3. SUBVERTING AND CHALLENGING PATRIARCHY THROUGH POPULAR MUSIC IN BOTSWANA

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Abstract

Songs are an integral part of most, if not all, societies around the world. The primary function of songs is entertainment; however, they perform other functions as well, such as providing an understanding of the daily lives of the people, expressing personal views and opinions, transmitting societal and cultural norms and beliefs, subverting and questioning the status quo, and so forth. Using a feminist approach, this paper analyses a song entitled Magosi (Tlhatswa Lesire) thematically to find out what issues are being communicated. This paper argues that the artist uses this verbal art form to critique and ridicule societal and cultural expectations in Botswana. The study uses data collected from interviewing a selected group of men and women, including desktop research. It concludes that songs are a medium through which Batswana women can challenge and subvert the inequality and patriarchal ideology prevalent in their societies that can exacerbate internalised sexism in women.

Keywords: patriarchy; motherhood; marriage; childbearing; popular music

Introduction and background

Botswana, like most African societies, is a patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal society. According to Gromov (2016), "patriarchy is a social system in which adult males hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, and control of property. In the domain of the family, fathers (or father figures) hold authority over the women and children." (n. p). In most patriarchal societies, men make rules, dominate, and control both the private and public spheres. Patriarchy, therefore, means the man is considered the head of the household; while patrilineal means the children inherit their lineage from their father, and patrilocal means that upon marriage, the woman moves from her parents' home to her husband's home. According to Nganase and Basson (2017), the daughter-in-law is expected to reside with her husband's family to learn the newly adopted family culture of the in-laws. Failure for the daughter-in-law to follow the expected practices of the in-laws can result in a negative effect on the mother-daughter-in-law relations. Furthermore, Israel (2018) states that "while the Xhosa home has been modernised and changed, it is still expected of a woman to conform to traditional and cultural practices such as joining her husband's family after marriage" (p. 5). She also argued that this movement comes with a lot of expectations, such as learning and abiding by the culture and customs of her in-laws. These expectations put pressure on the daughter-in-law.

In addition, marriage is an essential part of womanhood (Mbiti, 1980). In Botswana, marriage is considered an important institution that every man and woman must go through (Nhlekisana, 2013). Marriage is also not viewed as a union between a man and a woman only but their extended families as well. It is through marriage that a formal relationship of in-laws is formed. The in-laws play a significant role in the lives of the newlywed couple. They can either build or break this union. Studies (Nganase & Basson, 2017; Nhlekisana, 2005; Phiri& Sarojini, 2009; Stuffelbeam & Fuseina, 2012) have shown that the relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is usually problematic. Many factors, such as education, urbanisation, and globalisation, are attributed to this problem.

Furthermore, in recent years, Botswana has seen significant growth in the production of popular music by either male or female artists or both. Popular songs deal with various issues such as love, marriage, infidelity, governance, gender abuse, corruption, development, sexuality, and so forth. This paper focuses on a song entitled *Magosi (Tlhatswa Lesire)* by one of Botswana's well-known female artists, Magdalene Lesolebe, commonly known as Charma Gal. The paper argues that Charma Gal uses this song to critique and ridicule the Setswana societal and cultural expectations about marriage, precisely that after marriage, a woman is expected to give birth/have a baby. *Tlhatswa Lesire* literally means to wash the wedding gown or wedding veil. However, the actual meaning of this expression is that a woman should give birth or have a baby after marriage.

Methodology

The research was conducted in Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana. The data was collected using in-depth interviews and open-ended questions. *This is a qualitative study in which data were collected from interviewing a selected group of men and women, including desktop research.* Ten men and ten women of varying ages were interviewed to solicit their views and opinions about this song. The interviewees were familiar with the lyrics of the song because the song was very popular, as it was played almost daily on various local radio stations and at many social gatherings throughout the country in 2019, the period during which the research was conducted. The song was also transcribed for ease of analysis.

