

**FRAMING GENDER IN KIRUNDI RADIO DRAMA
NINDE IN BURUNDI**

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Department of
Literature, Theatre and Film Studies; Moi University

November, 2017

DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

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DEDICATION

This work is warmly dedicated:

To the memory of my late father Sophonie Ntirumera. Thank you father for your great courage and sacrifice to send your female child to school! You denied yourself many pleasures for the sake of my education and comfort. May God rest your soul in eternal peace!

and

To you my sweet mother, my heroine Virginie Nikobasa. Without your sacrifice and encouragement during those early years, I would not have gone so far. *Warakoze cane*

Mama. (Thank you Mama.)

To you my darling husband Enock Niyongabo. Thank you very much dear for having facilitated my postgraduate studies and academic growth. Your love, your prayers and your support have eased this academic journey. I wish you God's blessing.

and

To you our lovely four *Buntu*: Love Ines Buntu, Sage Star Buntu, Milly Lewis Buntu and King Odrin Buntu. You missed a mother's warmth and care because of my absence at home when I went to pursue my PhD studies in Kenya. I pray that you will grow to become great people.

ABSTRACT

This study is situated within the broader context of edutainment programmes in East Africa. Specifically, it is an analysis of the conceptualization of framing of gender through the medium of dramatic sound. It examines how radio *Ninde* ‘visualizes’ masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) and power relations as part of the conscientisation agenda on the gender problematic in Burundi. The research questions that the study answers are: how is *Ninde* framed as a radio play form to popularize and enhance its reception?; what are the ways in which authors of *Ninde* imagine the gender problematic and how do they use language to visualise it?; how do masculine and feminine differences surface through the points of view, concerns, space allocation and values presented in the narratives?; and, what do these narratives suggest as resolutions to the gender conundrum? The study employs Erving Goffman’s concept of framing whose major premise is that particular frames instil a specific worldview in peoples’ minds through priming and making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. Goffman’s concept of framing is blended with Judith Butler’s idea of performative dimension of gender where she argues that everything, power relations inclusive, depends on how we perform our gender and so it is possible for individuals to change their performance. The two theories help to explain and illuminate how masculinities and femininities are framed through performance and to examine implications that framing gender and sexual values in a play form have towards generation of meaning(s) in the process of construction of gender reality. The study is qualitative and uses gender-based performance framing as critical discourse method of ten *Ninde* episodes, and concludes what follows. First, *Ninde* is framed as a theatre of the mind whose main purpose is to correct people by means of satire especially its inflection, the ridicule. It relies on dialogue, the comedic, exaggeration, metaphor and a formulaic approach, often one that simply contrasts characters of good moral standing against those of dubious repute to influence the gender imagination of its audiences. Second, *Ninde* demystifies the past glorified image of male through debunking myths of gender superiority and inferiority. Third, characterization in *Ninde* helps to recognize complexities of masculinity and femininity where they are defined as a series of shifting and fluid subjects rather than fixed and static ones. Characters’ performances affirm that there is no necessary relationship between one’s gender performance and one’s sex as had been previously thought of by essentialists. Fourth, *Ninde* projects a democratic vision of gender relations in the building of the modern family. The framing of gender in the sampled narratives revolves around the encapsulating proverb ‘*Ivyari imagera vyarageruye*’ (Circumstances have changed) which supports the claim that change is inevitable. From the analysis of the episodes, it is evident that in performance, gender is fluid, flexible, unstable and therefore changeable, with possibility of gender-switching in heterosexual context. The episodes analysed defy and undermine the earlier deterministic notions and understanding of gender.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
DEFINITION OF TERMS	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Orality, Performance and Radio Technology	1
1.3 Background to the Study.....	8
1.3.1 Geographical Background	8
1.3.2 Background to the Context of Gender in Burundi	10
1.3.2.1 Customs of Burundians.....	10
1.3.2.2 Marriage and Household Structure	12
1.3.2.3 Raising Children	14
1.3.2.4 General Perceptions and Conceptions of Men and Women among Burundian People.....	15
1.3.2.5 Trends of Change in the Socio-political Roles of Women in History	20
1.4 Statement of the Problem.....	23
1.5 Research Objectives	24
1.5.1 General Objective	24
1.5.2 Specific Objectives	25
1.6 Research Questions.....	25
1.7 Research Premises	25
1.8 Justification of the Study	26
1.9 Significance of the Study	29
1.10 Scope and Limitations of the Study	30
1.11 Literature Review.....	32
1.11.1 Gender Frameworks.....	33
1.11.2 Works on Media Communication in East Africa.....	40
1.11.3 Studies on Burundian Literature and Gender issues in Burundi.....	44

