual ethnography were utilized to gather data, while Critical Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis were employed upon analysing data. Findings obtained pointed to Fungisai’s switch from gospel genre to ZimDanceHall genre as a taboo, the researcher also noticed traces of patriarchy through the audiences’ comments.
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ACRONYMS

Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act……………………………….AIPPA
Apostolic Faith Mission ................................................................. AFM
African Tradition Religion .......................................................... ATR
Broadcasting Services Act............................................................ BSA
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women….CEDAW
Critical Discourse Analysis.............................................................. CDA
FaceBook.................................................................................. FB
Glad Tidings............................................................................... GT
Government of National Unity....................................................... GNU
Maximum Variation Sampling....................................................... MVS
Movement for Democratic Change............................................... MDC
Public Order and Security Act....................................................... POSA
Postal Telecommunication Regulatory Authority Zimbabwe..................POTRAZ
Zimbabwe Assembly Of God........................................................ ZAOGA
Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army .................................ZANLA
Zimbabwe’s People Revolution Army.............................................. ZIPRA.
United Family Interdenominational............................................... UFIC
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Music is an innocent luxury, unnecessary to our existence but a great improvement and gratification for the sense of hearing which consists of melody, time, consonance, and dissonance (Burney 1776). Through events, music can mutate to create an identity. This can be evidenced in most ghetto youths in Zimbabwe who have ventured in the ZimDanceHall genre as a way of challenging power or to fill up the gap created by unemployment.

There is well established global literature showing that identities are always subject to contestation (Hall, 1996, 1997; Seleti, 1997; Bauman, 2002; Mhiripiri, 2010). For Hall (1997), in the postmodern notion of identities, we are nothing but a wandering star. Despite all the unsettled contestations, cultural studies academics generally concur that identities are subject of human construct. This research, is grounded in the cultural studies tradition, unravelling identity politics in the area of music in Zimbabwe. The cultural studies tradition, pioneered by British scholars Richard Hoggart (1918-2014), Edward Palmer Thompson (1924-1993), Raymond Williams (1921-1988) and most importantly the Jamaican born British scholar Stuart Hall (1932-2014), celebrate the autonomy of audiences. Indeed, in this era dominated by new social media technologies, the audiences’ presence and ‘autonomy’ is somehow visible. The audiences, are using online social media platforms to negotiate, renegotiate, perform and contest identities.

In light of this development, this research narrows down to provide a detailed account on the politics of identity, surrounding Fungisai Zvakavapano Mashavave’s shift from gospel to ZimDanceHall music. Traditionally, Mashavave has been known and celebrated as one of the most successful female artistes in Zimbabwe, producing well received songs like Makomborero, Toita zvedenga, Svitza yangu, among others. Towards the end of 2015, Mashavave transgressed discourse, abandoning what is perceived as a ‘decent’ music genre, gospel, to venture into Zimbabwe dancehall- a relatively new and popular music genre, which largely borrows from Jamaican reggae and Jamaican Dancehall music. This genre, mainly dominated by male ghetto youth, is characterised by controversial discourses ranging from vulgarity, sexism among others issues, which makes it an opposite of gospel music. However, Mashavave made a successful collaboration with one of the leading ZimDanceHall artists Killer T, producing a hit ‘Kana zvandibata’, which largely borrows from a biblical verse.
Such a move triggered mixed reactions among Mashavave’s followers and music lovers in general. The social media became some of the key platforms where these discourses flooded.

1.2 Background of the Study

Zimbabwe is a country characterised with various music genres, dating back to precolonial times. Chikowero (2010) states that music played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. Musicians like Zexie Manatsa, Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo and others bravely complemented the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) choirs in singing the songs that won the liberation war. Besides Chimurenga music, after independence, Sungura has been one of the most popular music genres alongside gospel. Artistes like Mechanic Manyeruke, Charles Charamba, Olivia Charamba and Fungisai Mashavave became successful and popularised the gospel genre from the 1990s after 2000. However, following the enactment of Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) (2010) with a provision calling for promotion of local music, Urban grooves emerged as one of the most popular youth music genres. Today, ZimDanceHall has emerged as the most popular not only among the youth but across different ages in Zimbabwe, crossing into countries like South Africa and Botswana.

ZimDanceHall is a Zimbabwean music genre with its roots in the Jamaican tradition of reggae. The genre is known for its hard-hitting lyrics which often encompass social issues like poverty, unemployment and drug abuse. There have been many instances in which the ZimDanceHall artists hogged the limelight for all the wrong reasons which span from lyrical content which glorifies drug abuse, violence and sexual immorality. Inevitably this has an impact on the impressionable minds of the urban youths who form the bulk of the ZimDanceHall audiences.

The power of ZimDanceHall can be confirmed by the fact that Mashavave also made a collaboration with Killer T, producing a hit Vanondibatirana. This shift triggered debates amongst fans on online social platforms. As Hall (1997, 222) argues, “Every identity is exclusion and an act of power”. Among other schools of thought in identity studies, the essentialist or primordialist approach views identities as inborn and static (Appiah, 1992; Storey, 1999; Madianou, 2002) This, however, has been rejected by cultural studies scholars who do not view identities as God-given but really a matter of unstable subjectivities born of the human free will (Kellner, 1995; Hall, 1997; Madianou, 2002). Identities are therefore said to be always in a state of flux and constructed within discourses.
The study unravels these differences in the context of Mashavave’s shift from gospel to ZimDanceHall. Most Zimbabweans now use the social media to express their opinions on issues of public interest. Papacharissi (2002) asserts that online platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and blogs offer the public a public space to express public opinion. I therefore argue that Facebook and WhatsApp are some of the key sites where some members of the public express their views concerning Mashavave’s shift in music.

Moreover, the debate is exacerbated by the fact that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s once said ‘I will never share a stage with a secular musician” during an interview with The Sunday Mail (17 January 2016), a weekly newspaper in Zimbabwe. Moreover, later on she later claimed that she is not a Christian despite having spent years singing gospel music. Such claims confirm Hall’s (1997) assertion that identities are imaginations.

The study therefore presents and discusses selected comments on Zvakavapano Mashavave’s shift in music discourse. The debate is contextualised in the cultural studies framework, specifically the politics of social identities.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Fungisai Mashavave’s 2015 collaboration with renowned ZimDanceHall artiste Killer T which resulted in Vanondibatirana, continues to provoke cyber and street debates concerning the identity of the musician. This study is an examination of how music followers, presumably Mashavave’s fans, view her shift from gospel to a secular music genre-ZimDanceHall.

1.4 Research Objectives

This research intends to:

- Analyse how selected Facebook and WhatsApp comments Media Class 2016 class and Gweru Divas group perceive the mutation of Zvakavapano-Mashavave from gospel of ZimDanceHall music.
- Establish how the analysed cyber discourses relate to the politics of gender discourses in Zimbabwe.
- Analyse the driving force behind attitudes and perceptions of the audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s shift from gospel to ZimDanceHall.
1.5 Main Research Question

What are the attitudes and perceptions of selected cyber audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s mutation from gospel music to ZimDanceHall music?

1.6 Sub research questions

- What is the relationship between music identity and audience perception with regard to Christian norms in Zimbabwe?
- In what ways do the selected online comments relate to gender related identities in Zimbabwe?

1.7 Significance of the Study

A study by Rwafa and Vambe (2007) called ‘Hear our voices’. Female popular musicians on post-independence Zimbabwe focuses on how women in Zimbabwe played their role in singing the songs that brought unity among the liberation fighters and the nation at large. This study also discovered that women accepted their role in the patriarchal society and they could sing songs directed to men so that they get to hear their responses also through songs. Another study by Biri and Chitando (2014) titled Vanhu vekwedu vanotya Mwari (Our people are God fearing): the valorisation of Zimbabwe in Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s Wenyasha ndewenyasha is evidence of how Zvakavapano-Mashavave sang songs which praised Zimbabwe and Africa and discouraged citizens from going to seek jobs in the diaspora so that they can indigenise in their mother land. This study is significant in that it investigates the followers of the musicians, how they react when a musician switches from one genre to another. It is therefore essential to find out how the audiences respond to a new scenario whereby a musician jumps ship. By so doing, this study will be bringing new knowledge to the already existing literature about the Zimbabwean musicians, and most importantly, about how ordinary people portray musicians.

1.8 Assumptions

Digital public sphere gives a chance to everyone and anyone to air their views anonymously therefore leading to Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s criticism.
Female artists spread their wings in the boundaries of feminine music because this is what socialisation teaches them. Audiences associate female musicians with gospel music as it is considered their mandate to mould youths to be better citizens in the African society.

1.9 Limitations

Accurate answers may be difficult to obtain on this subject since many Christians may find it hard to give or pass their ‘verdict’ on fellow citizens. Not everyone is on the two social networks under study, as some of the comments are on Twitter and YouTube, so this therefore implies that the answers obtained on Facebook and WhatsApp does not represent all the audiences. With the study being focused on online research, this research will only focuses on archival research at the expense of other research techniques such as interviews, questionnaires and focus groups which might result in lack of balance in the data collected.

1.10 Delimitations

The study will mainly focuses on the Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s song Vanondibatirana which was released in the year 2015. The researcher will only focuses on WhatsApp and Facebook discourses foregoing other platforms that Zvakavapano-Mashavave was ridiculed which include Twitter, Instagram and even Imo.

1.11 Structure of the study

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study which gave brief background to the vital tenants and objectives of the research. Chapter 2 presents literature review of studies that were done by other scholars in relation to the ongoing study and theoretical framework that was used in the study. Chapter 3 looks at the methods and methodologies used in the study. Chapter 4 is the political economy of WhatsApp and Facebook and chapter 5 articulates the data presentation and the analysis of the findings of the research. Chapter 6 concludes and pass recommendations proposing areas of further study.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter gave an introduction of the research topic. Highlighted in this chapter is the carrier of Zvakavapano-Mashavave, the history of gospel and ZimDanceHall, the significance of the study and research questions. The next chapter focuses on literature done by other scholars in line with this study and theories that are relevant for this research.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter incorporates various literature by different scholars that relate to this study. With the chapter divided into two sections, the first section of this chapter links this study to previous researches while the second section is the theoretical framework. It is vital to note that this chapter’s focus is centred on creating gaps in knowledge and reflecting how this research intends to cover them.

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review is an evaluative report of studies found in the works related to a particular study area. Boote & Beile (2005) notes that a researcher cannot perform a substantial study without first understanding the literature that is on the ground. Literature review used in this study is in form of themes. These themes identify and articulates the relationship between the literature and the field of research.