Theoretical Framework

The song under discussion is analysed thematically using a feminist approach to uncover the relationship between men and women and amongst women themselves that mostly impacts the social well-being of women. Generally, feminism seeks to highlight and to fight against all forms of oppression, including internalised sexism whereby "women enact learned sexist behaviour upon themselves and other women" (Bearman et al., 2009). The theme is generally perceived as the central idea or meaning of any work. Therefore, thematic analysis focuses on the message that is being portrayed and communicated. In this instance, the focus is on what the song is talking about, what message or messages the persona is trying to communicate through this song. In addition, attention is paid to the kind of language used by the persona to communicate her message(s). For example, does the persona use satire, irony, parody, humour, and so forth?

Analysis of the Song

Songs are a powerful medium of communication through which people's views and opinions are transmitted. They are also used to transmit societal and cultural expectations; however, some may be used to critique or ridicule such expectations. Hale and Sidikou (2013) stated that "in many cultures, songs are seen primarily for entertainment. The form appears more important than the message. But on closer examination, one can learn as much about a people from songs as one can from any other source". Further, Ndungo (2002) argued that songs and proverbs are a means of constructing and upholding the values which communities want to maintain and promote. As already mentioned, this paper analyses the song *Magosi (Tlhatswa Lesire)* thematically to see what issues are being revealed and communicated to the audience and listeners in general. Attention is also paid to the kind of language used by the artist. The analysis reveals that the artist uses this verbal art form to critique and ridicule the societal expectations that, after marriage, a woman is expected to give birth/have a child/baby. This song also highlights and brings to the fore the problems that newly married women

in Botswana face due to societal expectations and the patriarchal nature of the society. The song further expresses one of the many challenges faced by women in the domestic sphere, namely, extended family obligations. Interestingly, it is women who create problems for other women instead of supporting each other. Five themes will be discussed, namely, childbearing, motherhood and motherly roles, work ethics and gender roles, warning against promiscuity and children from different fathers. This song is an indirect criticism of patriarchy and its attendant vices.

1. Childbearing

In Botswana, like in most societies across the world, there are numerous socio-cultural expectations of a newly married daughter-in-law. One of these expectations is procreation. Procreation is one of the main reasons for marriage, and without it, marriage is considered incomplete. Okereke (1994) stated that "the stereotypic role of women in the traditional society is that of mother and wife. Her primary function is that of procreation, which is the primary reason for marriage" (p. 19). Likewise, childbearing is a great necessity to the Batswana, and it is the most vital reason for entering marriage. Okereke (1994) again stated that "the ability to bear children is regarded as the crowning glory of a woman. Traditionally, men and women marry and bear children, and so a woman who is incapable of having children is deemed to be the unhappiest being, no matter the affluence in which she lives" (p. 31). Based on this expectation, it can be understandable why there is havoc in the village because, contrary to societal expectations, the newly married girl has not given birth yet. The havoc is so intense that the elders or chiefs of the village are so concerned that they had to intervene by asking the women what the problem is. This is verified by the excerpt below:

Magosi a simolola go totomela (Chiefs started to seriously question)

Ba re naare kgaruuruu ke ya eng bommebasadi (They asked the women what the havoc is about)

Ba re re thuseng batho nna re tlhasetswe (The women said, elders help us, we are unhappy)

Nna re tlhasetswe ke ngwanyana Letswapong x 2 (We are unhappy because of a girl from Tswapong)

The above excerpt indicates the level at which childbearing is fundamental in most traditional African societies. In their study of traditional Igbo songs, Ezeifika and Ogbazi (2016) argued that "the importance of procreation as a woman's role in marriage is so profound that the daughters of the kindred have a song in the form of a prayer that the land into which their sister is married will bless her with children (give her a seat) to stabilise her sojourn" (p. 8). This is not surprising because children are considered the future leaders of Botswana in particular and the world at large. So, a woman who does not give birth is seen as stifling this expectation and worldview.

Consequently, a barren or childless woman is highly detested by society. Unfortunately, in most African societies, when a couple does not have children, the blame is placed on the woman without any medical proof. This is succinctly captured by Jeremiah (2014), who said, "the responsibility of having children rests solely with the woman. Failure is her problem and shame, and it has nothing to do with the man as far as the community is concerned" (p. 6). However, it has been found that at times the problem is not with the woman but with the man, but the man is never held responsible for this problem. Jeremiah (2014) further argued that "invariably, it (culture) has heaped so many expectations on her to perform so much in the art of procreation. There are families in which women are being blamed for the problem of childbirth when it is not their fault (p. 8). From this song, it can be argued that the patriarchal system in which the woman finds herself is imposing childbearing and mothering on her; hence, the village women, possibly her in-laws, confront her about the issue of not having a baby. This is evidenced by the excerpt below:

Ke ne ke iketile le mme matsale (I was relaxing with my mother-in-law)

Re iketile re ntse mo segotlwaneng (We were relaxing, we were sitting in the courtyard) Ga tla bomme segongwana (When a group of women came)
Ba re mmemme tlhatswa lesire x 3 (They said: girl wash your wedding gown)

It can be deduced from the above excerpt that the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law had a good relationship, even though the daughter-in-law had not had a baby yet. However, the other women of this kin were obviously not happy, hence they confronted their daughter-in-law. Their confrontation with their daughter-in-law is a clear indication that women contribute to and perpetuate the patriarchal social order. This is also a clear indication of internalised sexism. The women deliberately forget that women have a personal choice to have or not have a child. Another unfortunate thing is that the in-laws never take it upon themselves to find out from the couple the reason for not having a child. They just direct the blame to the woman. Nowadays, it is common for couples to decide not to have children immediately after marriage for various reasons. This song is rebutting the patriarchal thinking and ideology that forces women to be mothers and determines the conditions of motherhood. This ideology of womanhood is considered one of the causes of women's oppression. In response to the accusations levelled against her, the persona said:

Ka re nna laaka lesire le mo sebolokelong (I told them that I have safely kept my wedding gown)
Ke le tlhatswitse ka ba ka le gotlha le ka meshini (I washed it and even used a washing machine)
A re mmematsale a tshega a gelela keledi (My mother-in-law laughed so hard that tears came from her eyes)

A re ngwanaka ba raya gore o ba tsholele lesea (She said my daughter, they mean you should have a baby/give birth)

A re ka tenega ka ba ka raga tekesele (I was so angry that I even kicked the stool)

The persona deliberately uses the literal translation of tlhatswa lesire (to wash the wedding gown) as a form of mockery of the women. It can be deduced from the fact that there was havoc in the village concerning her and she knew what they meant, but she decided to ridicule them by playing dumb and pretending not to understand what tlhatswa lesire means. Her seemingly stupid response leaves her mother-in-law roaring with laughter. It is only after her mother-in-law tells her what the women mean that she gets angry. Her reaction can be viewed as an indication that she feels her private life is being invaded and violated. She strongly believes that she has the right to choose when she wants to have a child. In other words, the decision lies with her and not with society or her in-laws. In their study, Ezeifeka and Ogbazi (2016) stated that "a child is a woman's assurance of a stable marriage. Without a child, a woman's sojourn to her husband's house is shaky as she has not been 'given a strong seat' (p. 7). "Bless her with children (give her a seat) to stabilise her sojourn. Childbearing will always give her the woman succour and she will find solace in her children" (Ezeifeka & Ogbazi, 2016, p. 9). It is this kind of thinking that the persona is ridiculing in this song. Such thinking also puts pressure on the couple, precisely the woman, to have children even if they are not ready to do so. In most African societies, and Botswana in particular, married women with children are highly respected because "childbearing is seen as a means of the continuation of the bloodline of the family. Furthermore, barrenness is viewed as a curse and a woman who suffers such is treated with contempt, disdain, and the lowest form of respect is accorded her" (Jeremiah, 2014, p. 1). Okereke (1994) also argued that "barrenness in the traditional community is seen as a failure in life" (p. 28). In the song under discussion, the woman was not barren, but rather, she was not ready to have a baby yet. Unfortunately, her in-laws and society judged her wrongly.

2. Motherhood and motherly roles

Closely related to childbearing is motherhood and the responsibilities associated with it. In the Setswana culture and most cultures globally, mothers are expected to play certain roles, especially

that of taking care of the children and being motherly. The care includes but is not limited to bathing them, feeding them, nurturing them, and doing their laundry. They also take care of the household by cleaning it and ensuring that it is habitable and hospitable. Cooking and fetching water are also some of the responsibilities and roles assigned to women. In the song under discussion, the persona gives reasons why she does not want to have a baby. She said:

A re naare ke molato go nna legammana (Is it my problem that I am slim and good looking)
Ke tshwanelwa ke diaparo tse ka ke di ithoketse (With my clothes fitting me very well because I bought them)