1.11.4 Studies on <i>Ninde</i> as drama in Burundi.....	47
1.12 Theoretical Framework.....	51
1.13 Research Methodology	62
1.13.1 Study Area	62
1.13.2 Research Design.....	62
1.13.3 Methods of Data Collection	63
1.13.4 Target Population of the Study	64
1.13.5 Sample and Sampling Procedure	64
1.13.6 Data Collection Instruments	66
1.13.7 Data Analysis Procedures	66
1.13.8 Ethical Consideration.....	70
1.14 Chapter Outline.....	70
CHAPTER TWO	71
<i>NINDE: THEATRE OF THE MIND</i>.....	71
2.1 Introduction.....	71
2.2 “ <i>Radio Télévision Nationale du Burundi</i> ” RTNB and censorship of radio programmes.....	73
2.3 The History and Design of the Radio Drama <i>Ninde</i>	76
2.4 The Plots of the Selected <i>Ninde</i>	85
2.5 The Comic and Satirical Aspects of the Radio <i>Ninde</i>	98
2.6 The Imagined Audience, its Engagement and Modelling.....	110
2.7 Conclusion	130
CHAPTER THREE	132
<i>URYA UWAVE UKINOVORA INTUNTU: THE AESTHETICS OF VIOLENCE IN NINDE DIALOGUE DECONSTRUCTING PATRIARCHAL HEGEMONY</i>	132
3.1 Introduction.....	132
3.2 How Does the Proverb Speak back to the Gender Debate?.....	134
3.3 The Conceptualization of the Family and Relatedness in <i>Ninde</i>	139
3.4 Male Brutality and Female Vulnerability: ‘Visualizing’ the Roots of the Problem	148
3.5 Daring the Forbidden: Debunking the Naturalized Unnatural Ideas about Power and Sexuality through Performance.....	169
3.6 Conclusion	189

CHAPTER FOUR.....	193
MASCULINIZATION VS. FEMINIZATION IN <i>NINDE</i>	193
4.1 Introduction.....	193
4.2 Masculinization in <i>Ninde</i>	196
4.2.1 Negative Masculinity	197
4.2.2 Masculinized Femininity (Female Masculinity).....	203
4.2.3 Opportunistic Masculinity	219
4.2.4 <i>Ubushingantahe</i> or Progressive masculinity	223
4.3 Feminization in <i>Ninde</i>	228
4.3.1 Emphasized Femininity	228
4.3.2 Feminized Masculinity (Male Femininity)	232
4.4 Females' Negative Masculinity: A Threat to the Men's and Women's World ...	241
4.5 Conclusion	251
CHAPTER FIVE	255
<i>IVYARI IMAGERA VYARAGERUYE: GENDER DEMOCRATIZATION IN</i>	
<i>THE BUILDING OF THE MODERN FAMILY AND NATION IN <i>NINDE</i> ...</i>	255
5.1 Introduction.....	255
5.2 Men, Women and Gender Politics at Home in <i>Ninde</i>	258
5.3 The Relativity of Framing Strategies in radio <i>Ninde</i> : Rethinking Power and Solidarity in Gender and Dominance.....	278
5.4 Masculinity, Femininity, Feminized Masculinity and Masculinized Femininity	288
5.5 Conclusion	302
CHAPTER SIX	304
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	304
6.1 Summary	304
6.2 Conclusions.....	315
6.3 Areas for Further Research	317
REFERENCES	319
APPENDIX: RESEARCH PERMIT	328

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research owes its completion to the important help, support and insights of many individuals and institutions from near and far whom I can never thank enough. I am happy to extend my sincere appreciation to all of them, but I feel indebted to mention the following in particular.

First and foremost, I wish to acknowledge greatly my debt of gratitude to the Government of Burundi for having educated me since Grade One, and above all for having sponsored my postgraduate studies for the Master's degree in Makerere University in Uganda and the doctoral programme at Moi University in Kenya. May they find here an expression of my sincere gratitude. The staff and the management of *Ecole Normale Supérieure* of Burundi where I am employed are also highly appreciated for their support.

Second, I wish to express my deepest and heartfelt gratitude and my esteem to my supervisors Professor Christopher Joseph Odhiambo and Dr. Samuel M. Ndogo for their professional guidance and encouragement since the early stage of the project throughout to the completion of the research. It was a great privilege and a pleasure to do research under your mentorship. I acknowledge your critical insights and comments, your patience in my ups and downs during the writing process. Your professional expertise, constructive criticism, honest evaluation and suggestions provided me with the support and inspiration that have made the thesis come to this shape. I also owe much to other lecturers in the Department of Literature, Theatre and Film Studies, Moi University whose efforts sharpened my critical thinking. Your academic input as well as helpful insights inspired me, strengthened my sense of taste of literature in general and drama in particular and broadened my understanding of its utility to humanity. In a special way, my appreciation goes straight to Professor Peter Tirop Simatei, Associate Professor Hellen Roselyne Lung'aho Shigali and Associate Professor Tom Michael Mboya. I am indebted to all of you and I am very proud to be called your student.

