Examining the Dancehall Lyrics in Re(en)forcing Heterosexist Discourse against the LGBTQIA community with a Jamaican context

Abstract

This paper examines the way (s) dancehall lyrics re-(en)force(s) heterosexist discourse(s) (if any) within the identities of the LGBTQIA community with a Jamaican context. Dancehall music originated in Jamaica within the neo-colonial period (since the 1980s) coming out of reggae. Dancehall is the musical expression of the working class black masses used to protest the criminogenic continuities of colonial history. Although dancehall acted as a form of protest against the colonial inequalities, heterosexism was re-enforced by the very same colonised masses with a criminogenic history of colonialism. As such, the study explores the present day identities of the LGBTQIA community expressed through the dancehall lyrics created within the 1990-2010 period. Through the use of the qualitative single intrinsic case study approach and critical discourse analysis, the researcher was able to identify insights which connected dancehall lyrics and heterosexist discourses to the identities within the LGBTQIA community. Using the gender performativity theory by Judith Butler, the insights suggested that heterosexism reinforced, through discourses in religion, discourses on violence and discourses on sexual conduct and misconduct, repetitive terminologies, expressions and ideologies that heathenised, stigmatised and criminalised the identities of the LGBTQIA community in the Jamaican neo-colonial con(text).

Keywords: LGBTQIA; Heterosexism; Dancehall Lyrics; neo-colonial Jamaican con(text); Gender Performativity theory.

Preface

Jamaican dancehall music is prominent in Trinidad and Tobago. In this study, the researchers identified lyrics in Jamaican dancehall music familiar to their high school experiences between 2005-2010. The co-authors are born and lived in Trinidad and Tobago all their life. Initially, this topic piqued the interest of the authors for many reasons. Dancehall music that was predominant at our secondary level supported the ideals of heteronormativity. It is in these spaces that we learned the comedy and misery that is homosexuality. During the first encounter with many of these songs, the focus was on the beat, not paying much attention to the heterosexist ideology engineered naturally into the music.

In our high schools from the years 2005-2010, our classmates vocally expressed negative sentiments on all forms of non-heteronormative behaviours. These sentiments were expressed through the language-in-use in the dance hall songs that they loved.
The most popular songs they made most reference to was 'Batty Boy Stay Far From We' by Dr Evil, 'Batty Man Fi Dead' by Beenie Man and 'Boom Bye Bye' by Buju Banton. Heteronormativity sets up an automatic assumption about homosexuality. We observed that some of the male students bullied other male students who did not share the same interests of sports; instead; they expressed interests in music and writing poetry.

We grew up in a space where anything that was not part of God's teaching was an abomination. Due to this teaching, many persons who came from a religious family background hid their sexual preferences to prevent being disgraced by their families and their community members. So far, two friends of ours have been lost to suicide because they could no longer live a double life as they feared how society would treat them.

Glossary

Neo-Colonial Jamaican Con(text) – This refers to the colonially entangled realities within Jamaican society, as presented and expressed within dancehall lyrics. The colonially entangled phenomenon being investigated in this study is heterosexism. This study does not necessarily intend to demonstrate the connection of the past (the era of colonialism-mid; 1600's-1962) to the present (the era of neo-colonialism – post-1962). Instead, after acknowledging, in the conceptualisation of the study, that the past is connected to the present, this study explores the dynamics of the present day colonially entangled reality. The dynamics of that neo-colonial reality would be examined through a combined interrogation of dancehall text(s) and context(s) in Jamaica through performative acts as understood by Judith Butler. The text(s) refers to the dancehall lyrics and the context(s) refers to the Jamaican con(text). This con(text) was also analysed further utilising scholarly and non-scholarly sources.

LGBTQIA – This abbreviation refers to the various marginalised groups in society; Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual. They are discriminated against based on gender and sex ideologies within society. As such, the concept LGBTQIA is an important analytical term analytical and interpretive tool that is employed to understand how gender and sex is performative within the neo-colonial Jamaican con(text). While dancehall lyrics may not distinctively pinpoint all members that makeup the LGBTQIA community, the term LGBTQIA serves as a critical analytical and interpretive tool in understanding gender performativity and the identities centred within and among members of the LGBTQIA community.

Heterosexism: In the research, this term will be used interchangeably with other related terminologies; hegemonic masculinity, heteropatriarchy, heteronormativity and gendered identity. This would assist in understanding more fully the identities within the LGBTQIA community as connected to the ideals and norms of the neo-colonial Jamaican con(text). Thereby, understanding more fully how gender and sex identities (re)enforce discourses
embedded within dancehall lyrics. Understanding these discourses using the performativity theory allows the researchers to demonstrate how identities of the LGBTQIA community are (re)-constructed and (re)-presented within a Jamaican con(text).

**Abbreviations**

LGBTQIA – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual

**Introduction to the Problem**

Before going forward, the researchers have outlined the following disclaimers for the readers. The language-in-use in dancehall lyrics investigated may be perceived as offensive to some readers. While the researchers incorporated the language-in-use gleaned from the dancehall lyrics, it was not done to offend the reader or re-enforce any biases the readers or co-authors may or may not have. Rather, the language of the dancehall was used to give an authentic and dispassionate interpretation of the lyrics to re-enforce research credibility. Furthermore, this research does not suggest that all dancehall lyrics are heterosexist and enforce and re-enforce inequality against all LGBTQIA members in the neo-colonial Jamaican con(text). Also, the research is not stating that the explanation given of dancehall lyrics is the only explanation of the dancehall lyrics. Additionally, the researchers acknowledge that their analysis of the dancehall lyrics, LGBTQIA identities and heterosexism is just one perspective among many other views on the topic. Moreover, the term LGBTQIA is not being used in this research to generalise on the distinct identities among all of the members within the LGBTQIA community. Rather, the term LGBTQIA serves as a critical analytical and interpretive tool, in this research, in understanding gender performativity and the identities centred around the LGBTQIA community as expressed within dancehall lyrics.