A re nna ga ke ready go lwela seipone (I am not ready to fight for a mirror)

Ke setswe morago ke motho ka hentebekenyana (Being followed around by somebody carrying a small handbag)

In the first line above, the persona describes herself as legammana which means being slim and goodlooking. In the Setswana culture, in most instances, after a woman gives birth, she gains a lot of weight. This is because she is fed a lot so that she can produce enough breastmilk to feed the baby. In this instance, the persona does not want to lose her slim and good-looking body. She also wants to continue wearing her clothes which fit her very well, hence, ke tshwanelwa ke diaparo tse ka ke di ithoketse. The persona is also indirectly accusing the woman of being jealous of her because of her good looks. Further, contrary to the patriarchal ideology and expectation that men should provide for women's needs financially and materially, she clearly stated that ke di ithoketse (I bought them myself), showing that she is financially independent. In other words, she does not need a man for her well-being. This is corroborated by Ezeifeka and Ogbazi (2016), who said "the song encourages women to take their destiny into their hands and not be lazy or wait for somebody to feed them. They should no longer be content with the identity of eater/consumer but should also be a provider (p. 10). According to Kandiyoti (1988), "typically, it is the woman who is primarily responsible for her own and her children's upkeep, including meeting the costs of their education. Women have very little to gain and a lot to lose by becoming totally dependent on husbands, and hence they quite rightly resist projects that tilt the delicate balance they strive to maintain. In their protests, wives are safeguarding already existing spheres of autonomy" (p. 277). Nowadays, women are fighting for their autonomy and to be less dependent on men. They are challenging patriarchal norms and their devices in various ways, including songs, poetry, and fiction, to name a few.

In the third and fourth lines, she comes out clearly stating the reasons why she has made a decision not to have a baby; namely, not to share a mirror and being followed around by somebody carrying a small handbag. The third sentence indicates that she always uses the mirror to ensure that she is looking good and probably to check on her weight. As mentioned earlier, giving birth may change her body size, she may gain weight and become big, and hence lose her beauty, something she is not prepared to do. The persona's use of the words mirror and handbag makes us assume that the baby will be a girl because usually, it is women and girls who like to use the mirror and carry handbags. However, these words could also be symbolic of all the activities that she would be expected to do and to share with the baby, such as food, clothing, a room, money, and so forth. In another excerpt, she said, nna ke tshaba go reka mopako (I am scared of buying food for a packed lunch). Nowadays, when children go to school, they carry packed lunchboxes, a responsibility that they are not ready to perform yet. There are many roles and responsibilities that mothers are expected to perform in the Botswana society, such as taking care of the family, taking care of the household, cooking, sweeping, doing laundry, and taking care of the children. The song indicates that the persona is not ready to have a baby and consequently perform any of the roles, duties, and responsibilities associated with motherhood. It can be inferred that she still wants to enjoy herself and the freedom of not having a baby to take care of because she knows that once she gives birth, that freedom will be gone.

3. Work ethics and gender roles

Another theme that comes out from this song is strong work ethics and gender roles. As already mentioned, Botswana, like most African societies, is patriarchal, and because of this social structure, there are specific roles assigned to men and women. The traditional Setswana society has a three-tier home system, namely the village, which is a domain for both men and women. The lands, where crops are grown a woman's domain, and the cattle post, where livestock, especially cattle, are kept, is the men's domain. Therefore, in Botswana, it is the responsibility of women to take care of the land or farms. In other words, farming and all its associated tasks, such as tilling, weeding, chasing away birds, and harvesting, to name but a few, are assigned roles for women. The song talks about this socially expected gender role of women, as shown below:

Ka re bomme ba ba ngata ba sebeditse masimong a bone (I am saying many women have worked in their fields)

Ba lemile ba kgomotse (They have ploughed and harvested)
Ebile ba bala le mofufutso ya bona (They are now enjoying the fruits of their labour)
Lona le setse nna morago (You are busy telling me)
Ka tlhatswa lesire (About having a baby)