2.2.1 Gender Discrimination and the discourse of patriarchy in Zimbabwe Music

By virtue of being a patriarchal society, traditionally it is believed in Zimbabwe that males are superior to their female counterparts. In line with this assertion, Kambarami (2006) asserts that in most families, the male children are preferred to the female children. Patriarchy is a concept of female oppression and has been used for a long period of time (Rowbotham, 2006). Alternatively, it can also be referred to as an ideology, a symbolic of male principle, as the literal power of the father, as a system of controlling women’s sexuality and fertility and as institutional structure of male domination. This adds up to the above noted statement that in a patriarchal society females are regarded as inferior and while on the other hand males are considered to be superior. However, this ideology of patriarch can be said to be sagging to its knees as nations are now advised to heed the global call of embracing gender equity. This has since seen a number of females in sports, politics being promoted to higher posts which were previously reserved for males. This study however seeks to unearth the gender imbalance that still exists in Zimbabwe by analysing audiences’ online comments about Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

The issue of gender discrimination in Zimbabwe has been witnessed in various facets of the society. Gaidzamwa (1992:10) is of the view that “the University of Zimbabwe provided an atmosphere and opportunities for female academics with little experience to join in
administration, but the higher level university administration remained male dominated.” However, scholars like Chabaya et al (2009) have been against this patriarchal ideology as they suggest that one’s sex does not count as far as his/her performances is concerned. Chabaya et al (2009) advocates for an egalitarian society in the country. Contrary to this, there seems to be a residue gender imbalances in the country, hence this has prompted this study to reveal the gender imbalances that still exists in Zimbabwe by analysing audiences’ online comments about Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

In the colonial era, female artists were rendered as dangerous and wayward because of their life style. Scholars like Vambe (1976) and Schmidt (1992) postulate that patriarchal African attitudes as well as the intolerance shown by the white racist policies during the colonial era portrayed aggressiveness towards females who used to perform alone at night. Chitando (2002) confirms this as he notes that women were not even supposed to play the Mbira instrument (traditional thumb piano) as it was regarded as sacred and reserved for males. Towards independence, in 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was held. Despite all this effort to cover the segregation gap that women have experienced, there seems to be traces of gender imbalances in Zimbabwe and this study intends to expose them by analysing music audiences’ online comments about Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

According to Rwafa and Vambe (2007) Zimbabwe’s female singers imagine alternative singing spaces and often attempt to move out of the sphere of the musical range of male musicians. This implies that female musicians try to liberate themselves in the music industry by switching to a genre that is not noisy. This has seen more female musicians turning to gospel music. In other words, female artists in Zimbabwe have been mostly marginalised to the gospel music industry in Zimbabwe. Makore (2004) notes that female gospel musicians seem to enjoy a good image in society. Seeing a female musicians switching from the gospel genre to the dancehall one actually seems to divide opinion. This is so since the dancehall genre articulates sex, violence and is centred on out-competing a rival (Manuel and Marshall, 2006: 460). In the context of this study, the researcher intends to handpick gender imbalances in music audiences’ online comments about Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

A number of scholars (Kwaramba, 1997; Vambe, 2004; Makwenda, 2005) assert that female singers are on the boundaries of theoretical works despite the fact that musicians such as Stella Chiweshe, Dorothy Masuku and Susan Mapfumo have been dominant from the 1950s
through the 1970s. However, Rwafa (2007) disagrees with this line of thought, as he asserts that in the previous decades when Zimbabwean music reflections had a tendency of centring on established male singers such as Simon Chimbetu, Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo just to mention a few. According to Vambe and Rwafa (2007), female singers would sing in borrowed tones with the intention to cement the idea to male singers and politicians as natural guardians that they are the nation in both the physical and ideological domains. From Vambe and Rwafa’s statement, one can note that female musicians compromise their aspirations in order to fit in a male-dominated society. Such gender imbalances are set to be revealed in this study by analysing music audiences’ online comments on Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

In a patriarchal society or in an egalitarian one, when a female musician tends to sing empowering the image of a nation she is celebrated. According to Biri et al (2014) Fungisai’s album “Wenyasha ndeWenyasha” (2012) made her a Zimbabwean ambassador because of the way she celebrates Zimbabweanness in the album. This statement implies that there are certain traits expected of a female singer in order for her to be successful. What happens when a female musician strays from the audiences’ expectations is to be revealed in this study through analysing music audiences’ online comments on Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

Van Leeuwen (1993) states that patriarchy is androcentric and submits that males holds the torch of authority and power. On this note, Gaidzamwa (2006) points out that Chiwoniso Maraire risked to end the ideal versions that women are only restricted to womanhood and motherhood. Makore (2004) subscribes to Van Leeuwen’s line of thought, as he suggests that women were only given the nod to hold a public performance after the 1960s. Makore further notes that the only time women were allowed to perform was in a church setting. Perhaps this was a way of protecting their dignity. Jackson (1999) notes that though this was mainly a colonial construct women who dared to enter the public spaces were regarded as loose and perilous. The above scholars concurred in the fact that female musicians during the colonial era were segregated. This present study is relevant as it will focus on the audiences’ treatment female musicians’, particularly Fungisai when she switched from Gospel music to ZimDanceHall.

Haas (1995) states that Christians of broad array of theological and Biblical positions largely accept that the culture of the Old Testament is patriarchal. A gospel guru in the Pentecostal sector, Reverand Chipere in an interview held in Harare on 19 May 2003 noted that,
Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe, females are not allowed to be priests and the closest they can get is being part of the clerical work and leading Sunday school services therefore one may say the advent of women in gospel music is ecclesiastical in nature. Women venture in the music industry as an alternative pulpit because they believe they have they have been called to Minister the word of God. To support this, nearly all leading female gospel artists are from Pentecostal churches. Carol Chivengwa Mujokoro, Ivy Kombo and Ruth Mapfumo belong to the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA). Spiwe Chimuti and Olivia Charamba belong to Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe (AFM) while Primrose Cement, Joyce Simeti and Fungisai Zvakavapano belong to Glad Tidings (GT). These women seem to tend to believe that the only way to counter patriarchy in the church is by going to places where their message is accepted which is the music industry.

Olivia Charamba a gospel musician has managed to invade the public space even as patriarchy threatens to domesticate her entirely by accentuating the Mai Charamba identity. Olivia Charamba who is married to Charles Charamba is tactful when she continues to defer to Charles Charamba as her mentor and source of inspiration. Zondi-Mabizela (2010) contends that a focus should be shown on women’s resourcefulness and survival strategies in the society. Chitando and Mateveke (2012) note that Olivia Charamba refused to stand in the shadow of her husband like what she did when she began venturing the music industry but she can now be called as Mai Charamba, the competent musician. In as much as other critics continue to call her Charamba’s wife, Olivia has actually become a threat to the career of her husband. There are many fans who contend that Olivia is a better performer than her husband Charles and to counter this tension, she was always quick to mention the important role that Charles played in her career (Chitando and Mateveke, 2012). In so doing, she pacifies patriarchal tenets while continuing to assert herself on the music scene.

According to Rwafa and Vambe (2007), in the previous decades when Zimbabwean music was debated, the reflections tend to centre on established male singers such as Simon Chimbetu, Oliver Mtukudzi, Thomas Mapfumo just to mention a few. Female singers are on the margins of theoretical works despite the fact that musicians such as Stella Chiweshe, Dorothy Masuku, Susan Mapfumo have been dominant from the 1950s through the 1970s even to date in the case of Stella Chiweshe. Studies have been done of the above mentioned musicians Kwaramba(1997), Vambe(2004) and Makwenda (2005) thus proving that sometimes female singers sing to beseech their male counterparts to hear their alternate voices, to appraise the nation. Sometimes they would sing in borrowed tones whose effect
was to cement the idea to male singers and politicians as natural guardians that they are in the nation in both the physical and ideological domains. For example Pah Chihera, a young Zimbabwean musician has a song titled *Musavadarire varume* (do not look down upon men). This then shows that women still see the importance of men in their lives in as much as music has liberated them from these chains.

Susan Mapfumo’s songs were able to critique colonialism and African patriarchy. The songs highlighted women pleads and disgruntlement. Rwafa and Vambe (2007) contend that she used Chimurenga sub-genre to reveal the conflicts within the domestic space in an African family. They further go on to say that her voice often questioned African male-controlled bigotry and the material poverty that burden meagre women. Gunner et al (1994) notes that Mapfumo was probably the most remarkable but vulnerable musician who did not really experience urbanity life in Mbare like Stella Chiweshe who had substantial stability.

Mapfumo’s song that made her win gold discs was *Kwa Murehwa* (In Murehwa) which explains how she was married with eight children and was told by her husband to go away in the cold because he wanted a younger and prettier woman which was influenced by colonial modernity which had spread its tentacles in the rural area of Murehwa (Rwafa and Vambe, 2007). This song depicts the deterioration of moral code defining the Shona concept of marriage, love, decency and child bearing in the then Rhodesia Gunner (1994). Hence one can therefore say that women played a pivotal role in the recreation of the nation. The music industry played a fundamental role as a channel that reminded the men of how they were losing their ways as a result of colonial intervention.

Female artists were rendered as dangerous because of their life style. Gunner (1994) perceived female artists as:

> Dangerous in that they might influence other women to follow their lifestyle, as they were often single or divorced women. The sense of danger was also connected with a sense of their ability to re-vision: through their expressive art they could both reshape and control in a way that was otherwise not possible. This notion of power relates to the acceptance of many African societies of licence, in some situations, within song and poetry – that singers may tell terrible things in song and poetry, set out what is not usually heard and survive with impunity (Gunner et al. 1994, 118).

Gunner et al disagrees with Rwafa and Vambe (2007) and Chitando and Chitando (2004) while concurring with Jackson (1999) that women in the music industry posed a threat to the
society and they were represented as chancy in the society. Most women have a tendency of competing in fashion and basic life styles. Whenever someone superior for example a musician or an actress has a certain hairstyle many women usually follow suit. For example female members of United Family International Church (UFIC) have cut their hair so as to copy the hairstyle of their prophetess Ruth Makandiwa. Chiwoniso Maraire was divorced from her husband Andy Brown even though they had children together. Maraire continued to have a successful music career despite what the society had to say about her of being an unworthy woman. This alone gave confidence to other single female parents that it was possible to live without a husband and still be happy which was traditionally something shameful in society for one to be divorced. Zimbabwe as a nation seeks to reclaim the discourse of patriarchy at all times as highlighted by the behaviour that is showed by the first lady of the state Doctor Amai Grace Mugabe, who shows-off her husband President Robert Mugabe at all times as a father and natural leader of the nation but mostly of their family.She often claims in public the things that she was taught and continually learn from her husband.

2.2.2 Women, music and politics

When Mbuya Madhuve was there singing songs such as *Kuvengana Ndekweyi, Ndega Ndega* and *PaChinshoyi* emphasising how Rhodesian fighters killed the freedom fighters who fought for liberation of the nation. The songs she compiled showed how jealous among gorillas led to the senseless deaths of African men and women who were fighting at the battle front. Her songs also exposed dossier of the pain induced by ZANLA freedom fighters and they justified the need to rule by ZANU-PF (Rwafa and Vambe, 2007). This shows that female musicians took part in politics through music showing how they felt about the war that took place back in the day.

Between 2000 and 2008, Zimbabwe faced socio-economic and political challenges which found many of the Zimbabwean nationals facing humiliation because of their passport (Chidori, 2013). Many people thought that there was no longer hope for Zimbabwe which led many to flee to the diaspora. Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave came up with a proudly Zimbabwean posture in her album *Wenyasha Ndewenyasha* in 2012 wherein she celebrates Zimbabweanness, analyses the Diaspora and tackled the negative portrayals Zimbabwe was facing.

Some critics like Palmberg (2004) argue that the gospel genre has always been apolitical. The scholar suggest that gospel music had always had a political role it played in Zimbabwe.
Rwafa, Viriri and Vambe (2013) suggest that Zvakavapano’s music is allied with liberation theology. Her approach to the themes of emancipation and empowerment shows that the album *Wenyasha Ndewenyasha* had administrative arguments for she highlights issues to do with national identity and the state’s pride (Magosvongwe, 2008). This therefore claims that Zvakavapano played a pivotal role in the nation as an interpreter between what was going on at the moment in the country and the biblical meaning of the situation. In her songs she portrayed Zimbabwe as a nation of thriving and vivacious people and she eliminated the idea that the people were long suffering and in depression.

Mashavave was able to question the discourse of masculinity by singing back to Thomas Mapfumo’s song when she sang, *Zvakanzi nevamwe Zimbabwe yave disaster* (some say Zimbabwe is now disaster). In the African boundaries people are expected to stay intact for which ever problem that happens will pass in due course but Thomas Mapfumo who should be encouraging others to stay put is doing the opposite, totally the opposite. This shows her efforts to suggest that one’s option to evade to diaspora is a doomed one when she asserts that one must reside in a state where the idealism and nostalgia is typical of diaspora communities (Primorac, 2010). Mashavave also sang a song which related to Ruth 1 a book in the bible “*kuJerusalem kwakaita zhara Naomi nemhuri ndokuenda kure kure, kunyika Moab nyika ine rufu* (x2), *isvika ikoko akafunga kumba! kuJerusalem nyika ine rudo, Jerusalem nyika yababa’*”(There was hunger in Jerusalem Naomi and her family went far away to the land of Moab the land of death (x2) when she reached there she yearned for home Jerusalem! the land of love, Jerusalem, the fatherland) (Biri et al, 2014) She was able to challenges the global media networks’ portrayal of Zimbabwe. She sings both in Shona and English as a way of addressing foreigners. Therefore her music was consumed in and outside Africa concurring the discourse of masculinity.