Heterosexism in dancehall lyrics became a problem globally since the 1990s after songs such as Buju Banton’s *Boom Bye-Bye* generated international interest and attention.

By the 1990s Dancehall had begun to move from being an emerging sub-genre within reggae to overtake the Rastafari inspired Roots and Culture genre of reggae that had dominated dancehall in the 1970s and early 1980s. An unintended consequence of Dancehall’s mainstream success has been the increased attention it has gained from an international gay rights movement (Noble 2000,4)

Donna Hope (2006, 19) stated that;
The discourses of the dancehall operate in tension with and against the hegemonic framework of 'decent' traditional Jamaica.

The researchers in this study place themselves squarely within the midpoint of dancehall culture and attempt to make sense of the heterosexist discourses inbuilt in the present day colonially entangled Jamaican context. These living legacies are present in the language-in-use within dancehall lyrics and are re-enforced by both the colonially entangled institutions and masses within Jamaica. The masses whose ancestors endured a criminogenic history of colonialism they selectively protest. Cowell's (2011,4) in his work titled, *Public Discourse, Popular Culture and Attitudes Towards Homosexuals in Jamaica*, responded to Cooper's (1989) analysis on dancehall artiste and the meaning of dancehall music.

In what Cooper (1989, 14) described as their 'metaphorical revolt against law and order' the dancehall artistes seem perfectly aligned with the 'pious morality and conservative gender ideology of fundamentalist Jamaican society' at least as it relates to their posture on the practices of the 'homosexual' male

This study sheds light on the way(s) that dancehall music is expressed within the colonially entangled power structure. This power structure has been used to shape identities within the present day neo-colonial Jamaican context. While coloniality of gender theory and coloniality of power theory is useful in understanding neo-colonialism, the focus of those theories is mainly, for example, to demonstrate the connection of the past (the era of colonialism-mid 1600’s-1962) to the present (the era of neo-colonialism – post- 1962). This study does not necessarily intend to do that. Instead, after acknowledging, through the contextualisation of the research, that the past is connected to the present, this study examines the dynamics of those present day colonially entangled realities. These present-day colonially entangled realities identified as heterosexism would be reviewed through an interrogation of dancehall text and context in Jamaica. The text refers to the dancehall lyrics and the context refers to the norms, values and some experiences identified within the Jamaican society.

These lyrics would be analysed to understand heterosexist discourses and how these discourses re(en)force(s), through performative acts, the LGBTQIA identities in Jamaican society. Therefore, analysing context and text is more sufficiently investigated through the use of a poststructural theoretical approach. This poststructural theory utilised in the research was gender performativity theory by Judith Butler which would be further elaborated on in the theoretical framework section of the study.

Statement of the Problem
In this research, heterosexism was conceptualised as a colonially entangled gendered power structure expressed and presented in dancehall lyrics within a neo-colonial Jamaican (con)text. Heterosexism in dancehall lyrics became a problem globally since the 1990s after songs such as Buju Banton’s *Boom Bye-Bye* generated international interest and attention.

On that basis, the researchers will explore dancehall lyrics to understand how they re-(en)force heterosexist discourse(s) within the identities of the LGBTQIA community in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).

**Research Objectives**

1) To provide insight into heterosexist discourse(s) and LGBTQIA identities within dancehall lyrics in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).
2) To provide insight into how heterosexist discourse(s) and LGBTQIA identities are constructed within dancehall lyrics in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).
3) To understand how heterosexist discourse(s) re-(en)force(s) LGBTQIA identities within dancehall lyrics in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).

**Research Questions**

The research objectives were then used to construct the following research questions.

1. In what ways does dancehall lyrics re-enforce violent notions against the LGBTQIA community?
2. How are ideas of religious morality in society re-presented in the dancehall lyrics?
3. How is sex and sexuality re-presented in the dancehall lyrics?

**Significance of the Study**

1. This study adds to the regional academic literature on heterosexism, performativity, LGBTQIA identities and dancehall culture in the neo-colonial con(text).
2. This study considers performativity theory within a neo-colonial con(text), consequently, adding to the application of this approach to a non-western context.

**Literature Review**

*Introduction*
According to Motschenbacher (2010), the practice of heterosexism puts persons under pressure to act in a prescribed way throughout their lives; where both men and women have specific roles and ideals to abide by which regulates and assesses gendered and sexual identities. Motschenbacher (2010) also suggested that ideal gendered roles encourage one to match their actions to those accepted in broader society. As such, the study will be considering these unequal identities through the following themes: 2.2 Heterosexism and the Global Context, 2.3 Heterosexism, Jamaica and Regional Context and 2.4 Heterosexism and the Jamaican Dancehall Context.

Heterosexism and the Global Context

According to Judith Butler (1988) (Quoted in Ton (2018, 10), “Gender is real only to the extent that it is performed.” Gender ideology is constrictive to individuals who fit the sexual norms. Thus, framing a notion of sexuality where it has less to do with one’s own lived reality and more to do with one’s public performance.

Butler further maintained that if inner gender is an illusion and true gender is displayed on the outer body, genders cannot be conceptualized as truth or false rather it is shaped as “the true effects of a discourse of primary and stable identity” (Butler 1990, 136).

In Africa, women and girls face challenging circumstances with regards to their sexuality and rites of passage. Khau (2009, 31) noted that the tradition is one where girl's socialisation and information on sex is received primarily from older female members of the family. This tradition involves female genital mutilation as a rite of passage to womanhood, which occurs to more than 130 million girls (Khau 2009, 31).