Third, I am very grateful to all the people who facilitated the field work process of gathering the necessary data to this study at *Radio Télévision Nationale du Burundi* (RTNB). Special thanks go to the office of Director General of RTNB and particularly

to Mr. Gervais Ndiokubwayo and Mrs. Consolate Sindakirimana, current producers of radio *Ninde* at the Burundi National Radio. My acknowledgements are also directed to Mr. Juvenal, Mr. Sadi and Mr. Cyriaque who provided me with useful translations. I also thank very much the kind and helpful staff of the Central Library of the University of Burundi, of Margaret Thatcher Library of Moi University and of the Directorate of International Office for their various forms of assistance that made possible the completion of this research.

Next, my acknowledgements go straight to my PhD programme cohortmates Mrs. Emily Okhoba, Mr. Ambrose Keitany, Mr. Antony Wasena and Mr. Lawrence Sikuku who provided me with moral support, encouragement and academic cooperation. Our class discussions during the coursework year challenged me, shaped me and provided me with helpful insights. May you find here my expression of appreciation. I would also like to attribute special thanks to Burundian fellow students and Grace Chapel members at Moi University who made enjoyable my academic life and my stay in Kenya.

Last but not least, I say ‘Thank you very much’ to all those who made it possible that I discover myself, those who believed in me before I knew much about myself. I am referring to my parents, brothers, sisters, all my teachers, relatives, friends and even strangers who made me realise what it means to be myself. I am very grateful to family members for their never-ending love, encouragement, moral and practical support, especially those who helped take care of our children during the six-year period of study. I do not mention your names for fear of forgetting some of you good people! You have been an instrument to my accomplishments. To all those who contributed to the completion of this journey I really express my sincere gratitude for their invaluable contribution.

Mwarakoze cane

Merci beaucoup

Thank you very much

Asanteni sana

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Before discussing the framing of gender in radio *Ninde*, it is imperative to consider some key terms and offer their working definitions in order to provide a common ground for readers.

Drama *Ninde*: It has to be understood as enacted dialogues which use satirical humour to ridicule or criticize faults. It is a work of art whose enjoyment depends on imitation and mimicry, a representation of life in a detached but more active way than can be conveyed through descriptive words alone. The events and characters are depicted as comedy and treated more or less realistically even cynically to comment comically (satirical comment) and dramatically on the foibles and the faults of everyday life while projecting the desired change. Drama *Ninde* may cause either laughter or arouse the feeling of pity or both.

Entertainment-Education (E-E) or Edutainment: It is a programme with a dual purpose of entertaining while educating the audience on matters of social concerns. This study uses Singhal's and Rogers's (2004, p.5) ideas of E-E as "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior" (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004). Entertainment-Education approach capitalizes on the popular appeal of entertainment media in order to educate individuals on how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives. The entertainment format allows audiences to acquire knowledge and models and make personal decisions without appearing to be preached to.

Femininity and Masculinity: Femininity is about the roles and qualities that are considered to be typical to women, while masculinity is about the roles and qualities that are considered to be typical to men by a particular culture. They are perceptions of femaleness and maleness that are seen as emphasized, dominant, natural and privileged and that are taken as the norm in a particular society. But because of particular circumstances one can witness femininity in men and masculinity in women, which is often considered to be negative by retrogressive people due to its contradiction of traditional gender roles. Femininity or masculinity is also a performance, which is contextual and can also vary according to time and culture. Women too can perform masculinity as men can perform femininity, what has been referred to as gender-switching in this study.

Framing: Framing is ubiquitous in virtually all discourse and all instances of language use as a way of getting specific messages across or exchanging specific ideas, and framing is used as a discursive strategy, quite often as a means of persuasion or instilling a specific worldview in peoples' minds. I also appropriate the term to refer to aesthetics or symbols that are used to package and communicate messages in radio *Ninde*. Framing essentially involves *selection* and *salience*. To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described (Entman, 1993, p.52).

Gender: is a socio-cultural concept that refers to social, cultural and psychological constructs that constantly refer to bodies and what bodies do, based on their sex. It involves social norms, attitudes and activities that society considers more appropriate

for one sex over another, which differ widely between cultures and over time within the same culture. Traditionally, this resulted into a strict boundary between masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) and influences the relation of power.

Gender power relations: It is the exercise of domination by one gender over the other, especially male dominance and female subordination. The equation of power with domination assumes that power is something that the dominating group (men) exercises and the other group (women) does not. But this definition of power also accounts for women's (the dominated category) attempts to resist and subvert male domination in the gender power relations. So gender conception of power in the gender relation matrix is complex. The conception of power in this study takes into consideration the complex nature of power relations in contemporary societies, whereby individuals can be both dominated and empowered at the same time, or whereby the dominated can become the dominant and the dominant become the dominated. Power shows who is in control.

Patriarchal hegemony: is an ideological construct with a negative connotation. It is a system of social structures that institutionalise male physical, social and economic power over women or put differently it is the male control of culture, religion, language and knowledge which tend to devalue female experiences and knowledge. It considers men (who are the patriarchs) as fundamentally superior to women. Patriarchal power structure works to benefit males by constraining female's life chances and choices. It is another way of naming the institutionalized sexism, that is, institutionalised discrimination, exploitation and oppression based on sex.