### 2.2.3 Female musicians and music identity in Zimbabwe

Chitando (2002) asserts that gospel music regularly shows the way of managing the crisis and not giving solutions to solve it and also that gospel musicians who sing the gospel genre are social employees who are regularly thoughtful about their culture. With the crisis that the country has been facing, Christianity has played a pivotal role of giving hope to the masses. Some citizen lost their jobs and going to church praying and worshiping gives them a sense of belonging and comfort. Gospel musicians plays a pivotal role of making the citizen abscond from crime and to do good to one another in as much as life might seem unfair. They
assure the audience that fairness prevails in heaven therefore they should hold on to what is happening in the world right now for it is temporary. Therefore one can then say that gospel musicians work as the ideological state apparatus on the nation so that the masses will not rebel against the ruling government. Women are usually on the forefront advocating for peace in the nation and in most cases they are hailed for the efforts that they make. After considering what some scholars said about women and gospel music, the researcher seeks to study the gap that these scholars left which is to analyse how selected Facebook and WhatsApp comments perceive the mutation of Zvakavapano-Mashavave from gospel to ZimDanceHall genre.

Butler (1990) asserts that there is nothing original about being female but it appears natural after repeated performances of different unity prospects. Zimbabwe is a male chauvinist country that regard males as more superior to females and this protrudes to the education sector, the working industry and even at church. In this case women became accepted because of the fact that they keep appearing in the picture as the help, the second race to men. Females who sing in genres that are regarded as those of males such as Jazz, Sungura and Hip-hop are rarely appreciated for their work unless they become very competitive and continuously produce music that is when can be accepted. The fact that women are continuously underrated in the music industry makes most of them remain in the gospel genre or write songs for their male counter parts even though they might want to venture in the genres themselves. After realising the studies done by many scholars on music and women in Africa, the researcher found a gap that she seeks to establish ibn this area which is, to establish how the analysed cyber media discourses relate to the politics of gender discourses in Zimbabwe

Kiplanga`at (2007) concurs with Kwaramba (2007) in that music is a fundamental element of culture that refers to the learned distinctive conduct, beliefs and practises of a particular group of people. According to Kwaramba (1997), Zimbabwean music is an essential part of the country’s very rich and proud legacy. With music accompanying individuals from the birth to the grave. It holds an important place in the cultural life of the Zimbabwean people. Since females are regarded as care givers, the ones who nature the children, the future of tomorrow, they are obliged to groom these kids in a way that preserves the culture of the society. When a regular Zimbabwean mother is playing with her child, you often hear her sing a song, instilling words of love and wisdom. African women have managed to perform music, is also regarded as part of culture both in the private sphere and in the public sphere.
The songs that one sing distinguishes her from other people. One is able to identify someone’s age of even background by just listening to the song that the person sings. There are some songs that people might enjoy listening to but it’s difficult to listen to these songs or sing them when one is in a public place due to the content of the song which might mean that people are afraid to be judged because to what they sing or listen to. Looking at the related works of these two scholars, the researcher seeks to look at gap that seeks to find the relationship between music identity and audience perception with regard to Christian norms in Zimbabwe.

2.2.4 Globalisation and localisation of Zimbabwean music

Zimbabwe has a vibrant music industry and approximately over 20,000 families get ends meet through their interaction with anything related to music (Mhiripiri, 2004, Mhiripiri and Mhiripiri 2006). Zimbabwe is one of the African countries that was colonised by the Europeans. It was only after the year 1980 that Zimbabwe won her independence but some of the minds of the Africans were already brainwashed. This means that the way they dressed, the way they prayed, the food they ate, the dramas they made and the music they created had some connotations of the whites in them for they regarded them as superior. In order to retain the culture that was once observed by the nation, the Zimbabwean government initiated the 75 percent local content so as to conserve the culture of the society. Chiumbu (2004) notes that 75 per cent local content involves changing foreign programmes with local ones as a way of strengthening the third Chimurenga, thus culture and national identity became a weapon of disinflecting citizens.

(Bere, 2008; Mate, 2012) states that the young particularly and born frees were corroded by the Western cultural influence. The youths usually follow the dressing they saw on music icons they saw on music icons from foreign countries wearing super tight bandage looking dresses for females trying to look like Rihanna and Nicki Minaj and dropping trousers for men following up Rick Ross and this has failed Zimbabwe to create national identity. Since the 75 percent local content we have seen young music embracing African attires in their music videos the likes of Cynthia Mare, Amara brown, the guy she sings with, Pah Chihera, the guy she sings with, just to mention a few which has made designers gain demand of African attires from both the young and old in Zimbabwe. Dube (2004) states that on the in Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, South African and Democratic Republic of Congo have 80 per cent, 75 per cent, 25 per cent and 100 per cent respectively which are the music quotas that
promote the development of local industries in the nations. These statistics shows how some of the African countries have adopted the concept of indigenising the products that they feed the audience on through the media. Government and especially the ruling class have an upper hand in controlling what is consumed by the public be it on print media or through broadcast. Therefore for a nation to build the youth that are aware of the statutes of the country they reside, they had to enforce it through media for the media’s role is to inform, educate and entertain.

Bere (2008) notes that urban grooves musicians were carried through on the staple diet of foreign cultural produce inbred from colonial period. He observes that way back before a coterie of musical groups had played beats similar to the urban grooves. These included the Mantonto of Tombofara fame, Fortune Mparutsa, Innocent Utsiwegota, Tendai Chidarikire and many others. Rather than being a creation of the state, the urban grooves genre was a phenomenon of the coalescence of processes of globalisation. However this genre only became to be recognised as official because of the political factor hence one can say that the music was being used for hegemonic purposes. The works of local musicians such as Winky D were reinforced by awards won which included Zimbabwe Music Awards ZIMA and National Arts Merit Awards NAMA Viriri (2011).

To add to this gospel music also played a role of promoting hegemony of the ruling party. An example is a song by Hosiah Chipanga VAMugabe Vanopa which translates to Mugabe gives. President Mugabe in this song is referred to someone who has a good heart but the people do not know it. It is reported that after singing this song Chipanga received a house at Harare’s low suburbs called the Borrowdale Brooke as an award of supporting the president or rather just upraising him. Some critics like Palmberg (2004) argue that gospel music is apolitical. One must therefore note the role gospel music has played in uniting the nation of Zimbabwe during its trying times. During third Chimurenga, during the dry seasons, during the (GNU) and all elections held in the country. Churches have always been there advising their members to pray and fast for the country. During the xenophobic attacks in South Africa just to mention a few. More so Zvakavapano in her album Wenyasha Ndewenyasha tries to paint Zimbabwe as a country that is at a phase of suffering which is normal but will do well in due time because God loves the country dear. Same as Mai Charamba in her song Africa restore your Identity. Here she tries to say that Africa have lost its culture and it should get it back.
Knab (2010) concurs with Burns (2004) in that it seems that radio as a medium claim some responsibility for sales however he adds that its role appears to be that of introducing the reinforcing music to the audience. Many radio stations have made money and receive good ratings because they always broadcast American music and programmes. This include Power FM, ZI FM and Star FM. Because these stations knows the importance of indigenisation, they often have times that they only play local music like when Star FM had *Zimthilikazi* whereby the broadcast local content for the whole month. The concept of one cannot bite the hand that feeds him works also as a reminder to these stations that 75 percent local content was implemented because of a reason. Nyasha (2006) & Mokwetsi (2007) alludes that Zimbabwean musicians have been simulating musicians from imperialist countries and they have been singing foreign music in Shona. The song *Zvinhu zvese zvinotora time* is a direct translation of the song all things take time by Platinum Prince a Zimbabwean musician was a direct translation of the song *All things take time* by Alkaline, an American singer. The setting, the looks as exactly as that of which shows that local musicians have failed to appreciate African music. The American accent used when singing by Zimbabweans usually the upcoming musicians show the lack of originality in their music. Most Zimbabweans have failed to define their own music because of following what they think is standard that they see being done by their former colonisers. The above cited scholars have been able to state that music in Zimbabwe is a production of colonialization and globalisation. 75 percent local content was an implementation put across by the Zimbabwean government in order to enforce hegemony through music, drama and other products on the media but these scholars failed to discuss how audiences perceive musician who move from one genre to another thus the researcher will focus on this gap.

### 2.2.5 Audiences as pronsumers of online music content

Social networks has become a trend as much as a necessity in the recent years. Face book has become popular every day. It has become increasingly harder to find someone who is not Facebook. Some even go on to the extent of saying if you do not have a Face book account you haven’t start living.

Since the beginning of online media, a couple of reactions and responses have been produced. Technology is regarded as a mirror of the nation not a ‘neutral’ force that can be used for ‘good or evil’ (Lasch 1987, 295). After consumption of music content it has become difficult lately for audiences to remain silent, people now see it as mandatory to respond to the
messages they see. Audiences have now taking part in the communication chain. They feel obliged to comment because of the fact that they are the citizens and the consumers of the music.

Some audiences go on to the extent of singing parodies of songs that they think were produced terribly, make fun of the musician replacing the original lyrics with what they think is appropriate.

Coudlry (2010) states that the matter of identification and framing is a sign of emblematic power in alternative media. When someone feels that he/she is undermined they try by all means to speak back to power in any way possible. For example when a child is struck by his parent, because they are not in the capacity of striking back the parent they might resent to writing a hate letter to the parent which they might never give to them or speak hate words towards the parents but using the low tone because they know the consequences of speaking back to a parent in the African setting Children might call their parents different names such as monster or devil’s cousin just so that they can feel better. The fact that Mashavave’s audiences began to give her names after her transition shows that they are using the power that they gain from using alternative media to speak back to discourse.

Coudlry (2003) notes that emancipatory and advancement of alternative media lies in opening up access to media production to a broad public. When an artist performs he/she looks forward for people to buy the music and get a positive response. Therefore the audiences has took the initiative to comment towards the media that they consume, what they would have loved about it and the parts they didn’t like. On Star FM, a local radio station, there is a segment which is called “Rate it or Hate it” where by when a new song is produced the radio presenters will ask the audience to call in and rate the song between one to ten and what they think about the song. Rodriguez (2003) illustrate that alternative media can assist people who are engaged in their production in becoming active citizens online. This then helps the musician with the audience who listen to their music.

Participatory media approaches stress that democratic media potentials can be realised by opening up access to media production. Ideas about a participatory organization of the media system can already be found in the work of Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin and Hans Magnus Enzensberger who imagined a media system in which media enable dialogue and communicative exchange and in which every recipient can also became a producer. According to Hamilton (2010) alternative media is characterised by people who don’t work
and who are against the capitalists and seeks to fight back and finds alternative media as the only platform to do so. People always find spaces they can pass their messages if they fail to do on newspaper’s they then do it via WhatsApp, Twitter or their Facebook pages.

The proliferation of citizen journalism aided by the “internet, world wide web, mobile phones, etc.” (Banda 2010, 25) has made it possible for counter hegemonic voices to upset the elite and politically dominated public spheres. This shows that the marginal voices and in this case mere audiences has found a way of airing their views concerning general issues on the internet. The internet is credited for simultaneously enabling the user to exercise the right to freedom of expression through receiving the information, ideas and opinion to audiences at the lowest possible cost. In this case after an audience consumes a song from his or her favourite musician one is able to share with friends the song and say what they think about the song immediately after listening opening the platform for other pronsumers. The researcher therefore seeks to find out the attitudes and perceptions of the audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s shift from gospel to ZimDanceHall.