According to Hattori (1999, 5), 'sexuality is constructed socially.' The Japanese culture believes that a heterosexual lifestyle is right for their society. The social system compelling heterosexuality remains firm in their learning. In Japan they sell young girls dreams using comic books, allowing them to believe that they would find the perfect husband who is strong and caring and who also helps out with household chores (Hattori 1999, 5).

However, studies have shown that women in Japan cannot seem to find such good husbands as put forward in the media (Hattori 1999, 5). The perception is that women that remain single are dissatisfied and weird (Hattori 1999, 5). A lesbian is an 'onabe' which translates to drag king while 'okama' is a heterosexist slur against gay men (Hattori 1999, 5). Consistent with Caribbean culture, Japanese women are allowed to be physically affectionate to each other in the streets.

Heterosexism, Jamaica and Regional Context
In the 18th-century account by Thomas Thistlewood, a slave owner, he reported incidents of same-sex assault. These incidents include a report of Mr Watt Committing Sodomy with his Negroe waiting Boy and strange stories about the parson and John his man (Foster 2011, 453). Jamaica in the 19th century implemented the 1864 Jamaican Offenses against the Persons Act by the British, which made buggery illegal.

Charles (2011, 8) explained that there was the Christianization of Jamaicans during slavery due to the consolidated slave law act. Also, the religious “conversion” of the captive Africans (LaFont 2001; Smith 1965) (Quoted in Charles 2011,8) introduced the notion of respectability in sexual mores and ideology that excluded sexual acts not leading to procreation such as the "nastiness" of oral sex and same-gender sexual relation.

In the T&T Guardian asked the first female President of Trinidad and Tobago Madame Justice Paula Mae Weekes whether or not she is a lesbian. The speculation arrived based on the realisation that she does not have a spouse nor children. Her response was instrumental in understanding the nature of heterosexism as connected to heteronormativity. She said, “We major in the superficial (Julien 2018).” That statement illustrates the orientation of heteronormativity. It is based on a superficial myth that is not measurable, generalizable and applicable to every male and females’ lived realities in society.

According to Sanneh (2004), the gay-rights activist, Brian Williamson was murdered at his home. The police concluded that this incident resulted from a robbery that went wrong, but, persons within the 'J-Flags' remained doubtful of the police assessment of the crime. Additionally, the research conducted by Logie et al. (2016) found that many transgender women were victims of inescapable physical violence, which at times can be severe and poses a threat to their life. As a result of homelessness, they are more likely to be victimised both physically and sexually.

Heterosexism and the Jamaican Dancehall context

Heterosexism maintained its space within the dancehall context for a long time with some academics downplaying the shared horror of the verbal violence, also termed ‘murder music.’

Cooper has argued that the invitations found within dancehall lyrics to 'murda', 'bun' or 'step pon’ chi-chi man (murder, burn or step on gay men) are playful and metaphorical lyrical gestures, that are not incitements to homophobic attack (Noble 2008,4)

While the statistics may or may not be on the side of Cooper (2004) (Noble 2008, 4), the statements made raise two essential questions; who gets to determine what comprises a homophobic attack? Secondly, is verbal abuse acceptable if it does not equate to physical violence?

Noble (2000, 4) further stated;
Cooper’s position both denies the power of language to shape reality and unremorsefully accepts the accusation of being an apologist for dancehall’s homophobia.

Furthermore, dancehall heterosexist discourses appear to be metaphorically problematic. For example, in the lyrics of Dr Evil, he renounced his hatred against the stereotypical sexual practices (anal sex) of members within the LGBTQIA through the use of metaphor and comedy. For example, in his song entitled, Batty Boy (Stay far from we), he stated that he had a general dislike for the word bottom. This metaphor suggest that he disliked the sexual act of anal sex as well as the people who practice these sex acts.

In contemporary Jamaican dancehall context (2014-present), dancehall lyrics are on a decline due to years of “censorship,” however “most dancehall artiste still express their disapproval for this lifestyle in a subtle manner (MM 2013).”

For example, in the video titled, Dancehall Selector Tony Matterhorn PROUD supporter of the LGBT/JFLAG community? Endorses Young M.A, Dancehall Selector Tony Matterhorn’s, sexuality and reputation has been up for scrutiny and “his credibility as a dancehall selector” due to his “alleged association with the gay community and in 2014 when he posted a video of himself as a crossdresser, wearing a female’s wig on his Instagram show called ‘Afterdark’.”

Bounty Killer, a notable dancehall selector, stated the following;

Table 1. Showing translation from Patois to English from the video Dancehall Selector Tony Matterhorn PROUD supporter of the LGBT/JFLAG community? Endorses Young M.A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patois</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man no act so, thats feminine gender he em fi stop that</td>
<td>Man don’t act so (like how Tony Matterhorn acts), he acts like a female and he needs to stop that.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, through this video and statements referenced above, it appears that the heteropatriarchy, heteronormativity and heterosexism remains intact as “it’s still obvious that the dancehall music supports the heterosexual lifestyle as opposed to homosexuality in any way, shape or form” (MM 2013).

Heterosexism would be further examined in the data analysis section of the paper.
Methodology

Research Design

The research design selected is that of the Single Intrinsic case study approach. This phenomenon was identified as a case to be studied “following the negative stereotypes and controversy surrounding Jamaican dancehall culture in the 1990s” (Cooper 2004,12) and the continued resistance in the 21st century against popular anti-LGBTQIA dancehall artistes such as Buju Banton and dancehall music such as ‘Batty boy fi dead. The issue under review was bounded within a specific context; neo-colonial Jamaican context, researcher’s high school experiences internalising dancehall music (2005-2010), dancehall lyrics, LGBTQIA identity and heterosexist discourses. Thus, this 1990-2010 period (20-year span) selected period under review. These songs would be explored in-depth and analysed in triangulation with various sources of data (academic literature, author’s high school experiences (2005-2010), dancehall lyrics and non-academic content ‘Soul rebels: Murder Inna Dancehall’ and Jamaican Patois (Patwah) translation dictionary).