Patriarchy or patriarchal order: Patriarchy means a social system in which men are regarded as authority within the family. It refers to a social system whereby descent is traced through the father and not the mother, and inheritance is from father to son and not mother to child. Descent and inheritance are patrilineal. As such the concept has a positive connotation, just like in case it would be matriarchy or matriarchal order with the mother in the centre.

Popular: In this study, the term popular refers to the category of people from where the artistic product emanates who are ordinary men and women. The authors of *Ninde* are less educated people though their production is consumed by people of all categories. This study also assumes that what is popular is by definition good and approved. And when talking about **popular culture**, it refers to the traditional aspect of life of Burundians such as family life, social organization, and customs and so on, before being tempered with the external influence. Popular culture displays traditionality and is relatively static.

Popularized culture: It refers to the influence of the official discourse in the aspects of life such as using hospitals, sending children to schools, issues of human rights, and gender equality and so on, and the pushing of this new vision toward the desired change. Popularized culture displays innovation and is therefore relatively dynamic.

Umugabo/ man and Umugore / woman: It is also important to define the two Kirundi terms *umugabo*/ man and *umugore* / woman which are the key lexemes in framing gender. In Kirundi language, the term *umugore* / woman seems to be always used as an antonym to *umugabo*/ man according to tradition. Kirundi has one term *umugore* for both *wife* and *woman* and one term *umugabo* for both *husband* and *man*.

The term *umugabo* comes from the Kirundi verb *kugaba* having two fundamental meanings, which are ‘to command, to give the orders, to rule or to control’ and ‘to give somebody something’. The two meanings are linked because you give freely something on which you exercise right of possession, and to yield your possession is a form of exercising power (Ntahomvukiye, 1991).

And when one possesses or has what to offer, it means he is rich. That is why a rich or strong person, be it physically, morally or economically and the best performer is metaphorically referred to as “*umugabo*”/ man because wealth and strength were traits exclusively for men in the past. The concept of “*umugabo*”/man has at least three meanings: Male adult human being, husband of a given woman, and metaphorically a powerful or rich person either male or female.

On the other hand, the term *umugore* stems from the verb *kugora* which means ‘to make someone feel upset’, ‘to distress’. The Kirundi term *Umugore* seems to be exclusively gesture to a social state and that term refers to probable difficulties and even impossibilities that she is likely to encounter in her situation as a bridge between two families. Etymologically speaking, society does not make things easy for the woman. According to Ntahomvukiye (1991):

Umugore est au centre d’alliance interfamilliale à laquelle elle a peut-être consenti mais, dont les termes se sont fixés sans elle, alors qu’elle en est l’objet et le nœud ; de ce fait elle est socialement entravée. Umugore donc serait quelqu’un d’entravé, de lié (p.247).

The above excerpt can be translated as:

Umugore (a woman) is someone who is in the centre of inter-family alliance in which she probably consented but whose terms and conditions were fixed without her while she is the subject and the knot in that matter; by that fact, she is socially hindered. *Umugore* (woman) would be therefore someone hindered, someone tied.

From a traditional perspective, the Kirundi concept *umugore* carries in its roots the meaning of someone who is likely to face hardships inherent in marriage relations (Nibafasha, 2014, p.53-4). In terms of relation of power, the two concepts *umugabo* (man) and *umugore* (woman) were used as metaphors whereby the weak is labelled ‘woman’ and the strong is labelled ‘man’.

In this study, *Ninde* recreates the concept *umugore* (woman) from a passive vulnerable female being to an active, self-confident, self-assertive when circumstances require it, caring and loving person involved to act in partnership with others for social wellbeing for all. In terms of relations of power within home, the power ‘arrow’ can sway from the man to the woman. That is where the idea of ‘gender democratization’ in this study comes from.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study, providing an overview on the link between orality, performance and radio technology and how the performance takes place through the radio medium. A background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, research premises, justification and significance of the study, the scope of the study, review of related studies, theoretical framework, research methodology and chapter outline are other elements comprising the chapter.

1.2 Orality, Performance and Radio Technology

This study analyzes how the radio drama *Ninde* ‘visualizes’ issues to do with masculinity(ies), femininity(ies) and gender power relations for an invisible radio audience as part of the conscientisation agenda. It goes further to examine what this reveals about gender relations in a society that heavily relies on oral literature for entertainment and education. The central focus of my research are the audio episodes of *Ninde*. *Ninde* literally means “who is that?” a name that derives from the opening tag line of all *Ninde* plays.