New media present themselves as the agora in a digital incarnation defined by Habermas as:

A realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions about matters of general interest (Habermas 1989, 73-74)

In this context it can be noted that all audiences who participate in the public sphere in this context Facebook and WhatsApp discussing Zvakavapano-Mashavave have freedom to express themselves freely without any hesitations because their opinions are not questioned by anyone. People now use internet as prosumers which means that they are both producers of information and consumers at the same time. Ekkola (2008) defines social media as technology destined and structural procedure where individuals and groups build common meaning with the help of content communities of web based technologies. When an audience sees a negative comment towards a musician and no one else criticised the comment, he/she will tend to so the same pouring out what they feel because they are aware that there are no consequences towards their action. People feel safe by acting in groups, for an example people may negatively speak about Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe discussing how he is making life difficult for the citizens but when that person is among new faces, he/she finds
it difficult to discuss such issues. They are afraid of the law and they are also afraid of being labelled as non-patriotic.

Online discussions of public affairs may help connect citizens using similar motivations and may also replicate and amplify cultural incongruences Schimitz (1997). However Uslaner (2004) and Jankowski & Van Selm (2000) differ from Banda (2010) and Ekkola (2008) suggest that online discussion are done by the elite and seldom and people who already know each other and that these discussions further goes on to be discussed when the people go offline. This being said the researcher seeks to find the gap missed by these scholars of the ways online comments relate to gender based identities in Zimbabwe.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Reception theory

For people to carry out their day to day work they should be able to communicate so that they understand each other in order to take part in what they are obliged to do for production to take place a society. In most cases, be it at schools, church, the army, hospitals just to mention a few, information is transmitted from the superiors going down to the students or rather than listeners. Stuart Hall's 1993 "Encoding-Decoding" model of communication essentially states that meaning is encoded by the sender and decoded by the receiver and these encoded meanings may be decoded to mean something else. Therefore one deciphers the message according to his/her exposure. In as much as people used to give value to the encoder, it of paramount importance to understand that the decoder also plays a role with the message that he/she receives by analysing it.

Senders encode meaning in their message according to their ideals and views and the message is decoded by the receivers according to their own understanding and interpretation. This may lead to miscommunication or to the receiver indulging something very different from what the sender intended Hall (1993). It is important to note that miscommunication is determined by many things which may include age, beliefs, gender and culture.

Hall (1993) submits that there are three different positions receivers take in order to decode the meanings within cultural texts. They are the dominant-hegemonic position, the negotiated position and the oppositional position. For semioticians there is no such thing as an uncoded message, so that for those who argue that all experience is even encoding might be more
accurately described as recoding Hawkes (1977). This then make this theory important to this study because the researcher seeks to understand how the audiences respond to Mashavave’s transition from one genre to another through Face book and WhatsApp discourses.

The dominant-hegemonic position is when the viewer, or audience member, is located within the dominant point of view. Within this position, there is little misunderstanding and miscommunication, as both sender and receiver are working under the same rule set, assumptions and cultural biases. It is this position that will allow the transmission of ideas to be understood the best, despite certain frictions that may occur due to issues of class structure and power, specifically between the elites who are able to dictate the rule set and the non-elites who must adopt the elite's rules as dominant. For example a jingle that is done on ZBC by the Charambas that speed and drinking and driving kills maybe be well understood by the audiences that they are being warned to drive carefully so that they can save their lives.

Hall (1993) argues that the negotiated position is when the audience member, or receiver, is able to decode the sender's message within the context of the dominant cultural and societal views. The messages are largely understood, but in a different sense than the dominant-hegemonic position. The receivers in the negotiated position are not necessarily working within the hegemonic viewpoint, but are familiar enough with dominant society to be able to adequately decode cultural texts in an abstract sense. However, it is entirely possible for the audience member to decipher the message as a more personal message, which is when their own biases and viewpoints muddy the decoding process. Also looking at the same jingle by the Charambas one audience maybe think that yes the message is for the drivers but may think that it is directed to drivers who drink mainly because accidents are mainly caused by people with impaired vision.

The oppositional view is when the audience member is capable of decoding the message in the way it was intended to be decoded, but based on their own societal beliefs, often sees another, unintended meaning within the message. The message is rejected totally.

Hip hop and ZimDanceHall is mainly understood and accepted by the youth because the musicians are the same age with their audiences. These musicians usually sing about problems they went through or that are faced by their age mates such as drug abuse, peer pressure, negligence by friends and even family, difficulties in choosing the career paths just to mention a few. In this regard the audience of this age group will relate to these songs because it resembles the real life they are living. In the same regard audience who grew up in
the times of Tony Braxton were thrilled when he visited Zimbabwe because his music is relevant to them and hold a place in their heart unlike making a born free Zimbabwean listen to the songs which will seem backward and boring.

Gender plays a pivotal role for one to understand the text. From recent years Zimbabwean women’s rights have been observed. Terms like Headmaster, Chairman and Choirmaster have been changed in order to accommodate women to chairperson and principal most women chose not to listen to Hip-hop and ZimDanceHall because most of the songs that they sing are sexist and they view women as sex objects and as if they are a second citizens. However some women tend to join these genres because they have accepted the idea that women are beautiful and were created to as to make men’s lives enjoyable. For example lady Squanda who is referred to as the Queen of ZimDanceHall in Zimbabwe, the way she dresses in her songs and the lyrics in her songs shows that she is comfortable in as much as she is degrading women as sexual objects.

In as much as some scholars identify that culture is universal, some say that culture differs according to place and time. Things that are regarded as normal in South Africa maybe regarded as a taboo in the next country, Zimbabwe. For example gay people are accepted in South Africa. Somizi a gay man is a television personality and a judge on South African idols TV show and he has many fans because of his personality. In Zimbabwe gay people do not even publiclly show their sexuality because the President of the country said that they are worse than dogs and pigs, for heterosexuality is the only common normal sexuality in the society. Raising a middle finger in most African countries is regarded as huge insult and anyone who does that is taken as someone of loose morals. The same sign of rising the middle finger symbolises someone who is apologetic. This then makes the reception theory important to this study because it seeks to understand how the message is decoded.
2.3.2 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory was propounded in 1978 by Tajfel as an attempt to explain cognition and behaviour with the help of group processes. The theory assumes that people show all kinds of group behaviour such as unity within their ‘group’ and discrimination against ‘out-group’ as part of the social identity process with the aim to achieve the self-esteem and self enhancement (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

Media consumers prefer entertainment that refers to social groups they belong to, be it due to gender (Oliver, 2000; Olive, Weaver & Sargent, 2000; Treple, 2004) age (Haarwood, 1999) or culture (Greenberg & Atkin, 1982; Zillman et al, 1995). The theory is said to focus on the group in the individual and goes on to assume that one part of the self-concept is defined by our belonging to social groups. This means that a person is forced to think and react to situations according to the same way his/her group will react to the same situation, if a person thinks differently then he or she will be acting like a rebel towards her own group. For example a hip-hop fan will always support hip-hop even when one of the musicians is not doing well in the industry, they might criticise them but they will never stop listening to hip-hop. People will rather paint the hip-hop musicians as a black sheep in the fold and will do whatever it takes for that artists to respect them as fans for example they might go on to the extent of absconding the musician’s shows and if they go they will through juice boxes or papers at the artists as a way of showing their disgruntlement. This usually happens when the musicians says something bad about the fans or act as if he/she is taking them for granted. This theory then becomes relevant in this study because the researcher seeks to find the reasons why Mashavave’s fans and the general public behaved the way they did towards her transitions of genres.

According to Tajfel & Turner (1979), people categorise themselves and others as belonging to different social groups and evaluate these categorizations. To enhance their self-esteem, people want to develop a positive social identity and to do this they show different kinds of behaviours that might also be observed in the context of entertainment selection and reception (Treple, 2006). Some people love to listen to American artists such as Lil Wayne, Rick Ross and Kanye West because in their songs they symbolise power in their songs by flashing money all over, smoking expensive cigarettes, driving expensive cars, showing beautiful mansions on camera and being loved with all the women. When one listens to such music he/she starts to live in such a way that symbolises the one that they see on the videos of
the songs. It might be wearing many neck chains or saving money so that they can smoke the expensive cigarettes. The choice of social groups that these people belong to will be of those people who believe that they have style and class in the society hence they evaluate their social group as the best amongst any other.

Women who at the age of thirty-something love to watch *sex and the city* but men for sports. Adolescence enjoy watching MTV Base whilst the older generation go the *Golden Girls* Cassata and Irwin (2003). A social group consist of a number of people who feel and perceive themselves as belonging to this group and who are said to be in the group by others Tajfel & Turner (1979). Taking for example when one hears a lead song from a series she watches from someone’s phone, that person will start asking if the owner of the phone has seen the series and if yes these people will talk for hours about the characters of that movie and who they love they most and how the song is perfect so the movie series the same way men discuss about football teams when they meet even on an aeroplane. We simplify our understanding of the world and structure social interaction according to what we see. The punk is identified with similar and specific clothing style and habits and we have certain expectations, hopes and fears about people belonging to social categories. If social arrangements are shared by different group members they function as social stereotypes and help, interpret and our behaviour Tajfel (1981). People often feel comfortable with their behaviours because they know that they are not they only ones doing it but the whole of their social group. Those who love Rock and Roll are often perceived as loud people because of the music they listen to. The makeup they put on usually scares off many people and some go on to the extent of calling them Satanists because they are always dressed in black. At college one might even go on to the extent of requesting a new roommate just because of fears and expectations of what they hear about these goths.

SIT assumes that we not only categorize ourselves and others but that we evaluate the other groups. We get the idea of the superiority and inferiority of our group and of how reasonable and adequate our belonging to it is, we compare it to other groups, their characteristics, members and benefits. This is based on Festinger’s (1954) theory of social comparison. He assumed that people need to compare their opinions and abilities with others particularly if there is no objective standards that we can refer to.

This theory is of paramount importance to this research in that it is set to help the researcher with the answers on what makes people comment on Mashavave’s transition the way they do.
and it aims bring into limelight the motives behind the audiences’ perspectives on musician’s switch of genres. Similarly, individual ideas of group vitality might be influenced because of entertainment. Groups that are understated in television such as the elderly and women Elasmar, Hasegawa & Brian (1990) might perceive group boundaries as pervious and fixed. In this case minority media may encourage social mobility and social change. When people leave such groups joining other social groups they will be expecting change and if they disappointed they will tend to get unsatisfied. Giving an example when an audience decides to listen to gospel genre as their new type of music and when they are listening to Mashavave and the next thing they know is she has changed genre they will definitely be disappointed.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter was looking at the literature and theories that are relevant for this study. Relevant arguments by various scholars that are in relation to women in music and media consumption have been articulated. The literature review and the theoretical framework have opened gaps that this research will focus on. The next chapter focuses on the research methods and methodologies to be used in this research.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods that were used to carry out this research. The chapter is important in that it accounts for all applied steps taken from the commencement of this study up to the presentation of results. It articulates the research approach, methods of sampling, methods of data collection and presentation as well as methods of data analysis. The researcher selects the research approach that best answers all of the research questions.

3.2 Research Approach

The research approach employed in this study is a qualitative paradigm. This approach was used in this study with regards to Brikci and Green (2007:2) assertion that, “qualitative research is characterized by aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis.” In accordance to this, the utilization of a qualitative approach is coherent in this study since the findings are expressed in terms of words and not figures as in the quantitative research paradigm.

Since one of the objectives of this study is to analyse the forces behind attitudes and perceptions of the audiences towards Zvakapavo-Mashavave’s shift from gospel to ZimDanceHall, qualitative research approach comes in handy in achieving this aim. As Bikci and Green (2007) posit that qualitative methods aim to answer questions about the ‘what’, ‘how’ or ‘why’ of a phenomenon. This implies that through the use of qualitative research approach, this study will be able to answer ‘why’ the audiences reacted the way they did to Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s mutating music identity. Furthermore how the audiences reacted is also reflected. In this regard, Mack et al (2005) are of the view that the qualitative research approach is effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the opinions and behaviours and social contexts of particular populations.