In the above excerpt, the persona starts by praising the women who have worked hard in their fields or farms and have yielded good farm produce. She states that due to their hard work, the women are now enjoying the fruits of their labour. Thus, the women are applauded for being self-reliant and productive and for using their energies appropriately, especially where they also stand to benefit most. However, the song also ridicules the person's in-laws and or other women of the village who are misusing their energies by gossiping about her and for not minding their own business, hence *lona le setse nna morago ka tlhatswa lesire* (you are busy telling me to have a baby). She is ridiculing these women who, instead of telling her to have a baby they should be out there in the fields working to produce food for their families. The excerpt indirectly admonishes laziness and idleness, qualities that are not expected nor encouraged by society. It seems that the persona is encouraging these women to live up to the patriarchal expectation of being motherly and to perform their gender-specific roles accordingly, as this would consequently lead to social harmony.

4. Warning against promiscuity

In Botswana, marriage is supposed to be a revered institution that should be accorded the necessary respect it deserves. Infidelity is not condoned at all; married persons are expected to be faithful and loyal to each other; therefore, having extramarital relationships is seen as being disrespectful to the spouse and the entire family as well. This song ridicules and warns about the dangers of infidelity and promiscuity as stated below:

Ba bangwe le bake (Others be mindful)

Le bakele dithoto tsa batho (Be mindful of other people's property)

O ko o tswelele o tshware khubu ngwanaka (Continue and touch your belly button, my child)

O bakele dithoto tsa batho (Be mindful of other people's property)

O itome o itshware mohubu (Bite yourself and touch your belly button)

O bakele dithoto tsa batho (Be mindful of other people's property)

In the above excerpt, the person is ridiculing the women for being promiscuous and yet they have the guts to tell her to have a baby. She tells them to clean their houses first before they can point accusing fingers at her. The word *dithoto* literally means property but in this case, she is using it to mean other

people's husbands. The phrase *le bakele* is a causative derived from the verb *baka* (do not do something) and is usually used to indicate a strong admonition against something. Further, *go itshwara khubu* literally means to touch one's belly button, but it is used in Setswana to mean one should never repeat the wrong that they are doing, in this case having a relationship with a married man. The persona is taking a jibe at patriarchy which expects women to have children but at the same time turning a blind eye at men and women who are promiscuous.

5. Children from different fathers

The last theme that comes out of this song is the issue of having many children with different fathers. As already mentioned, due to the patriarchal nature of the Setswana society, a married woman is expected to bear children. The importance of children in marriage is summed up by Okereke (1994) who said "the child is the primary reason for sex. The child is also the beauty of a woman, for no matter how beautiful a woman is, hers is considered worthless beauty if she has no child. Without children, marriage and beauty are meaningless" (p. 29). Despite the importance of children, the Setswana society does not condone any unmarried person to have children though this happens a lot nowadays. In the song under discussion, the persona ridicules the women who accuse or bother her of not having a child that they have many children each with a different father hence the children have different looks, nationalities, personalities and so forth. She said:

O rata matimela ekare o seromamowa (You like stray animals as if you are a radio)
Saka la gago le tletse ka matshwaonyana (Your kraal is full of animals with different markings)
Tlhako ya phala sekei ka ha molemeng (Some with a mark on the left hoof)

The above except means that the woman has many children with different men whose traceability is questionable. There is a programme on Radio Botswana (RB1), the national radio station that announces stray cattle that have been found and kept in a safe place so that the owners can go and claim them. The announcement describes the stray cattle using their earmarks for ease of identification by the owners. So, the persona is ridiculing these women for sleeping with any man that passes by and having children with them which leads to the home being filled with children of different looks and personalities. She also takes a jibe at the women for having children whose fathers cannot be traced or are "lost" like the stray cattle. The persona further says, mo gongwe ga o kake wa itse gore a Machina kana MaKorea (You cannot tell whether some are Chinese or Korean). This is yet another jibe, ridiculing the women for having children with different men of different nationalities. She also says dingwaganyana tsa teng di katologana go se kahenyana meaning that the children are not properly spaced; that the age gap between them is very small. Furthermore, she says "A re le tse di senang marole di a bokolela" meaning that some of the women do not even have partners and yet they have the audacity to tell her to have a baby. The persona ridicules the women for talking about her and accusing her of not having a baby while they have issues concerning the children that they have born that they should be ashamed of. She is telling them to "clean their houses" first before they can talk about the dirt in other people's houses. In short, they should mind their own businesses more so that "A re mme tsa gago ga di buiwe ke ope" meaning that nobody is saying anything about your issues.