There are new forms of entertainment through various technological media such as cinema, video, television and radio. The oral literature in Burundi which has taken advantage of information and communication technologies, like other fields of human life, is an integral part of culture because the oral tradition is still very popular. It consists of stories, legends, fables, poems, riddles, songs and so on, that are often adapted to fit into the formats of these new technologies. It is used to entertain people while informing their daily life or teaching them on different issues of life, including

creating and raising gender awareness. Tradition integrates well its function of recording, teaching, informing and entertaining in these new forms offered by technology. The current industrial age has brought cultural upheaval which has rendered storytelling sessions and other forms of oral edutainment that used to happen round evening fires obsolete. Arguably, modern technology in mass media has filled the gap. Hofmeyr (1993) (cited in Ligaga (2008, p.6) avers: “radio is one of the ‘form[s] of leisure that competed powerfully with [oral] storytelling’ in the advent of modern African societies.” As such, technology has not killed orature but has given it more options and possibilities for survival to continue its functions of educating people while entertaining them.

The present study therefore deals with oral literature within the context of the modern technology. I am aware that there is a link between orality, performance and new media (television and radio). I am also aware of what Ong (1982) says about orality and performance in the new spaces created by technology. Although my research variables are not about technology, I am conversant with some theorists such as Ong. Ong’s *Orality and Literacy* (1982) is relevant to my argument here. In his seminal work, Ong argues about the use of verbal expression within societies that are unfamiliar with the technologies of literacy. Following Ong, my study focuses on the technology of sound or the audio sound. The importance of orality in Burundian culture, the authority of the radio and the popularity of the programme *Ninde*, help to reach out even the hard-to-reach rural people and empower them through educative information while entertaining them at the same time. The fact that this drama is co-authored and acted by local people, *Ninde* enables ordinary citizens a channel through which they can express diverse issues.

In this research, language plays an important role in the study of gender. Language is weaved to convey feelings or thoughts. Under normal circumstances, a person decides the kind of images that reflect his/her ideas. However, they need a language to pack those ideas that they have conceived in their minds in order to transmit them to other people. Language is very important in the transmission of those images. The combination of elements that make up speech can therefore help to see the speaker's worldview and the kind of relationships that exist between speakers and their audience. This study recognizes that the literary form of *Ninde* is 'performance literature' (Finnegan, 2005, p.166). This is in no way an attempt to define it by reference to Western written genres. As Finnegan (2005) opines, such literature takes such a form because of the 'verbal artistry' (p.180).

Ninde is the longest running Kirundi radio drama programme in Burundi. *Ninde* episodes are pre-recorded and since 1981 have been aired on the National radio once a week every Sunday at half past eight in the evening Bujumbura local time. It is a popular drama that attracts both young and adult audience and one would not be mistaken if they compare the popularity of *Ninde* among its audience to the popularity of Bollywood (Hindi cinema) and Nollywood (Nigerian movies) among their audiences. However, while Bollywood and Nollywood are visual, the performance of *Ninde* takes place through dramatic sound in radio medium.

Ninde plays are presented as stories that dramatize different aspects of everyday human relationships. These stories are then moulded in the format of a radio play before being enacted. The Kirundi radio drama *Ninde* constitutes a form of a new genre referred to as *radiatorure*¹ in this study. This not only records the nature of

¹**Radiatorure** is a term I coin from three words: **radio+oral+literature** to mean *technologised verbal art for the radio medium*.

Burundian society but also impacts greatly on Burundians in the process of socialization into being members of their society and in reforming their life by setting new principles that suit their new world. This seems to be consistent with Kerr's (1998, p.176) argument that "many of the most popular forms of radio performance in Africa mix entertainment with strong doses of instructions." Radio enjoys a special privilege in Burundi because of the oral tradition which is still strong like in most African countries. According to Kinyanjwi (1980), the spoken word carries considerable weight and radio has been found to be easily compatible with traditional communication media of theatre, music, dance and storytelling (cited in Kerr, 1998, p.125). In addition to entertainment, radio drama *Ninde* is didactic in nature and attempts thus to shape or to reshape the attitudes of people in Burundian society.

This study discusses how gender is framed in *Ninde* as radio plays to raise gender awareness. The focus is on how the radio programme *Ninde* is framed both for entertainment and for education on gender. As Ngara (1990) says, and I do agree with him, whether or not a work of art is going to communicate effectively with the addressee is determined largely by the author's craft, that is, by his or her handling of mode, linguistic structures, imagery, rhythm and sound devices, as well as paralinguistic affective devices such as myth, allusion and irony.

Scholars agree that the mass media is a very powerful tool of communication (Singhal & Brown, 1996; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Singhal, Cody, Rogers & Sabido, 2004). This is with reference to the extent to which media influences people's stances, social and health choices based on what they read, hear or see. The mass media has therefore been seen as an effective tool for communicating various issues. The advantage of

mass media in communication especially the radio on life concerns is firstly that it has the ability to reach more people at once, and secondly that it has attracted the trust of people. Singhal and Brown (1996, p.19) make a similar observation:

The entertainment media have a high potential to educate the public on a variety of social topics: HIV/AIDS prevention, family planning, maternal and child health, gender equality, environmental conservation, literacy, and others.