Sample Strategy

The purposive sample strategy was employed for this research. The criteria were songs that contained heterosexist discourses against the LGBTQIA community. The researchers selected songs that were the most popular and most familiar to them during their high school period (2005-2010). These include Batty Boi Fi Dead made in 2005 by Beenie Man, Batty Boy (Stay Far From We) created in 2006 by Dr Evil and Boom Bye Bye by Buju Banton made in 1988 but made famous in 1992. These songs were analysed using the Jamaican Patwah dictionary which translated the Patois identified in the dancehall lyrics to English and had conversations with Jamaicans to ensure that the interpretations of the words were accurate.

Method of Analysis

This research project utilises critical discourse analysis by Fairclough. Van Dijk (1995) contends that the method selected reveals multiple discourses representative of the prevailing social structure. The three Dimensions would include Text - Word Analysis, Discursive Practice and Social Practice. While the content analysis may have been useful for this study, the authors selected discourse analysis as it was able, more fully, to interrogate discourses getting a comprehensive understanding of the context and text of the data.

Data Analysis

Atlas.ti.8 research software was used for the data analysis of the study under review. This software was necessary for a comprehensive understanding
and intimacy with the data to provide efficient replication, evaluation and analysis of findings.

Theoretical Framework

Gender Performativity theory by Judith Butler - “Man don't act so!”

Gender performativity, as a post-structural theory, replaces narrow discourses from large scale to analysis at a small scale level. On that basis, a question raised; how is identity constructed at such a small scale level?

Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time—an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts (Butler 1998, 2)

Gender identity, through consistent practice and references to notions of idolised gendered identities, becomes real to the actor.

Gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (Butler 1998, 2)

Heteronormativity has re-enforced in society that the only valid sexual orientation is heterosexuality. In that realm, going outside of those boundaries may lead to social sanctions as one deviates from that particular reference point. This sanctioning appears in the heterosexist discourses in dancehall lyrics.

Noble (2008, 2) presented gender and sexuality as playing a contentious role within the neo-colonial Jamaican context.

Instead, they remain, no longer securely anchored in their old homogenous appearances, but re-configured through the inner differences and contradictions of gender, sexuality, ethnicity and religion (Noble 2008, 2)

Using the gender performativity theory and Furlough’s discourse analysis method, the researcher intends to inquire into the construction of identity within the realm of text word analysis, discursive practice and social practice. This theory is relevant to the understanding of dancehall lyrics in practice and how LGBTQIA identity is repeated within the text, the history, the lyrics and identity of the neo-colonial Jamaican society context.

This theory also suggests that emancipatory acts can be achieved in changing repeated small scale practices and ideas.
If the ground of gender identity is the stylized repetition of acts through time, and not a seemingly seamless identity, then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relation between such actions, "in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style" (Butler 1998, 3).

Disentangling small level discourses allows the researchers to inquire about the assumptions underpinning the broad discussions on LGBTQIA identities and transform social realities. As such, her work is critical in evaluating the dominant heterosexual ideologies within dancehall lyrics.
Presentation of Insights

Figure 1. Showing the insights gleaned on religion in Dancehall Lyrics

Insight 1: After analysing the dancehall lyrics, homosexuality among males were identified as an immoral action that went against God’s plan for humanity.

Insight 2: After analysing the dancehall lyrics, use of violence against 'homosexual' males were identified as a necessary act in removing them away from the Jamaican context.
2020-3520-AJSS

Figure 2. Showing the insights gleaned on violence in Dancehall Lyrics

Figure 3. Showing the insights gleaned on sexual misconduct and conduct in Dancehall Lyrics
Insight 3: After analysing the dancehall lyrics, males deviating from traditional sex and gender norms were an essential feature in differentiating between sexual conduct and misconduct. This feature includes heterosexual males who perform oral sex on women.

Analysis and Discussion of Insights

Themes gleaned from analysing the data would now be used to answer the research questions. The three themes are discourses in Religion, discourses on violence, and discourses on Sexual conduct and misconduct explored using Fairclough’s three dimensions of critical discourse analysis. The three dimensions would include text - word analysis, discursive practice and social practice. Performativity was seen in the repetition and problematic metaphors presented and expressed in the lyrics. These dimensions would give insight into the heterosexist discourses in understanding dancehall lyrics within the neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).

Religious discourse

1. Research Question 1: How are ideas of religious morality in society re-presented in the dancehall lyrics?

After analysing the dancehall lyrics, homosexuality among males was identified as an immoral action that went against God’s plan for humanity.

Text - Word Analysis

Many words and phrases vigorously commanding and controlling behaviour were uncovered. It highlighted numerous literary devices, such as repetition and pun.

Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceede; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time- an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts (Butler 1998,2)

"No mails(Males) but emails (Females), Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve." These words were necessary for capturing the social cues of acceptable behaviour identified as morally acceptable.