Language Use

Language is a powerful medium of communication. In the song under discussion, it is used to communicate and articulate the message (s) of the song. According to Israel (2018) language can make or break a human being simply in the way that it is used. Language can be used to keep women in a submissive space, or they can fight the feminist fight to accord them the dignity that they deserve (p. 16). In this song, the persona uses satire to drive her point home. Satire is the use of humour, irony,

exaggeration, or ridicule to expose and criticize a person's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of contemporary politics and other topical issues. Below is a discussion of some of the words or phrases that the persona uses to communicate her thoughts and feelings about childbearing and to ridicule patriarchal expectations of women.

Throughout the song, the persona uses the word *kgaruuruu* which means havoc. This is a strong word which signifies that there is a serious problem. The havoc caused by her not having a baby is so intense that even the village elders get involved hence magosi a simolola go totomela (chiefs started to pay serious attention). Go totomela indicates the intensity and serious attention given to an issue in this case that had caused havoc in the village. The word kgaruuruu is also used to emphasise the fact that the havoc does not only affect her in-laws but members of the entire village as well because everyone is talking about her in the village. When the women tell her tlhatswa lesire literally translated as wash the wedding gown/veil but actually mean have a baby, she responds in the literal sense and says laaka lesire le mo sebolokelong ke le tlhatswitse ka ba ka le gotlha ka meshini (I have put mine safely in the closet and I have washed it thoroughly using a washing machine). She is being sarcastic in a very humorous way but with the full intent of ridiculing the women who came to confront her about having a baby. This is humorous because even her mother-in-law laughs very hard to the extent that tears fall down her face mmematsale a tsheqa a qelela keledi. Another word that the persona uses is legammana (slim-looking). This word is usually used to describe a very slim and good-looking woman. By describing herself as legammana she is indirectly saying to the women that they have big bodies and are not good-looking. This also means she does not want to be like them because being pregnant and consequently having a baby she may lose her good looks, something she is not prepared to do at the moment. The persona employs sarcasm and humour to ridicule the women and other external agents who try to belittle her.

Furthermore, the persona uses words like *matimela* (stray animals), *seromamowa* (radio) and *dithoto* (property) ironically to rebuke the unbecoming, wayward and unscrupulous behaviour of the village women. As indicated earlier the persona says the women like stray animals like the radio, indirectly saying they like to have relationships with men who pass by. The men could also be well-known womanisers who people talk about almost daily like the stray animals announced on the radio. She also refers to other people's lovers as *dithoto* (property) and warns the women to stay away from such people as this may lead them into trouble and even cause them unnecessary heartaches. She ridicules them for their indiscriminate sexual behaviour by saying they have children whose identities or nationalities are difficult to tell, she says *mo gongwe ga o kake wa itse gore a MaChina kana MaKorea* (You won't know whether some are Chinese or Korean). Lastly, she says *gatwe nnywee nnywee tlhatswa lesire Nnywee, nnywee* to indirectly tell somebody that whatever they are saying does not make sense, but just making a lot of useless noise. Undoubtedly, the persona uses satire to express her displeasure with certain socio-cultural expectations and her shock at women victimising other women instead of supporting each other.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that songs are a medium through which women can challenge and subvert the inequality and patriarchal ideology prevalent in their societies. Women can also use their voices as a strategy to empower themselves and to change their social standing in the contemporary world they live in. In most African societies, women use song to comment on issues that affect them daily because song gives them the license to do so with impunity. It is interesting that in this song, the women advance patriarchy and are its gatekeepers; however, the persona in her defence attacks patriarchy. The kind of language and the inherent messages in this song show the different ways women resist, accommodate, adapt, and contest the patriarchal social order and assert their agency in these songs. These songs become veritable genres for women to talk back to patriarchy and call for compromise,

equity, and complementarity of both sexes (Ezeifeka & Ogbazi, 2016, p. 1). Finally, songs are a powerful medium through which cultural values, norms, and beliefs are transmitted; however, they can also be a vehicle through which social ills are critiqued, ridiculed, and redressed. Usually, this is done in a humorous, satirical, and ironic manner without losing the focus of driving the point home.

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