Numerous initiatives in Africa therefore use media to address these concerns with the intention of effecting change. Specifically, changes in gender roles are taking place in many societies because both female and male activists work to change the imbalanced gender power relations in society, and mass media is one of the tools they use in that campaign. There is the element of human agency in all processes of transformation and change. Societies do not just change; they are shaped by real actors in the form of people who take initiative. Incidentally, people influence and shape their values in as much as they are shaped by them. That process of change is dialogic and not linear and most of the time pioneers of change encounter disapproval of the custodians of tradition. This is in line with Jörg R. Bergmann's observation that members of a society are not passively subject to their socialized need-systems, internalized norms, social pressures, and so on, but rather that they are continuously producing and actively developing social reality in interaction with others as meaningful action-context (cf. Flick, Kardorff & Steinke 2004, p.73).

This study looks at *Ninde* drama episodes as art produced in a particular history in the process of change. As Ngara (1990, p.8) observes, "form is social experience artistically recreated, and we regard the author not just as a product of history but also as a maker of history." This resonates with the Marxist theory of social development which is based on dialectics and historical materialism (ibid.).

According to Gervais Ndiokubwayo², one of the current *Ninde* radio producers that was interviewed, *Ninde* episodes are the product of collaboration between professional media communicators from the national radio of Burundi (a state broadcast) and the folk in fictive social contexts. This fact leads us to argue that the production of *Ninde* is informed by ‘official’ discourse, as opposed to popular discourse, a field that has attracted a lot of academic work in Africa (Barber, 1997; Newell, 2002). Yet the subject matter of that drama is informed by everyday life; it is reflective of the issues, concerns, anxieties and joys of those who consume the ‘drama-aired’ narratives. I can therefore deduce that it tends to push the official position but does it in the popular language. I can go a step further and say that the framing of *Ninde* gender-implicated narratives which are the focus of this study draws from “popular culture” and “popularised culture.” It means that the storyline is built on a negotiation between the status quo of traditional conventional gender relations and the desired change or innovation depending on the values and ethical standards that the state wants citizens to comply with. In other words, the communication oscillates between compliance and resistance against certain traditional patriarchal practices. In the building of the storyline, *Ninde* blends the realities of everyday life with imagination of the projected change.

In this study, *Ninde* is analyzed as a popular dramatic edutainment, that is, a drama by the people for the public without problematizing but acknowledging the relationship between the radio drama under study and the state broadcaster for which it is produced. The interest of this type of drama for oral literature is that it is to a large extent spontaneous, unwritten, and improvised. *Ninde* plays do not follow a well-written script, according to *Ninde* radio producer Ndiokubwayo. On the contrary,

² Gervais Ndiokubwayo, oral interview, National Radio of Burundi, 28 April 2015.

each text is the collective creation of the *Ninde* actors who improvise a storyline on a given theme presented by one of its members or the radio programme producer, according to the same *Ninde* producer interviewed.

Ninde is particularly attractive in this technological age. I read it as a cultural form that displays both traditionality and innovation. While it functions within a dramatic tenor, it is nevertheless produced in a sound medium. Framing and gender in this study are interrogated not only as social but also as cultural expressions that are deployed in *Ninde* performances and particularly in the plays under analysis, that is, by identifying the aesthetics and rhetorical conventions that are deployed in the dramas, and by exploring how they engage with gender to raise gender awareness. In the discussion, they are intertwined with character, language and style. This study therefore analyses how *Ninde* engages with gender within entertainment medium. And as I interact with the radio plays, I ask questions about the framing, that is, the way of thinking around gender, which is in turn reflected into the way messages with gender inclination are packaged for an imagined Kirundi audience and I use frame analysis as a means of exploring how *Ninde* producers/actors (authors henceforth) define and problematize gender relations. Beyond considering the nature of frames used in the radio dramas, I seek to understand how these frames challenge, deconstruct, alter and sometimes reinforce culture, tradition and other social practices. Therefore, because of its interdisciplinary nature, this thesis draws from various disciplines including literature, media, gender, theatre and culture.

1.3 Background to the Study

It is important to present an overview of Burundian society and culture because of the influence the two elements have in any artistic work either in its production or its consumption.

1.3.1 Geographical Background

Burundi, commonly known as the heart of Africa due to its geographical location, is a member country of the East African Community. Its surface area is 27,834km² including the surface of its territorial waters, with a population of 8,053,574 of which 50.8% are women and 49.2% are men³. It is presently divided into eighteen provinces which are in turn divided into one hundred and nineteen communes. The Republic of Burundi neighbours are the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the West, Tanzania to the East and South-East, and Rwanda to the North. Its capital city is Bujumbura and is located on the North-East shore of Lake Tanganyika, the second deepest lake in the world after Lake Baikal. Burundi is one of the smallest and most populated African countries.