Furthermore, the language used made connections between complementary and converging ideas such as, “Vagina with a penis” and “man with a woman.” This language use converged with, “No dicks, no buts (no anal sex), no maybes (cannot make babies).” Thus, the language that was used not only described the religious values and principles but emphasized repudiation against those deviant sex and gender acts. Please see the following example in Table 6.0 below.
Table 2. Showing the translation of Dancehall lyrics under review from Patois to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patois</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some man a turn around, where dem get that from</td>
<td>Where did this same-sex love in males come from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter is not for Janet, Peter is for John, Suzette is not for Paul, Suzette is for Ann</td>
<td>Peter is not for Janet, Peter is for John, Suzette is not for Paul, Suzette is for Ann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where the bobocloth dem get dat from</td>
<td>Where these people get this horrid behaviour (nonsense) from?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discursive Practice

Furthermore, the discursive practice depicting the LGBTQIA community remained primarily negative. Much of the language drew on discourses that were able to resonate with a variety of audiences. The language use was informal, giving a creole orientation of values inherent in religion.

This language allowed for much applicability and flexibility in the message delivered. Common expressions were used to draw on various discourses and appeal to multiple audiences. For instance, “Vagina was made for penis, not penis for penis, not penis for anus.” Thus, from this quotation, it is clear that the artist drew on various discourses ranging from notions of reproduction, anal sex and what is natural.

Social Practice

Within the Bible, there are standard representations of the LGBTQIA community that match the narratives expressed within the Dancehall lyrics.

**Bible Scripture:** “If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an Abomination. (Leviticus 20:13)”

**Dancehall Lyrics:** “Man to man is so unjust, Man to man just brings disgust”

**Bible Scripture:** “They shall surely be put to death; (Leviticus 20:13)”

**Dancehall Lyrics:** “Nah promote no nasty man, dem haffi dead.”

The discourse presented within Christianity suggests that Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed because of sexual immorality. This discourse is reflected in dancehall lyrics and encourages people to resist sexual immorality and therefore, save the society from its destruction as seen in table 3 below.
Table 3. Showing the translation of Dancehall lyrics under review from Patois to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patois</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World is in trouble, Anytime Buju Banton comes</td>
<td>World is in trouble, Anytime Buju Banton comes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batty bwoy</td>
<td>homosexual male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up an run</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom bye bye inna batty boy head.</td>
<td>Let me shoot you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, within the theme of religion, heteronormativity is presented from a cultural context. This notion is consistent with the current literature as Charles (2011,8) noted that the Christian doctrine shared the belief that all sins, including homosexuality, were abominations unto God and must be destroyed (Charles 2011,8). Historically, homophobia was linked to the Africans adopting aspects of Christianity through the process of Eurocentrism. These ideas are expressed within the dancehall lyrics.

Research Question 2: In what ways does dancehall lyrics re-enforce violent notions against the LGBTQIA community?

Discourses on Violence
After analysing the dancehall lyrics, use of violence against homosexual males was identified as an act to remove the group from the Jamaican context. Please see the example in table 4 below.

Text-Word Analysis

Table 4. Showing the translation of Dancehall lyrics under review from Patois to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patois</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batty bwoy</td>
<td>Filthy Homosexual male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloddcloth Faggot</td>
<td>(Jamaican bad word) to emphasise the hate of the Homosexual male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boom bye bye</td>
<td>Shooting of the 'homosexual' male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smaddy pass mi lass</td>
<td>Somebody pass me the cutlass.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in table 4, violence manifests itself through hateful slurs which threaten physical force against the LGBTQIA community. Phrases that mirror these ideas and bear a negative connotation are “batty bwoy” and “faggot” which commonly refers to a 'homosexual' man. While, "boom bye bye" reflects physical violence and in particular, shooting of the 'homosexual' male.
Discursive Practice

Physical violence was connected to a historical perspective through sodomy of the African enslaved man. Here, this perspective becomes critical in understanding the contemporary reality of violence and hate against the LGBTQIA community. This idea is reflected in the gendered expectations of masculinity.

Table 5. Showing the translation of Dancehall lyrics from Patois to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATOIS</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batty boy</td>
<td>Homosexual male(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem need fi stay far we</td>
<td>They need to stay away or leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna (nope!)</td>
<td>We not promoting that homosexual (penis with penis) sexual behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna</td>
<td>We promoting heterosexual sexual (vagina with penis) behaviour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Practice

From the lyrics, it is essential to note that on a societal level, sexual orientation viewed in binary terms. These are man and woman and "penis and vagina". This binary, therefore, excludes differences such as the LGBTQIA, and in essence, persons who do not subscribe to the dominant heterosexual relationship. As noted by performativity theory, gender is a corporate style which involves actors consistently performing a copy of a copy. This gender parody and drag is done strategically for cultural survivability, as those that perform wrongly are punished severely (Salil 2018, chap. 3). Furthermore, the masculine male is not expected to befriend a 'homosexual' male, as stated in the following lyrics in table 6.

Table 6. Showing the translation of Dancehall lyrics under review from Patois to English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patois</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Caw me say) Dis is not an bargain (Me say) Dis is not a deal</td>
<td>I am not joking with you (homosexual male), I am very serious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy come near we</td>
<td>If you (homosexual male) do not stay away from me (heterosexual male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then his skin must peel Burn him up bad like an old tire wheel</td>
<td>I will burn him or do him harm to (possibly) destroy or kill him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. **Research Question 3:** How are sex and sexuality re-presented in the dancehall lyrics?

**Sexual Discourses**

Sexual misconduct contrasted with sexual conduct, which highlighted how discourses around gender and sexual identity is shaped and reshaped in the Jamaican society.

**Text-Word Analysis**

Through text word analysis of the data, patterns found identified the ‘law like’ nature and rigidity of sexual and gender identity. This analysis was seen in the following words and phrases: “Opposite Genitals! Pussy penis sex only! Nature made sex to be between man and woman! We only have sex in the pussy! No bottom!”

Another example of this law like (repetitive) phenomenon is expressed in table 7 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7. Translating of Dancehall Lyrics Patois to English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patois</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wha u nuh fi do, suck pum pum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wha u nuh fi do, suck pum pum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom</td>
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<td>Wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, this reputation in table 6.5 repeated seven times above clearly expresses the hegemonic masculine sexual and gendered expectation in society. Deviating from this common law was perceived as a violation of the socially defined code of conduct.