According to Gray (2004) qualitative is a highly contextual approach where data is gathered over long periods in natural real life settings. This therefore promotes accuracy. Qualitative research also permits the researcher to experience the same with the participants and to define how meanings are formed through (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In this case it indicates that the researcher engages with WhatsApp and FB audiences upon studying their comments on Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s mutating music identity.
By using qualitative research approach in this study, the researcher seeks to reveal the motive behind the FB and WhatsApp audiences’ reactions towards the switch from one genre to another by the Makomborero hitmaker. Priest (1996) notes that the goal of qualitative research is to access insider perspective characteristics of members of culture. Corresponding to this view is Mack et al (2005) who postulate that the main aim of the qualitative study is to gain a deeper and complex understanding of a social context.

3.3 Methods of data collection

3.3.1 Virtual Ethnography

Virtual ethnography is a process of guiding an ethnographic research using online environs as the site of research (Evans, 2004). He further asserts that it was created as a response the need to study communities in which the use of electronic communications as provided by computer networks. This implies that when one is using ethnography, the ethnographer participates in the lives of the people, listening to what they say and asking questions where they need more light to shed. Schwara (1999) notes that research might be done by the assessment of sources such as texts, images and observation of social interactions in online spaces. Unlike organic ethnography, the internet ethnography does not require the investigator to go into the field as it may disturb the natural scenario therefore affecting the results. In relation to this study, virtual ethnography is suited since the information used in this study is readily available online.

Hine (2013) suggests that familiarity of the internet as a cultural context is intricately tied up with the application of ethnography. This then makes virtual ethnography important to this research because it eliminates subjectivity by not getting the researcher too much involved with the subject under study. With this study centred upon WhatsApp and Facebook audiences’ caricaturing of Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s mutating music identity, this justifies the use of virtual ethnography in this study. Simply put, virtual ethnography is significant as this research is centred upon digital communication platforms that is Facebook and WhatsApp.

Users of the World Wide Web are no longer passive audiences of data consumers, as in media such as television and radio, but they are active participants controlling the content of the information. Sade-Back (2004) states that social media audiences form the value of the data when giving feedback. As a method of data collection, ethnography is employed in this research so as to collect information of sufficient span and depth necessary to find out how
online communities, in this case Facebook and WhatsApp platforms were used to respond towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s text and pictures by the audiences. Androutsopoulos (2008) concurs with Herring (2004) in that digitalization has offered scholars of language and communication as well as ethnographers with opportunities to easily collect, accumulate and categorise logs of interaction for example characters, words, utterances, messages, exchanges, threads, archives, just to mention a few.

In as much as online ethnography is able help the research to form shape, giving answers of audience responses, it has loopholes in that, it fails to reveal the reasons behind the audience’s comments. Some audience might comment as a result of peer pressure, some may comment because the transition really affected them, some may choose to follow the bandwagon because they are part of social media and they see it fit to contribute. However, the researcher was able to use the positive attributes of virtual ethnography so as to gather meaningful results for this project.

**3.3.2 Archival Research**

This methodology is primarily concerned with the examination of historical documents. Secondarily, it is concerned with any recorded data. Cuffaro (2011) states that archival research methods embrace a broad range of actions used to enable the examination of documents and textual material produced by and about organisations. He further notes that in its most typical sense, archival methods involve the study of past documents that is documents created at some point in the comparatively distant past, providing access to that we might not otherwise have to the organisations, individuals, and events of that earlier tome. Researchers turn to archives and put them to different uses. They make probable substitute kinds of insights about the nature and character of organizational events, constructions and procedures, (Djelic, 1998).

The researcher used archival records which are in form of texts and pictures from the chosen Facebook pages and WhatsApp groups from the year 2016 up to date in order to get all the relevant information for the study. This data collection method was implemented because most of Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s memes and audience comment in relation to her transition are found on Facebook and WhatsApp posts where audiences can pass their judgments freely without any restrictions.
3.4 Sampling

Sampling is defined as a technique that allows the researcher to select objects or subjects of research that are relevant in answering research questions or proving a concept or theory (Denzin, 1978). It is a process of selecting units for example people and organisations from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may properly simplify our results back to the populace from which they were chosen (Trochim, 2006). Sampling is very important for this study because the researcher has to work only with a portion of the total population which is representative of the general population.

3.4.1 Purposive sampling

Koeber and McMichael (2008) assert that by doing purposive sampling the researcher is looking for participants who holds certain characters or potentials. It is when one selects a sample on the basis of your own information of the population, its elements and the nature of your research aims (Barbie, 1990). He further goes on to say that this method is useful if a researcher wants to study a small subset of a larger population in which many members of the subset are easily identified but the enumeration of all is nearly impossible. Marshall (1996) also concurs with these two scholars when he wrote that in purposive sampling, there is active selection of the most productive sample that answers the research question.

It can be useful in situations where you need to reach a targeted sample quickly. In the context of this study, the researcher selects a sample of the audience that did not only like the pictures posted by Zvakavapano-Mashavave but also those who commented them descriptively on the musician’s Facebook page. Purposive sampling is synonymous to qualitative sampling. The researcher had to choose pictures of Zvakavapano-Mashavave whereby she was standing or seating alone so that the audiences’ comments were only be centred on her and not on the counterpart.

In this study, the researcher will also make use of Maximum Variation Sampling. According to Ilker (2016), MVS is when subjects are looked at from all angles. Audiences who love Zvakavapano-Mashavave and those who hate her and those who just began to know about her are all analysed in this research. The researcher tactfully picks various comments that were tolerant towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition and those who did not show remorse at all.
3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

3.5.1 Content Analysis

Zito (1975) argues that content analysis is defined as a methodology by which the researcher pursues to regulate the apparent content of written, verbal or published communication by orderly, objective and qualitative analysis. Since any written communication is produced by a communicator, the intention of the communicator may be the objective of the research. In this case, the researcher is interested in the audience. In the scope of this study or receivers of the communication and the researcher’s attempt is to determine how they respond the way they do to change.

Prasad (2008) argues that the various categories such as social sciences, communications, and psychology, political science and language studies use content analysis. It is however most widely used in social science and mass communication research. He further argues that it is used to understand a wide range of themes such as social change, cultural symbols, trends changing in the theoretical content of different disciplines just to mention a few. In this study, the researcher looks at how the audiences accept change in music genre which makes content analysis relevant for this study.

Nachmias & Nachmias (1976) state that content analysis may be perceived as a method where the content of the message creates the unfairness by drawing interpretations and conclusions about the content. The researcher is going to deduce conclusions using the messages produced by the audiences. This method of data collection may be defined as a method of observation in the sense that instead of asking people to respond to questions, it takes the messages that people have produced and asks questions of communication (Kerlinger, 1973). The researcher will not produce questionnaires or conduct interviews but will use messages that are readily available on the online in order to come up with intended results.

Content analysis is a means of trying to learn something about people by examining what they produce. It assumes that behavioural patterns and attitudes found in the material, in this case the song Vanondibatirana reflect and affect the behaviours, attitudes and values of the people who create the and those who consume it. Content analysis is an indirect way of making inferences about people. Zito (1975) also denotes that, instead of asking the chosen sample questions, examining what they read or see and then work with the information,
assuming what people read and watch can also work as good reflections of their attitudes and values.

**3.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis.**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the general label for a superior approach to the study of text and talk emerging from critical linguistics, critic semiotics and in general from a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication (Djik, 1997). Critical discourse analysis is problem or issue oriented. It does not focus only on verbal approaches to discourses but it extends to pictures, sound music and even gestures which are going to be used which then makes it relevant for this study. Simply put, through the utilization of CDA, the researcher analyses different Zvakavapano-Mashavave memes posted on Facebook and WhatsApp as well as the song *Vanondibatirana*.

CDA deals with discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategies of dominance and resistance in social relationships of class, gender, languages, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity just to mention a few. This makes CDA important in this study because the researcher seeks to find out why some comments on Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s memes are gender related.

Djik (1995) states that CDA is a special approach in discourse analysis that emphasises on discursive condition and components. It examines patterns of access and control over context, genres, text and talk as well as discursive approach of mind control. The researcher will focus on the text produced by various audience and try perceive to why they comment the way they do. Questioning discourse is a form of power. The fact that audience pass various comments on Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s dressing, standing posture, hair style shows that the audiences believe that they have power in regards to what they consume and they are no longer passive consumers of media content.

**3.6 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher respects WhatsApp and Facebook audiences’ confidentiality by using pseudo names. When audiences make comments on text, most of them prefer to be anonymous due to the naked truth in their view points. Therefore the researcher ensured that privacy is maintains at all times. More so, the archived data used for this study is acknowledged.
3. 7 Conclusion

This chapter gave an insight of the methods and methodologies used in the study and how they were implemented which include research approach, virtual ethnography, sampling, archival research, content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The next chapter focuses on the political economy of WhatsApp and Facebook.
CHAPTER 4: POLITICAL ECONOMY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the history of new social media, history of Facebook and its use in Zimbabwe as a communication tool, history of WhatsApp as also its use as a communication tool in Zimbabwe. The funding mechanism of these two social networks will also be highlighted in this chapter. Political economy can be defined as the study of production, exchange, circulation and custom law of the government (Engels, 1877). Cultural studies is an innovative interdisciplinary field of research and teaching that investigates the ways in which culture creates and transforms individual experiences in everyday life, social relations and power. It draws on methods and theories from literary studies, sociology and communication studies (culturalstudies.web.unc.edu 19 October 2016). My study is not however on political economy. It focuses at the nexus of social media and identity and how they are caricatured by the audiences.

4.2 History of new social media

Human beings have always been social animals and the need to interact was in them at birth. The advent of social media platforms are mere results of what was already happening amongst the people that is interaction between family and friends. In 550 B.C the first couple of letters were transported using postal hand to hand delivery system. In the year 1972, a method that was faster than the horse and the rider was created and it proved convenient and this was the telegraph, which was used to send letters over long distances (Hendricks, 2013). The messages however were short. The telephone was later discovered in the 1890 followed by the radio in 1891 which made communication easier and enjoyable. These two technologies are still in use today though they have been modified over the years (Hendricks, 2013).

In the 20th century technology changed swiftly because of the advent of computers in the 1940s which later resulted in the internet such as CompuServe in 1960. The introduction of USENet in the 1970 encouraged people to communicate via virtual newsletters by 1979. Six Degrees was the first social media site that was introduced in 1997 which allowed users to upload their profiles and be able to communicate with other users. Blogging became popular in 1999 followed by photo bucket, Myspace, Flickr in the early 2000s and later YouTube in 2005. In the present day there are various social networking sites that are continuously being invented and one person can be on multiple sites to counter the advantages of the other. For
example, a person who is on WhatsApp can also join Facebook because of its availability of games and adverts.

4.3 Background of Facebook

Facebook (FB) started in the year 2004 with Mark Zuckerberg, Andrew McCullam and Eduardo Saverin when they were University students at Harvard Croft (2004). This social platform was quickly accepted in that within 24 hours of going live, it had grown to a community of 1200 Harvard students (Croft, 2007) added. Within a few weeks the platform was in demand with other universities, colleges and other learning institutions where it was going to be used as a learning tool for students to know each other Madhar (2014). He further goes on to note that Mark Zuckerberg’s aim when he created Facebook was to keep friends and family linked as well as meeting new friends.

According to Adam (2013), Zuckerberg’s other goal was to create an affluent and quicker way for people to share information. This information include linking people who are of the same age who have the same interest for example gospel music fans may all log on to Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave Facebook page and see if she has an upcoming music shows, singles or albums. Xu et al (2015) states that there is roughly 3 billion internet consumers in the world. He adds that on the social networking platforms FB has 33% market share. This shows that in as much as the consumers of WhatsApp might adopts new social networking platforms, they will not forgo WhatsApp. The dominate population that use FB is around the age of 25 but however it is argued that there is approximately 50 million people who use FB as a social platform but are way under that age and people aged 55 who have also recently joined FB (Neal, 2014).