The people from Burundi are called *Abarundi* (Burundians) when referring to many people, and *Umurundi* (a Burundian) when referring to one person. In the pre-colonial time all Burundians lived in scattered homesteads throughout the country. But nowadays, settlement is mixed, with 8% living in urban centres and the rest still in rural areas practising farming near their homesteads. More than 90% of the population engage in agriculture as their main economic activity. Burundians share the same

³ As of 2008 Third National Population Census. Retrieved on 05 June 2014 from <http://www.paris21.org/sites/default/files/BURUNDI-population-2008.PDF>.

culture and the same mother tongue *Kirundi*, which is a Bantu language understood throughout the country. This opportunity has been aptly utilized by *Ninde* to facilitate the transmission, shaping and reshaping of cultural values. *Kirundi* is also understood by some people from neighbouring countries such as Rwanda, Tanzania and DRC, especially those who live in regions bordering Burundi. *Ninde* is set in Burundi in *Kirundi* and by implication addresses Burundian issues. Because of the use of *Kirundi*, a language spoken and understood by most Burundians, there is facility in terms of reaching the Burundian populace.

There are three other languages spoken in Burundi: Kiswahili, French and English. Kiswahili which is also an East African regional language is spoken mostly in urban areas. French is the official administration language, and is used as medium of instruction in school, introduced by Belgium during colonial days. English has recently been adopted for strategic reasons especially after independence in 1962. But majority of the people have difficulty using French and English, since they are learnt only at school or in language teaching centres.

In this study, the word *Burundian* is used as a noun to mean a person from Burundi and as an adjective to mean what belongs to or comes from Burundi in general. The word *Kirundi* is used before the word *Ninde* to refer to the drama that is analysed in this study, and which is produced in the mother tongue *Kirundi*.

1.3.2 Background to the Context of Gender in Burundi

1.3.2.1 Customs of Burundians

Burundian society has a patriarchal and patrilocal oriented social order. This means that one's history is traced through the father and not the mother, and inheritance is from father to son and not mother to child. As such, lineage and inheritance of land and property are patrilineal.

The family has been and is still the basic unit of social organisation. When it is time to found a nuclear family, it is normally the male, and not the female, who is supposed to make the first move for courtship and sexuality. Children belong to the clan of their father. In the present Burundian society, as indeed in a number of patriarchal societies in Africa, a female moves at marriage and goes to live with her husband's family and clan, after the payment of the bride price but she does not become a member of her husband's clan. However, some males who are employed prefer, for practical reasons, to set up their home in urban or suburban areas far from their parents' homesteads. In either situations, the female is not always accepted as a first class "citizen" in her new home, and this is due to patriarchal structures and ideologies expressed through norms, codes, rites and labour division. She seems to be assigned a secondary social position because, among other things, she is regarded as a foreigner by members of her husband's clan. The female is considered foreigner because she traces her lineage back to her father and his clan, while her children trace theirs through their father or her husband and his clan. That does not mean that a woman is safer at her father's home. Even while still at her parental abode, a female is not regarded at the same level as her brothers, because of the notion that she will in marriage move to another home, a "foreign" clan.

In Burundi, marriage is another custom that is held in prominence. If a woman fails to marry, she will attract contempt and suspicion about her womanhood. It is a misfortune for a girl to remain unmarried. According to customs, the system is configured such that a girl is raised to think and plan to get married and to bear children. An unmarried or childless woman is an object of contempt and scorn, and is treated as a thing of no importance whatsoever. To some extent, it is in her children, especially if she bears a son that a woman's importance seems to be rooted (Ntahokaja, 1977). On the other hand, if a boy at the age of maturity fails to marry, the community begins to question his masculinity. Before the influence of European civilisation and particularly the Christian culture, there used to be a practice in Burundian culture of burying a man who dies without leaving offspring with an extinguished charcoal in hand, symbolizing that his life was extinguished forever, not having left any child who would perpetuate his name.

Marriage used to be monogamous in Burundi, according to Ntahokaja (1977). However, due to the demand for sons, polygamy was culturally accepted as a solution to barrenness, and sonless families. One can deduce from that practice that only women were believed to be barren. An attempt to correct this misconception in the modern Burundi has seen a civil code – which is uniform everywhere in Burundi – established, indicating that a man can get married to only one wife. Polygamy is thus condemned by the civil law, although some males, especially Islamic followers seem not to adhere to the rule because of their doctrines.

Given that it is a patriarchal order, Burundians value sons highly; men want sons to ensure one's generational and clan continuity. In patrilineal systems, as is the case with Burundi system, a woman reproduces and extends other families than the

paternal ones. She is the only means by which men and their clans grow. A woman's value is her ability and effort to play that role. Maternity helps her to be fully integrated into her husband's extended family and clan.

A woman's role is also evident in her farming duties. Whereas the land belongs to the man culturally, it is the role of his wife to cultivate it and produce food for the children. Later, this man would bequeath the land to his sons, and it will be the role of their wives to cultivate. The men however make decisions of how the produce is to be used (Ntahokaja, 1977). This traditional way of doing things has been thwarted, except female land inheritance from parents which is still an outstanding issue. The current Burundian civil code on persons and families gives the woman the right to co-manage the household matters with the husband and to inherit them in full in case of the husband's death or absence⁴. She can also exercise a profession outside the domestic sphere.