Given the multifaceted and complex shifts and changes in constructing masculinity and femininity, it would appear that gender is more than what one is, instead, it is what one does (Salil 2018, chap. 3).
Discursive Practice

Hegemonic masculine identity was displayed as the lyrics gleaned were able to present the prominent role played by men in defining, interpreting, and ultimately controlling the gender and sexual identity and assumptions embedded within a Jamaican community.

For instance, within the lyrics, a pattern was discerned with the words “We” and “They.” These words raised numerous concerns around how gender and sexual identity operated within the dancehall context.

Heterosexism was used to privilege notions of hegemonic masculinity and repudiate alternative notions of masculinity. Gender and sexual identity were constituted based on an anti-gay male trope, which is cited as any gendered behaviour different to the norm in the dancehall lyrics analysed. Although the LGBTQIA community is a large and diverse group, the discourse in the dancehall lyrics is very narrow. Practices associated with the heterosexuality and in particular hegemonic masculinity were standardised and deviating from those hegemonic gendered and sex ideals were met with resistance shaping the identities of the members within the LGBTQIA community differently. For example, the term “bow-cat” refers really to a man performing oral sex on a (wo)man. Hegemonic masculinity dictates that practices of men must be different to women and at the same time, men must be dominant. Therefore, regardless of whether the action of “bow-cat” is performed on a man or woman is beside the point. The problem is that it can be associated with either a homosexual man or a woman. These have implications for heterosexual males and bisexual males as they would be relegated to the status of ‘homosexuals’.

As identified in the gender performativity theory;

Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time-an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts (Butler 1998,2)

This realisation raises essential questions for the identity of the LGBTQIA community that is not fully explained in the lyrics besides the fact that the LGBTQIA identity is centred around the gay male trope. These questions include the following: How do Queer, Intersex and Asexual individuals fit into the discourse on sex and gender? How are they positioned differently from the 'homosexual' and bisexual male and female?

Social Practice

Furthermore, while heterosexism on a broad level hurts both 'homosexual' male and female, repudiation within the discourses appear to be male centred and in some instances, where woman are not problematized to the same extent. This is best expressed in the lyrical pun, “Norman! … More Woman!”

This presents a contradiction and raises an important question; is dancehall music merely a reflection of hegemonic masculine identities in society? Is
there a better way to understand the complexities and contradictions inherent in Dancehall discourses?

As performativity theory suggests, gender has less to do with the action, but more to do on how the ideas of gender operate within a particular situation. There appears to be identity shifting, transforming and changing based on gendered and sexual roles, ideals, stereotypes and expectations.

This phenomenon may be tied to a historical phenomenon as identified in the literature. In the 18th-century account by Thomas Thistlewood, a slave owner, who reported incidents of same-sex assault incidents, identified a report of Mr Watt Committing Sodomy with his Negroe waiting Boy and strange reports about the parson and John his man (Foster 2011, 453).

In the period of colonialism, fears and practices of dehumanization were meted out to enslaved Africans through sodomization is particularly identified as a tactic used to dehumanise males. Given that the present neo-colonial Jamaican societal con(text) and dancehall music, in many instances resist those ideas, heterosexism is tied into that complicated historical past. This analysis does hold truth within the dancehall lyrics as homosexuality is also associated with a phenomenon specific to Caucasians where it suggested that homosexuality is associated with foreign Caucasians and not the Jamaican con(text).

Heterosexism, therefore, performs the role of resistance to the colonial oppressors and at the same time re-enforcing the coloniser's role as an oppressor. In this case, persecution against the LGBTQIA community after an entangled internalisation of the cultural, social and gendered ideologies inherited from the very same colonisers.

Conclusion and Future Research

In this research, heterosexism was conceptualised as a colonially entangled gendered power structure expressed and presented in dancehall lyrics within a neo-colonial Jamaican (con)text. Heterosexism in dancehall lyrics became a problem globally since the 1990s after songs such as Buju Banton’s Boom Bye-Bye generated international interest and attention. On that basis, the researchers explored dancehall lyrics to understand how they re-(en)force heterosexist discourse(s) within the identity of the LGBTQIA community in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text).

The significant insights gleaned from the research were the following:

1. Homosexuality among males was identified as an immoral action that went against God's plan for humanity.
2. Use of violence against 'homosexual' males was identified as a necessary act in removing them away from the Jamaican context.
3. Males deviating from traditional sex and gender norms were an essential feature in differentiating between sexual conduct and
misconduct. This also includes heterosexual males who perform oral sex on women.

Within Dancehall music, violence becomes an expression and a feature of male homosexuality. It also takes on a law like status. The theme of sexual conduct and misconduct best highlighted this phenomenon as the individual becomes socially isolated, stigmatized and ridiculed for the performance of gender in a way that deviates the social norm. Therefore, whether one is a member of the LGBTQIA community or not, he or she is still made to feel or bear the brunt of the consequences (heterosexism) if their gender and sexual identity is not aligned to the traditional gendered expectations.

The heteronormative notion underpinning this sex/gender structure is based on a religious orientation underpinning society. While it is not the only example or expression of the behaviour within dancehall music, it is purposefully re-enforced and shaped by the ideas inherent in Christianity.

The lyrics drew on various discourses as it was contextualized within a social, historical and cultural realm. History played a role in understanding the source of heterosexism. It was used to give a more in-depth insight into the construction of the LGBTQIA identity within dancehall music within the present colonially entangled Jamaican con(text).