When Facebook connects people with their family and friends, it also help them to discover new products and services from both local and global markets. FB works as a catalyst for business activity in networks composed of marketers, app developers and providers of connectivity. With these channels, FB enabled the channelling of $227 billion of economic impact and 4.5 million jobs globally in 2014. FB’s business model focuses on tools that allow businesses to reach new customers. This allows FB to have huge profits through the money paid by companies to advertise their merchandise world over on FB platform all the time.
4.4 Facebook as a communication tool in Zimbabwe

As of December 2011, 1,445,717 people had become internet users which results to 12% of the total population [http://www.internetworldstats.com/Africa.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/Africa.htm). Manganga (2010) states that there were approximately 10 companies in 1990 that dealt with computers in the country which later exceeded to 200 companies in the year 2004. This shows that the number of people who are becoming computer literate is increasing as time goes by. Internet usage in the rural areas is still not to the full capacity because of lack of electricity in most areas and less internet coverage. The leader of Movement of Democratic Change (MDC), Morgan Tsvangirai, has a Facebook page and this has made many people to join the platform so as to learn about their rights and country (Chiweshe, 2014) with the increase of availability of internet on mobile phones and flooding of smart phones, both urbanites and citizens who reside in rural areas have access of the internet. Chiweshe (2014) asserts that like other nationals from developed countries, some Zimbabweans spend hours glued on to the internet so as to keep up with the events that appear on their Facebook pages to the extent that they spend $3 on a regular day in internet cafes [http://globalpressinstitute.org](http://globalpressinstitute.org). Mzaca (2012) argues that in Zimbabwe, Facebook is as essential as the natural resource, water and people cannot imagine a life without it. This shows how the society had become dependent on Facebook as a communication tool with friends and family both local and abroad.

Facebook has proved to be an addictive social platform where youth socialise for almost four hours a day and this has affected how they interact with others physically. Mudapakati (2011). She further goes on to say that in Zimbabwe Facebook has been used by boyfriends and girlfriends and also for religious elevation purposes. On a study that was undertaken by Chiweshe (2014), 97% of the youths claim that they most posts messages to do with God because whatever you posts will haunt you the rest of your life. This however does not stop people from posting hate message when they are angered. Chiba (2011) states that people should not overestimate the role of social media as a revolutionary force because there are stringent laws in the country that discourage people from doing so. Manganga (2012) notes that people tried to counter Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and Public Order and Security Act (POSA) by engaging to alternative platforms such as Zimonline, Talk Zimbabwe, ZW news and Zvakwana.org to mention a few. However, one should have in mind that the majority of the people who own these platforms are from Diaspora therefore citizens who reside in the country rarely pass their comments because of fear of arrests like the Baba Jukwa case where by a Zimbabwean national had a Facebook
page where he would speak negatively towards the ruling government which later resulted in his imprisonment.

To sum up, one can therefore note that Facebook is accepted by many Zimbabweans and the youths and the adults from both urban and rural areas see it as essential in their everyday lives. Zvakavapano-Mashavave also has a FB page where she posts information about her upcoming shows, her tours over seas, her pictures with family and fans and other details of her social life. People mainly use it for their social lives and but they are afraid of political news because of fear of arrests.

4.5 Background of WhatsApp

WhatsApp was started by Acton and Koum after they had both left their jobs at Yahoo. The company was registered in February 2009 as a message application (http://sequoiacapital.tumblr). After his experience of using Skype, Koum often forgot his password and username so when creating WhatsApp, they made sure that WhatsApp was free from passwords, it was only a social platform for sending messages and images and having their servers not keeping any of the subscriber’s private information like what Twitter and Facebook does according to the Sequoia capital (2014). The owners of WhatsApp saw it as essential that when people are communicating with friends and family they should not be interfered with adverts so they kept things like adverts, games and gimmicks away from their policies. WhatsApp unlike many social networks did not market their product and they gained popularity after satisfied customers spread the words about it to friends (http://sequoiacapital.tumblr). This is a clear attestation that WhatsApp is user friendly and this is the reason why it has many subscribers.

4.6 WhatsApp as a communication tool in Zimbabwe

WhatsApp can be used on many smarty phones which include Blackberries, I phones, Android phones and some Nokia phones http://www.businessproductivity.com. People all over the world including those who reside in Zimbabwe use WhatsApp because of its low costs. Econet subscribers in Zimbabwe pay $ 0.95 for one week and $3 per month so as to buy WhatsApp bundles. According to Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (POTRAZ) 2016 statistics, mobile data utilisation went up by 27, 4% mainly as a result of WhatsApp data consumption of 34% leaving 67% for other data usages. This alone shows how welcome WhatsApp is in the country. WhatsApp acknowledges the sender if the
message he/she sends has been received and read which makes it very convenient. Also WhatsApp allows people to come together as groups where they send messages and images that will be seen by everyone in that group, for example youths from different churches form groups, these might be people who came from the same rural areas, clubs who share advices or recipes just to mention a few. The availability of creating groups together with the low costs of WhatsApp has made it possible for the caricatured images of Zvakavapano-Mashavave go viral quickly and raise alarm to her audience.

4.7 Conclusion

Facebook and WhatsApp has played a pivotal role in the social lives of both the young and the old in Zimbabwe. The fact that these social networks allow the consumers to become producers gave the researcher interest to look at the perceptions of audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition from gospel to ZimDanceHall genre through Facebook and WhatsApp.
CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter stands as an epicentre of the study where all the gathered information is presented and analysed. This study explores the debates raised by audiences on Facebook and WhatsApp regarding Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition from Gospel genre to ZimDanceHall genre. The researcher employed CDA because it focuses on pictures, sound music, and texts which were core fundamentals of this research. This chapter seeks to analyse how selected Facebook and WhatsApp comments perceive the mutation of Zvakavapano-Mashavave from gospel to ZimDanceHall, to analyse the forces behind attitudes and perceptions of the audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s shift from one genre to another and to establish how the analysed cyber discourses relate to the politics of gender in Zimbabwe. The study also makes use of content analysis which Zito (1975) described as a methodology by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written or published communication systematically using qualitative analysis. The techniques used to analyse this study uses scholarly arguments and are rich in unpacking the audiences’ responses of Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s memes. Findings are analysed thematically.

5.2 From Gospel to ZimDanceHall- an unforgiveable sin.

The study established that Fungisai’s mutating music identity was considered as a taboo by a number of music audiences. This is noticed through the use of hate speech in comments post on Facebook and WhatsApp in regard to Fungisai’s switch from Gospel to ZimDanceHall music. The comments which regarded the switch as a taboo were directed to certain pictures of the artist. These pictures are also included in this study.

Before Zvakavapano-Mashavave changed genres, she was accepted like any other singer and celebrated whenever she released a new album in manner in which audiences do to Olivia Charamba and Shingisai Suluma. The discourses of Zvakavapano-Mashavave as a blessing in the gospel music industry mutated the moment that she collaborated with Killer T in song titled “Vanondibatirana.” Her collaboration with a secular musician, was the genesis of her career in the ZimDanceHall circles- a movement that was considered as a taboo by a legion of music fans.

This act of abomination caused a handful number of music fans to start mocking her from different angles. These scorns can be evidenced by various caricatured images and texts of
the former darling of the music fans that went viral on social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp. As noted above, when Fungisai switched genres her dress code also changed and the fans regarded this as a wrong move by the musician. This can be evidenced by a comment posted on iHarare ExtremeFacebook page by one Bra Pitso.

“Kubva pawakatanga kuimba nezveZimdancehall wakabva wati zvaMwari tsve kkkkkk mmmmh izvi zvinonyadzisa. Iwo mapfekero acho akabva achinja, izvi hazvidi pamunhu kadzi. Izvi zvandityisa.”

Since you started performing ZimDanceHall you have left God as the pinnacle of your life, the way you dress has changed and this is horrifying). The aforementioned comment indicates that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s switch from the Gospel to ZimDanceHall is an unacceptable move. This comment also reflects the distaste that the person had on the move made by Zvakavapano-Mashavave as the comment points out that this move is horrifying “Izvi zvandityisa.” This vividly shows that Fungisai’s shift from gospel music to Zimdancehall was considered as a taboo.

Another aspect that makes the “Makomborero” hit makers’ genre switch to be considered as a taboo by the music fans is the state of confusion that she led her unto. This can be evidenced in the statement by Tina Madya sourced from Nehanda Radio Facebook page that reads “Fungisai dai wakagara waita we ZimDanceHall, now hatichazive kuti pako ndepapi. Wakanyadzisa.” (Fungisai we no longer know where you stand, you should have just started with the ZimDanceHall). This statement implies that by jumping ship, the fans of the ex-gospel musicians now do not know where the singer stands. From the Madya’s statement, the word “Wakanyadzisa” implies that this Fungisai did the unexpected as her move was ‘embarrassing.’ Such comments show the audiences’ perspectives on Fungisai’s mutating music identity.

On WhatsApp there were a number of lengthy messages that were circulating in various groups depicting the musician’s movement as a disgrace that cannot be accepted in the society. Such messages gave the connotation that Fungisai is now wayward.

“Ziva pawumire usaite saFungisai anongochinjachinja serwaivhi. Iye munhu wepi anosiya zvaMwari achiita zvenyika. Toziva vanhu vachisiya zvinhu zvenyika vachiita zvaMwari. Fungisai aita mashura asingatsanangurike.”(Aisha Chamunorwa on MSU Divas WhatsApp group chat).
(Fungisai don’t change like a chameleon, who on earth live Godly things for the world, we know of people who do the opposite of what you did. What you did is beyond explanation).

The above comment about Fungisai simply means that by switching to ZimDanceHall she has gone atheist. Despite having some Christian rooted songs from the ZimDanceHall genre, it is mind boggling to see music audiences considering Fungisai’s shift as an act of taboo.

Audiences feel that they have been robbed over the years upon listening to Fungisai’s music hence the caricaturing of her mutating music identity. This can be evidenced by the following comment made by one of the music fan who compares Fungisai to Leonard Zhakata who shifted from singing secular to being a full time gospel musicians. The writer of the statement, Nissi Henry says that the decision made by Fungisai is nonsensical.

“Haudzidze wakaita sei, kukurirwa naZhakata avekuimba zveChurch. Dai uri munhu wakaona kuti izvi zvekuimba zimdancehall hazvikusvitse kunu. Wakatadza kutevedzera zita rako zvarinoreva ukangoetevera kunoenda mhepo. Izvi zvinoitwa nebenzi chete hapana munhu anedzake dzakakwana anoita sarudzo yawaita.”

(What kind of a person are you, you should learn from Zhakata who is now singing gospel. ZimDanceHall will not take you anywhere. Your name means to think. What you did is only done by crazy people, you made a wrong choice). This comment also points out that Fungisai made a wrong decision. The above comment also implies that by making such a decision, Fungisai is a ‘mad’ person. From this statement, one can notice that the change of genre by Fungisai is something that is intolerable and is offensive.

5.3 Fungisai changed inside out due to genre change

Basing on the comments gathered from Facebook and WhatsApp, the study established that Fungisai’s switch of genres changed her inside out. This implies that her dress code, her hairstyle were also changed. On this note, the study gathered pictures from Facebook and WhatsApp to best illustrate how the musician completely changed. These pictures are illustrated in Fig 1 and Fig 2 below.
The picture in Fig.1 extracted on Zimbabwe Celebrities page on Facebook shows Fungisai’s days as a gospel musician, while Fig.2 extracted from Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s Facebook page shows her picture after she had changed her genre. From these two pictures a number of differences in terms of identity can be noticed. In this regard, one of the audiences by the name Carol Zezere commented on Facebook saying “it seems like changing from one genre to another was not enough for Fungisai.” This statement was alluding to the two pictures above, and Carol implied that Fungisai changed a lot of things besides her music. This proves that Fungisai’s mutating music identity came up with a bunch of changes.