While the researchers were insightful in using dancehall lyrics as a primary source for understanding heterosexist discourses in a neo-colonial Jamaican con(text), future research should consider identifying how heterosexism are constructed distinctly within each group in the LGBTQIA community.

Furthermore, LGBTQIA as a term of reference for heterosexist discourses was useful in understanding the broadly the sex/gender ideals embedded in dancehall lyrics. The LGBTQIA generally represented that marginalised status and centred around the ideas of 'homosexual' males. This was important in understanding the extent to which dancehall lyrics is gendered and affects different members both inside and outside of the LGBTQIA group differently. Thus, besides being used a politically correct label as expressed in popular culture, the term LGBTQIA is an essential tool of analysis in understanding heterosexism.

Future research should consider a cross-cultural analysis of dancehall lyrics and how persons within the different Caribbean islands perceive and are influenced by dancehall music.

References


"Although you might find it difficult to understand the lyrics written in Jamaican patois (batty man, chi chi man, funny man, fassy, faggot), they are all, nonetheless, pejorative appellations for gays" (IMD 1980).

**Dancehall Lyrics of the three selected songs for data analysis**

**Batty Boy (Stay Far From We) (2006) by Dr. Evil.**

A wha' happen to some bwoy now ("Me nuh know enuh")
A walk 'bout with dem bloodclaat faggot self
A wha' happen to dem?!
Dem think a bumboclaat foreign this?! ("A wha' do dem?")
Yo!
Leggo 'bout yah!

[Chorus]
Battyboy's
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna (nope!)
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
Forever!
Battyboy's
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
Forever!

[Verse 1: Dr.Evil]
Right Mini Me? ("yup!")
Vagina was made for the penis
Not penis for penis
Not penis for anus
Adam was made for Eve
He was not made for Steve
No 'if's', no 'but's', no 'maybe's'
Dicks and butts will make no babies
Man to man is so unjust
Man to man just brings disgust
I dont even like the word bottom
Never gonna get to the bottom of things
Never gonna hit rock bottom (nope!)
Never gonna go to the bottom of a street
I dont like Marvin Gaye
Why is her named Peter Gaye?
If I should sprain my ankle
I will never use Bengay

Dem fi gweh!

[Chorus]
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
Forever!
Battyboy's
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
Forever!

[Verse 2: Dr.Evil]
Right Mini Me? ("yup!")
Testing, testing
1-3
Don't test 2, you will get slewed
We check females, not emails
At Yahoo, no Hotmail
Not manly, I'm not Edna
Or Norman, that's not normal
Those guys who say that they are Mormons...
More woman!
Dem fi gweh!

[Chorus]
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna (nope!)
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
Forever!
Battyboy's
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Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
   Forever!
   Battyboy's
Dem need fi stay far we (dem fi gweh!)
'Cause we nuh inna wha' dem inna
Pussy a wha' buddy fi a go inna
   Forever!

Source: Genius Lyrics
Dancehall Lyrics: https://genius.com/Dr-evil-batty-boy-stay-far-from-we-lyrics

Source: Youtube
Dancehall Song: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CeKQCT-ke5I
Murder Inna Dancehall is a website that exposes the violent and disrespectful lyrics conveyed in dancehall music towards the gay and lesbian community.

Although you might find it difficult to understand the lyrics which are written in Jamaican patois (batty man, chi chi man, funny man, fassy, faggot), they are all, nonetheless, pejorative appellations for gays.

**EXTRACT or TRANSLATION FROM PATOIS**

All batty man fi dead! [All gays must be killed!]

From you fuck batty den a coppa and lead
[If you fuck ass, then you get copper and lead [bullets]]

Nuh man nuh fi have a another man in a him bed
[No man must have another man in his bed]

**Batty Man Fi Dead – Beenie Man** (aka: Weh Yuh No Fi Do)
Ya
Wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom
Wha u nuh fi do, suck pum pum
Wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom
Wha u nuh fi do, suck pum pum
Wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom
Wha u nuh fi do, suck pum pum
wha u nuh fi do, fuck bottom

Chorus
From u fuck well a copper an lead
nuh man nuh fi have aneda man inna him bed
naaa aaaaaa, battyman fi dead (shot up dem bloodclaat)
Tell dem aready, mi nah go tell dem again
from u suck pussy u are not my friend
naaaa aaaaaaa, bowcat fi dead (smaddy pass mi lass)
Anyway
Verse 1
long time di battyman ting get fi cut out
all fish get gut out
Tink say a lie?
all dem eye we a cut out
How di man ting drop in?
an woman a get shut out
pop out mi glock an dem forhead we butt out
some gyal a lesbian, have nex gyal a suck out
u have some nasty boy have man tongue a suck out
u nuh nasty bloodclaat fi have a nex man a fuck out
battyboy head fi get pluk out

Chorus
From u fuck well a copper an lead
nuh man nuh fi have aneda man inna him bed
naaa aaaaaa, battyman fi dead (shot up dem bloodclaat)
Tell dem aready, mi nah go tell dem again
from u suck pussy u are not my friend
naaaa aaaaaaa, bowcat fi dead (smaddy pass mi lass)
Verse 2
pum pum fi get tear out, some man a tun queer
pum pum roun a front, wha u doin at di rear
u inna reverse my ute change yuh gear
gyal say she want cocky u a tell her u scare
some man a tun pussy inna bulla an pear
can cook panty meat(?) caw yuh teet full a hair
some man a use dem hood cotch man like a chair
fi battyboy mi have some chat from Ziare

Chorus
2020-3520-AJSS

From u fuck well a copper an lead
nuh man nuh fi have aneda man inna him bed
naaaa aaaaaaa, battyman fi dead (shot up dem bloodclaat)
Tell dem aready, mi nah go tell dem again
from u suck pussy u are not my friend
naaaa aaaaaaa, bowcat fi dead (smaddy pass mi lass)