Zvakavapano-Mashavave is dressing in huge boots and clothes that seem like she is a tomboy in the picture in Fig.2 does not represent a person of her age. Commenting on this picture (in Fig.2) on WhatsApp, Thabani Moyo said “It is understandable that she changed her music, but changing her style of dressing has proved to us that she is not acting her age.” From this statement one can notice that Moyo was implying that Fungisai did not just switch genres, but she also switched her dress sense.
A Christian is supposed to stand with a good posture, representing her name and where she comes from. The pose on the pictures that are made by Zvakavapano-Mashavave among most of those posted shows lack of dignity. “Kungopfugama pfugamba, zvadii Tsika muri kudziita pasiripo mai mwana” (Why are you kneeling all the time for your pictures, what is the matter, you are showing mores at the wrong place) said Tinashe Mushowe, Zvakavapano’s audience from WhatsApp. The singer is seen kneeling on some of her pictures posted on Facebook and WhatsApp which might give an impression that she knows that she joined the wrong genre but she is still morally upright just like before. “A Christian musician is supposed to be composed” said Daniel Chikonde from a WhatsApp platform. This shows that there are certain standards that are expected from a musician which one should abide by. Worship and praise are supposed to be the huge elements to the church, especially at Pentecostal churches of which Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s way of dressing does not represent an African Christian women “Munhu kana waroorwa dress modestly more so when you are a public figure”. (When one is a married women, she must dress in a presentable way) said Itai Mazano. This illustrates that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is not dressing like a married women

The Christian community was very much disappointed with the way Zvakavapano-Mashavave disowned the church her use of the Mbira instrument. One audience Skumbuzo commented on Fungisai Zvakavapano-Mashavave Facebook Page saying” Bringing African
spirits in to the church, how could you do that Fungisai? If u always wanted to be a secular musician u should have just started singing that stuff.” The Christians are mainly affected by the fact that in the song *Vanondibatirana*, the musician mentioned names of a couple of pastors from different denominations which was not wrong of her to do that but the setting that she mentioned these names is the one that is regarded as a disgrace. The audience are of the opinion that if the singer still wanted to sing about church, she should remained with the gospel genre. Fungisai was supposed to stand as a guide for those youths in the church who shall want to venture into the music industry.

A church should remain a pure place of worship not mixed with any other worldly things. Definition of worship according to Chapman (1999) is to show worthiness of one’s creator and it is grounded in one’s relationship with God. Bringing someone who sing in bars a platform seems as if it’s disrespecting God. What you hear brings you closer emotionally to your God. Another audience was quote saying “Bringing mbira in your music is a total turn off for me, you have totally lost it Fungi” said McCandy on a Media class of 2016 WhatsApp platform. Zimbabweans after colonisation and the advent of Christianity in the country believe that the mbira instrument is associated with evil spirits therefore it is actually unheard of a person who enjoys the mbira instrument unless he or she is associated with the African Traditional Religion (ATR). “We were born in the ATR and it was a choice after accepting Christ that to live everything to do with ATR, but when Zvakavapano takes us back it becomes a problem now”. Wrote one Flashes on a WhatsApp platform. Christians believe that the God they serve is a jealous God and the time they try to incorporate his gospel and any other stuff, it then becomes a problem. Therefore one can then say that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition from gospel genre to ZimDanceHall genre is regarded as a taboo by many of her audiences.
On the picture above, Zvakavapano-Mashavave is showing off her artificial dreadlocks which have also raised questions among the audiences on the selected online media platforms. “We believe that what fungisai is trying to do is creating a brand for herself but artificial locks out of all hairstyles, this is becoming ugly” wrote Bekezela on MSU Divas WhatsApp chat group. In most churches, members are not encouraged to have dreadlocks because it is a hairstyle common among the spirit mediums in the country. People who attend the apostolic sects are requested to shave their heads bold as a sign of purity, both men and women. Zvakavapano-Mashavave is trying by all means to attract the limelight and to be at the centre stage but many of her audiences are not supporting this move.

Mamoyo, an audience member on iHarare Extreme Facebook page pointed out that “Fungisai is now old and irrelevant, aitozamawo luck paakamboda kuimba naKiller T.” (Fungisai is now old and irrelevant, she was trying her luck when she did a single song with Killer T). This statement shows that the audience really feel that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s presents in the industry is irrelevant and her change of genres did not make her any better, it was just by chance that her collaboration with Killer T was success.

When her VISA to go to United States of America took time to be processed the audiences took it as it was a punishment for detangling herself from the Christian sector one audience
Senzeni posted that “we could have prayed for her but since akati she’s not a gospel someone, ngaaone yekutamba nekunaka kwake.” (We could have prayed for her but since she said she is not a gospel someone she should use her beauty to solve all her problems). By changing genres in the eyes of the audiences, it meant that the musician is regarding herself as self-sufficient hence the audience are saying use your beauty in order to gain lucky. There the audience suggest that leaving the gospel genre is a clear attestation that she is confident that she is immune to any bad stuff that might want to come her way. Every bad thing that is happening in her life is taken as a curse for saying that she is not a church person. The common religion in Zimbabwe is Christianity and the moment a person refuses to be associated with this group or any other accepted or known religion in the country the person is often neglected by the masses.

(Spreading her legs so that she can sit on the motor bike, it’s too much) said Totenda Major a WhatsApp audience. In the African contest, a women is the one who is supposed keep her legs closed together that is the reason why at public ceremonies which include rain makinhe ceremonies and funerals, women seat on the flow covering their legs with lengthy material around their waist normally known as the zambias. The fact that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is taken pictures while seating on the motorbike shows that she does not care what the audience say about her concerning the issue. One audience on Facebook Manjuma said “The collaboration with Killer T was the turning point of the gospel singer whose music used to be played at parties and weddings but Christians are also afraid to be labelled in the spheres of Ras Fungi which is short for Rasta Fungisai”.

Some of Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s audiences think that the singer left gospel because she wanted something that pays. “Just as Judas run away from Jesus because she wanted 30 pieces of silver” posted one of Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s fans. Fungisai had stayed in the gospel industry for many years and the number of awards that she has gained after joining ZimDanceHall will never equal the number of awards she won when she was singing gospel.

5.4 Patriarchal traits still vibrant in Zimbabwe

The study established that there are still patriarchal traits in Zimbabwe. These traits were observed as there was a recurrence of Facebook and WhatsApp comments by music fans who caricatured Fungisai’s mutating music identity using sexism language. These comments further mocked the musician’s dress sense. The interesting part is that most of the selected comments that reflected some bits and pieces of a patriarchal society were made by males.
The detection of maps by males for females to tread on implies that the former consider themselves superior to the other.

Despite Zimbabwe being a nation that claims to be an egalitarian society, there were a number of Facebook and WhatsApp post that chauvinistically scorned Fungisai for switching from Gospel music to ZimDanceHall. The comments that were posted on iHarare Extreme and Nehanda Radio Facebook pages clearly showed that they were targeting on Zvakavapano-Mashavave as a female not as a musician in general. For instance, one of the Facebook comment obtained from iHarare Extreme reads:

“Mapfekero emunhu kadzi here iwawo. Kana wangawapererwa nezvekuimba kugospel wakadi kunobvunza anamai Charamba kuti vanozvigona sei kkkkkkkkk kkkkkk saka manje panezvawaita wagonei. Urimukadzi asingabetseri, zvawaita zvosemesa”

(Is that how a woman dress, if you no longer had anything to sing, why did you not ask Mai Charamba how she does it. So what now have you achieved? You are a useless and disgusting woman). In this comment, one can easily notice the use of sexism in the first statement. The statement “Mapfekero emunhu kadzi here iwawo” was looking down upon Fungisai for being a female who does not know how to dress properly. By addressing to the musician’s femaleness this indicates a mark of sexism. The aforementioned comment implied that there are ways in which a woman is expected to dress or rather to conduct themselves on the public sphere. This clearly reflect traits of patriarchy that still exist in Zimbabwe. Comments which implied the expectations of a female upon commenting on Fungisai vividly points out that the extinguishment of a patriarchal society in Zimbabwe is a mirage. For instance, comments as the one below which echoed on the expectation of females proves that there is a bit of patriarchal acts in the country


(Singing secular music just after singing gospel shows that you do not have morals. You were not taught how to behave well when you were growing up. What you did is not expected of a woman. These shows that you might well leave your husband at any time). As for the comment above which was gathered from Nehanda Radio Facebook page, it implies that
Fungisai has rebelled and failed to do what is expected of her as a female. But the question which emanates from such comments is ‘who then sets these expectations of females’, with this comment being made by a male, it is crystal clear to point out that men are the one who set the standards of expectations to their female counterparts.

Comments that gave the impression of the availability of patriarch in Zimbabwe hold different views with the notion indicated in Chapter 2 that patriarch is sagging on its knees in the country. The study established that the WhatsApp and Facebook comments are the one breathing life to the masculinity of a society. Upon discussing on Fungisai’s switch from gospel to Zimdancehall in the Media level 4:2 #2016 WhatsApp group chat, one of the participants pointed out that Fungisai transformation is as a result of her husband’s failure to teach and dictate right path for her to follow. It is imperative to note that the researcher is not part of this group implying that I did not use focus group as a method of data collection. The message obtained from this WhatsApp group posted by Spamandla is as follows:

“Nxa sibona kunje, thina sisola indoda yakhe eyehluleka ukumutshengisa indlela yokuhamba ngayo. Vele mina angisamthandi lomuntu. Kasale leZimdancehall yakhe sibone ukuthi uzafika ngaphi ngayo.” (If we see it like this, we blame your husband who failed to show you the right path to take, I now do not like her. We want to see where she will get to with her Zimdancehall).

The statement above also pointed out that Fungisai’s husband was responsible for the musician’s change of music identities. Interestingly the message above gave the impression that males are the ones who are supposed to give their female counterparts directions to follow even in their careers. It is because of such comments that made the researcher to point out that there are still vibrant traits of patriarch in the Zimbabwean society.

is an attack on the singer which shows that the audience is surprised with the way is dressing, the red overall that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is wearing on the picture below makes her look like a tomboy or rather a young girl who is not sure of what she wants to achieve in her life.

A married women has a certain type of dress code that is expected of her in the Zimbabwean culture. A knee length or a long skirt and a decent blouse is what is required. Some women often wear trousers and no one really complains but the why one puts it on is the one that is questionable. In the picture Zvakavapano-Mashavave is wearing an over seized red overall and red high cut timberland shoes which are clothes which are usually worn by Americans which are classified as deviant by the media. She musician did not take time to question
herself the identity she was creating for herself but quickly looked for what people of that genre were wearing and jumped into the boat. The audience did not consider that the way Zvakavapano-Mashavave is dressing is actually a trademark of the genre that she has just joined, they considered the fact that she is female and she had standards to meet. The way the Shylone a WhatsApp audience asked the question “Mapfekero emunhu kadzi here iyawo” (Is this how a woman dresses) shows that they are actually shocked with the dressing of the musician hence this shows traits of a patriarchal society.

Remarks made on Facebook and WhatsApp on Fungisai’s change of genre also showed some tendencies of a patriarch in the sense that they pointed out the Zimdancehall genre only suits males and that females should only stick to genres such as gospel and pop. This discrimination evidences the vibrant traits of a patriarch society in Zimbabwe. Such comments were shown in posts such as “Fungisai haana kufitwa nekuimba Zimdancehall. Zvimwe zvinhu ndezvevarume, kwevakadzi kugospero nekuzvipop uko.” (Singing Zimdancehall does not suit Fungisai. Such genres are meant for males, females should only focus on Gospel music and pop only) posted by Russo HT on WhatsApp. Just by deciding to shift from Gospel to Zimdancehall, Fungisai was scorned for that. By so doing the audiences were somehow violating the musician’s right of expressing herself in a way she deemed fit in her own right.

On researching on the audiences’ perspectives on Fungisai’s mutating music identity, the researcher stumbled upon comments that consisted of hate speech in them. The amount of hate speech in the messages towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition shows that social media has made people’s lives an open book. On this note, the audiences scrutinised Fungisai without fear of being persecuted since social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp promote anonymity. In some of the comments that the researcher stumbled on, audiences used sexism and hate speech hiding under pseudo names. Contrary to the point that political economy influences content of any media house, it must be noted that Nehanda Radio, iHarare Extreme, Facebook and WhatsApp’s ownership and control patterns had nothing to do with these comments which were being pointed by the social media audiences.