Anyway
Eeh, if a Bob Marley tell dem say emancipate yuhself from mental slavery
a pare bumboclaat battyman dung a emancipation park
but mi nuh know a wha a gwaan a bloodclaat Jamaica u nuh
but my yute mi can tell u one bloodclaat ting

Verse 3
Serious my youth mi nah laugh
a mi glack a mek a walk a emancipation park
mi hear say battyboy down deh a tek photograph
an some head fi chop off an some life fi lock off
mi ago see if dem nah run when mi gun start bark
nuh pussy cyaa laugh when bad man a talk
unu push up unu head like some rassclaat girrafe
bus it inna two like moses staff
pick an stick a bare blood man a cough

Ya
From u fuck well a copper an lead
nuh man nuh fi have aneda man inna him bed
naaaa aaaaaaa, battyman fi dead (shot up dem bloodclaat)
Tell dem aready, mi nah go tell dem again
from u suck pussy u are not my friend
naaaa aaaaaaa, bowcat fi dead (smaddy pass mi lass)

Source: Soul Rebels: Murder inna Dancehall
Dancehall Lyrics:
https://www.soulrebels.org/dancehall/u_lyrics_battyman1.htm

Source: Youtube
Dancehall Song:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5k_1us9W8p0&list=RD5k_1us9W8p0&start_radio=1
Boom Bye Bye – Buju Banton made in (1988)
Became popular in 1992

Murder Inna Dancehall is a website that exposes the violent and disrespectful lyrics conveyed in dancehall music towards the gay and lesbian community.

Although you might find it difficult to understand the lyrics which are written in Jamaican patois (batty man, chi chi man, funny man, fassy, faggot), they are all, nonetheless, pejorative appellations for gays.

EXTRACT or TRANSLATION FROM PATOIS

Boom bye bye
[Boom (as in gun sound) goodbye, goodbye]
(as in we won’t be seeing you again, you’re dead)

Inna batty bwoy head
[In a queer’s head]

Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
[Rude boys don’t promote no queer men] (Rude boys: dancehall singers)

Dem haffi dead
[They have to die]

Send fi di matic an
[Send for the automatic [gun] and]

Di Uzi instead
[The Uzi instead]

Shoot dem no come if we shot dem
[Shoot them, don’t come if we shoot them] (as in don’t come to help them)

Guy come near we
[If a man comes near me]

Then his skin must peel
[Then his skin must peel] (as in pour acid over him)

Burn him up bad like an old tire wheel
[Burn him up badly, like you would burn an old tire wheel]
World is in trouble
Anytime Buju Banton come
Batty bwoy get up an run
At gunshot me head back
Hear I tell him now crew

(Its like) Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
Dem haffi dead
Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
Dem haffi dead

(Two man) Hitch up on an rub up on
An lay down inna bed
Hug up on another
Anna feel up leg
Send fi di matic an
Di Uzi instead
Shoot dem no come if we shot dem--
  Don't want Jackie
  Give dem Paul instead
Dem don't want di sweetness
Between di leg
Gal bend down backway
An accept di peg
An if it really hot
You know she still naw gon fled
  A some man
  Still don't want di
  Panty raid
Pure batty business dem love

(Me say) Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
Dem haffi dead
Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
Dem haffi dead

(Woman is di) Greatest thing
God ever put pon di land
Buju lovin dem from head
Down to foot bottom
But some man a turn around
Where dem get that from
Peter is not for Janet
Peter is for John
Suzette is not for Paul
Suzette is for Ann
Where the bobocloth
Dem get dat from

Here come the DJ
Name Buju Banton
(Come fi) ((Straighten yuh talk?))

(Boom boom boom) Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
Dem haffi dead
Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
Dem haffi dead

(Caw me say) Dis is not an bargain (Me say)
Dis is not a deal
Guy come near we
Then his skin must peel
Burn him up bad like an old tire wheel

(gwaan buju banton yuh tough)

(Me say) Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote the batty man
Dem haffi dead
Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
(Hear what now!)

(Two man) A hug up on an kiss up on
An lay down inna bed
Hug up on another
Anna rub dung leg
Send fi di matic an
Di Uzi instead

Shoot di batty boy come if we shot dem--
Dem don't want Jackie
  Give dem Paul instead
Don't want di poom poom
  Between Patsy leg
  All dem want
  Is the body from Fred
  But dis is Buju Banton
    Me say

(Me say) Boom bye bye
  Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
  Dem haffi dead
  Boom bye bye
    Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no nasty man
    Dem haffi dead

Caw woman is the prettiest thing
  God ever put pon di land
Put pon di land (Pu-pu-pu put pon di land)
  But some man a turn around
  Where dem get dat from
    Peter is not for Janet
    Peter is for John
  Suzette is not for Paul
    Suzette is for Ann
Here come di DJ name Buju Banton (Come fi)
  Give di massive
  Satisfaction
  Happy how yuh lovin (Ju fi)

(So just) Boom bye bye
  Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
  Dem haffi dead
  Boom bye bye
    Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
    Dem haffi dead
All a di New York crew
  Dem no promote Batty man
    Jump an dance
  Unno push up unno hand
    All di Brooklyn girl
Dem no promote batty man
Jump an bogle
Anna wine yuh bottom
Canadian gals dem no like batty man
If yuh are not one
Yuh haffi push up

(Me say) Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
Dem haffi dead
Boom bye bye
Inna batty bwoy head
Rude bwoy no promote no batty man
Dem haffi dead

Source: Soul Rebels: Murder inna Dancehall
Lyrics: https://www.soulrebels.org/dancehall/u_lyrics_battyman1.htm

Source: Youtube
Song: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dysiHm_ness