In the comments obtained during the data gathering process, some comments made on Fungisai were meant to reduce her to a domestic level. Simply put, they pointed that women’s place should revolve around the kitchen. For instance, another comment obtained in the aforementioned Whatsapp group chat illustrated that women were not good in the music
industry as it reads “Iye akatanga nezvekuti vakadzi vanofanirwa kuimba ndiani? Ndiye wandinoda kuona iyeye coz izvi zvazonyanya kkkk kkkk kkkk.” (Who started with the idea that females must sing, I really need to see that person because this is out of hand). Such comments meant that only males were the only ones who are qualified to take on music as a career. It is no doubt that if a male degrades and reduces a female to a native setting, such acts or rather comments by the former will be reflecting a patriarch of some sort.

5.3 Zvakavapano-Mashavave as a revolutionary

It is encouraged for one to often find her dreams because every individual has only one life to live. Many people struggle so as to make their dreams a reality this can translate to spending many hours in training sessions. Zvakavapano-Mashavave always wanted to sing secular music but her voice suited gospel music according to her promoter and he told her that she would be more accepted if she sings gospel therefore she left her secular songs she had planned to sing and ventured into gospel. Zvakavapano-Mashavave seems happier when singing ZimDanceHall and some of her fans has accepted it. The audiences claim that Zvakavapano-Mashavave sings ZimDanceHall better than those who are already in the industry the likes of Lady Squanda and Lindsay. Fresh Roses, a Facebook fan posted that “yake ndooZimDanceHall kwete zvinoimbwa nana Squanda, nerimwe team rese rechikadzi, i see she is doing to represent nababe in ZimDanceHall”. What Fungisai is singing is the real ZimDanceHall not what the Landy Squanda, Lindsay and the other crew are singing. In as much as Zvakavapano-Mashavave might have joined this secular music she is not singing anything that is obscene. One audience from a WhatsApp group Shololo wrote, “You were designed for ZimDanceHall Fungi.” This has made her earn the title ‘Empress Fungi’ which means that the ZimDanceHall fans have accepted Zvakavapano-Mashavave in their circle after she has just sang a few singles.

Some of her audiences understood her transition under the bases that she is a musician and changing genre doesn’t make them like her any less for example the post sent by Tindo on MSU Divas WhatsApp group, “Leave Fungisai alone people, is it a crime to be a Christian. Saka apa zvinotaura kuti anoiomba dzechitendero haachaimba dancehall here. Ita zvino arikutienda mberi makangoti kwenenwene”. (Does it mean when one sings gospel she is no longer allowed to sing Dancehall. Right now she is actually going forward and you are just there talking.) This audience is trying highlight that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s identity as a Christian must not stop her from leaving her dream or spreading her wings. No matter what
people are saying, she is actually progressing as a musician. Her transition has made other upcoming musicians to have guts to sing whatever genre they want besides what culture says about women and music. “I personally wanted to venture into JAZZ but was afraid of what the audience would say but Empress Fungisai you are a star, I’m going to make my dream see light of day, you are amazing” wrote Rebound on iHarare Extreme Facebook Page.

As someone with a family you have to make ends meet so as to take care of your family. Zvakavapano-Mashavave is married and has 3 children and all her children need to be taken care of. In as much as singing might be her passion, it is also a job. She was obliged to move on to another genre when thinks are not working out for her in the previous genre. It is reported by one of her audiences that ZimDanceHall was paying dividends better than gospel music.”

It was high time Zvakavapano-Mashavave had to step up her game. The quality of her voice could take her far and make her someone on the international map of music. She must be competing with people like Lira and Zahara who are representing their country, South Africa.

Zvakavapano-Mashavave has showed the audience and many other audiences that ZimDanceHall is not only for uneducated and unemployed people. The musician obtained her sociology degree a few years ago at Women University in Harare but this has not let her live her music career. Most of the musicians who sing ZimDanceHall did not go to college, at this juncture, one can therefore say that Zvakavapano-Mashavave has shown her audiences and some of the ZimDanceHall musician that education is important in as much as a person can fame and money but a career by someone with the brains is the way to go.

5.5 Zvakavapano-Mashavave as musician who is after eminence and money

The audience perceives Zvakavapano-Mashavave as a musician who is after fame and money. They believe that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s reason of living the gospel genre was along the lines of the genre being out of market/season. Zvakavapano-Mashavave was able to open her eyes wide and see what is paying then join in the trend thereby changing her looks so that she can rebrand. The singer was not comfortable with staying in the same trend and waiting to be called on shows by churches or any charity events.

The pictures that Zvakavapano-Mashavave posts of herself of the social media shows that she is an attention seeking performer. The extent to which the musician introduces herself and showcased herself showed that this was more than a comeback, this was an entrance.
Zvakavapano-Mashavave is a 36 year old singer who engaged herself in a genre that is regarded as a field for scoundrels who are mostly uneducated, are still growing up and does not really have a sense of direction. She does not let her age hold her back but uses it as a way of showing her prowess in the market.

Despite being in the industry for more than a decade, Zvakavapano-Mashavave finds it inevitable just to leave the industry before she grows grey hair. The musician pictures herself going places promoting her brand and has done what she can in order to look the talk. In order to fit well in the genre that is flooded by youths, Zvakavapano-Mashavave has changed her entire wardrobe so that she can be identified as one of them. The singer is trying by all means to look young by wearing fancy shoes and clothes that are worn by the youths but the comments she gets on the photos she posts are mostly negative because her audience are saying she is trying too hard but it’s too late. For example Chiimba posted that “Sis Fungi bhutsu iyo ndeye mari hayo asi haisiiri yezeru renyu” (sister Fungi that shoe really looks expensive but it’s no longer of your age). With this statement, the audience is trying to highlight that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is using so much money on clothes which is a waste of time because this will not change her age or identity. The pictures of the musician on social media are not just ordinary pictures but shows that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is showing off what she is wearing considering the posture she will be standing with. The fact that Zvakavapano-Mashavave had a motorcade escort her to the ZimDanceHall awards shows that she is a person who loves fame and loves to leave her name everywhere that she goes. Surely when she arrived at the awards she made a statement. Zvakavapano-Mashavave had a car with a number written Daidzai Vakuru which is the title of her song with Killer T.

5.6 Audiences caricaturing Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s image.

Various audiences were seen posting Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s pictures on social media as a way of mocking the musician for joining the ZimDanceHall genre. Some audiences did this as a way of showing their anger to Zvakavapano-Mashavave for joining ZimDanceHall. Most of these pictures will show one that she is not welcome in the new place she has joined.
In the above picture, the musician is portrayed as a whore, a person of loose morals with the ways she is dressing. The photo shopped picture where by Zvakavapano-Mashavave she wearing a swim suit is embarrassing considering that the musician is married and a mother of three. On the picture, it is written by Cool T a fan the words, “mmm kuZimDanceHall kukanetsa uku rega timbonotrya kwana” Bev (things are difficult here with ZimDanceHall, let’s go and try and try at Bev’s). With this statement, the writer is trying to saying that there is tight competition at ZimDanceHall so maybe joining other musicians will be a better move. Bev is a musician and a dancer who is known for dancing seductively to men and youths in beer halls and other public places. With the swim suit that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is dressed in in the picture, she is no better than the pole dancer, Bev.

Since Zvakavapano-Mashavave has been seen kneeling in most of her current pictures, the audiences took advantage of this and placed her pictures in the most positions. Besides a football team, besides statues just to mention a few. The researcher realised that the reason why some audience respond to the pictures of Zvakavapano-Mashavave is because they will be following a bandwagon. Shorty an audience who posted on Fungisai’s Page mentioned that “haa wazoda mafaro wachembera” (you have decided to have fun at older age) suggest that the musician decided to spread her wings at the wrong age. The comment that then followed wrote by Mbidzo was “shuwa ndakagara ndazviona ini ichokwadi” which
translates to (I had seen that coming, it’s true). Some audiences just had fun in making fun of the situation that was going on so that they can just mock the celebrity, some women so the move done by Zvakavapano-Mashavave as something that is not fair since these are also confined by the boundaries of culture.

A photo shopped picture of Zvakavapano-Mashavave simulating to kneel besides a sculpture

Fig. 6

Most audiences made it clear that Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition was a bad move with the way they attacked her pictures. On the picture that the musician was seated next to a statue, one of the audience on Nehanda radio Facebook page posted that “wotoona umwe nemazuva ekupedzesera ano osiya zvaMwari achitoita zvenyika obva wato ziva kuti munhu akarasika” (And you see someone in these last days leaving the gospel and joining worldly things, you then realise that the person is lost) posted Chamdara. The photo shopped images that circulated on WhatsApp and Facebook showed that Zvakavapano-Mashavave is trying to put herself in places she does not belong that is in the football pitch or in museums. Therefore, in as much as she might try to fit in the ZimDanceHall genre, she is now too old
and will never totally fit in the way she did when she was in the gospel genre where people loved and respected her for who she was.

Making fun of Zvakavapano-Mashavave is the only way of speaking back to power regarding the fact that performers in the country mostly find their support local because they do not use English when writing most of their songs. Hence the audience believe that they have the right to say what they feel about the music that they consume.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Conclusions of the study

Zvakavapano-Mashavave is a musician who changed music genres from gospel to ZimDanceHall. Her gospel music has appealed to many nationalities because he songs were bilingual (Shona and English). Many of her audiences were surprised by her transition to ZimDanceHall which made them post messages of their disgruntlement both on Facebook and WhatsApp. While ZimDanceHall were happy to have found their Empress. The freedom that has been influenced by Facebook and WhatsApp has enabled the discourses embedded in audiences’ responses. The aim of the study was to explain how the audiences read and interpreted Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s transition from one genre to another.

The researcher observed that in most study that were took, women still see the importance of males in their careers for example the song by Pah Chihera Musava dadire varume(let’s not underestimate men). In a study of Olivia Charamba noted that her husband remains her role model in as much as audience might see her a better singer than her husband. She continuously owe her husband in all that she has achieved in the career. Unlike Zvakavapano-Mashavave

Most women who venture in the music career in Zimbabwe start off with gospel so as to gain respect. Women who sing about gospel are usually accepted by the society than those who sing secular music. Those who enter in ZimDanceHall are often seen as deviant and as women of lose morals and they do not get respect like those who sing gospel which shows that there is a certain perspective of how women are viewed and have their standards set for them by the society before the choose career paths. Most males who sing ZimDanceHall shoot their music videos with sagging pants and the lyrical content is explicit. In as much as Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s song does not contain explicit content, what came in the audience mind after hearing the song is that Zvakavapano-Mashavave has lost respect for her female counterparts by joining a male dominated genre for money and for fame and she is also trying to pollute youngsters in the church who wish to become gospel singers.

The objectives of the study sort to analyse the forces behind attitudes and perceptions of the audiences towards Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s shift, establish how the analysed cyber discourses relate to the politics of gender and analyse how Facebook and WhatsApp comments perceive the mutation of the singer from gospel to ZimDanceHall music. Looking at the findings of the study, it can be concluded that the research objectives and research
questions were all achieved. On the bases of the findings, the researcher concludes that music audiences have their anticipations from gospel musicians and if the latter deviates from these expectations he or she is considered as being wayward.

6.2 Recommendations to the musicians

Audiences get emotionally attached to the musicians as evidenced by the comments on Zvakavapano-Mashavave’s genre switch. In this regard, I therefore recommend musicians to stick to one genre so as to avoid confusing the fans or worse of losing them.

6.3 Recommendations for further studies

In most cases when a research is being carried out new problems are often revealed. After carrying out this study, the researcher noticed that a follow up study may be conducted in a bid to reveal why music audiences have a hard time accepting change or dilution of culture in musicians. The way female performers dress and act in front of the camera is scrutinised compared to what is done to male counterparts’ in the music industry. A study can be done to discover if this a way of preserving culture or it’s jealousy of others who have made it to the public sphere or any other cause.

6.4 Conclusion

This marks as the last chapter of this study and it focused on evaluating if the research objectives and the research question of the study were revealed. The chapter also seek to find out if the theories, methods of data collection and methods of data analysis were prolific in the study.
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