1.3.2.2 Marriage and Household Structure

Gender seems to be deeply embedded in the politics of family relations. One of the pillars which seem to sustain patriarchy is the family structure founded on the marriage. It is rooted deeply in Burundian tradition, and has importance in social organisation and establishing order, which makes it hard to challenge or dismantle. In Burundian culture, the place of family system is given prominence basically because of the need for care in old age. When children live together with their parents, the parents will enjoy the care and providence given by their children (Especially boys as a patrilinear and patrilocal system). Children are means for propagating a given clan,

⁴ Code des personnes et de la famille du 28 Avril 1993. Retrieved on 12 June 2014 from http://www.ligue-iteka.africa-web.org/article.php?id_article=36 , clauses 120-130.

and are perceived to give meaning to one's life. In that respect, the role of the family in child education is inestimable (Ntabona QVS no 16). It is in the family where the child is nurtured on values such as sharing with others, respect, sensitivity to others' pain and joy, hospitality, solidarity, understanding and other *ubuntu* values (Nibafasha, 2014).

The education given to the boy child as heir was special in the past. Conversely, the education that was given to the girl child or the would-be-woman focused on respect and subservience. She had to stay home, hence the names *umunyakigo*, that is, the one-who-stays-in-the-backyard, or *umuzezwanzu* the one-in-charge-of-the-house-affairs. She had to stay closer to her mother to learn how females should behave. That kind of education did not encourage open mindedness for female persons. Ironically, the task of educating children belonged to the mother.

Traditionally, a family consisted of a husband, his wife/wives, and their children. The father was the head of the household and was supreme in all family affairs. His honour in the society depended on his ability to organize his family group. In the case of death of the father in a family, his position was occupied by his eldest son. This explains the demand for male children in marriage.

Looking for a partner to marry involved an arrangement between the family of the potential groom and potential bride. It was also the two families that would decide on the bride price to be paid. But with the new code on persons and families, marriage is an affair between the girl and the boy and their consent is a prerequisite to conclude it. While the woman was expected to be faithful in marriage to this single man, the man was not. The society permitted the man to take other wives as long as he could afford

to. This kind of kinship organisation of the Burundian society has played a significant role in shaping gender relations and roles in Burundi. And it is said that societies that are strongly patrilineal are usually among those that are most unfavourable to women.

In the face of social change, and the economic empowerment of women which to some extent have been influenced by western thought, education, democracy and human rights, new ways of 'being man' and 'being woman' are being constructed to make society not only sustainable but also viable for both men and women. Allusions of female subordination to all males all the time and in all spheres of life are now an old-fashioned idea. Literary and cultural texts are used to narrate, deconstruct old conceptions about men and women relationships and to imagine and represent gender relations to inspire change and reconstruct the society.

1.3.2.3 Raising Children

The role of education in the raising of children is held prominently in Burundian society. Education is given at a very early age in order to effectively shape the personality of a child. The role of educating children was a woman's in the past. Burundian parents were conscious that the education given at early age constitutes the foundation in shaping the personality of the child. This is confirmed by proverbs commonly used in Burundi such as *Imbutu itewe niyo imera* (The seed that is sown is what sprouts), *Indero iva hasi* (Character is moulded at the early age) and *Igiti kigorogwa kikiri gito* (A tree plant is straightened when it is still young) (Nibafasha, 2014). The fact that child education was done by mothers shows that women were more influential in shaping the behaviour of children of both sexes as they are supposed to stay with them during their early childhood. That is why the mother was

blamed in case of her child's bad manners. This form of education changed when children approached adolescence, and began taking the form of socialization. During this time, women socialized girls, while men socialized the boys.

Girls were expected to stay closer to home, working with their mothers, while boys were freer to move around with father, brothers and friends, a pattern that continued through adulthood. During this stage, boys and girls learned primarily by imitation and by experience performing duties 'appropriate' to their sex. While boys were encouraged to have greater independence and bravery, girls were expected to be modest and shy.

The role difference between boys and girls in Burundi became even evident when formal schooling system entered Burundi. Girls rarely went to school, since they were socialized to stay at home. Only boys went to school to get education. Circumstances have however changed with time. Today, education is for all, girls and boys, at least elementary education and they follow the same curricula. Nowadays, the child has various influences rather than the mother or the father or the immediate family.

1.3.2.4 General Perceptions and Conceptions of Men and Women among Burundian People

Gender perceptions in Burundi are influenced by tradition with some doses of current gender ideologies. It is known that since the last quarter of the twentieth century, there has been in many corners of the world, both at national and international levels, a lot of concern and intense activities attempting to sensitise society about gender prejudices resulting from male/female biological differences. Various attempts to fight against gender imbalances have been made to raise society's awareness about

gender imbalances. Various solutions have been suggested by governments, non-governmental organizations, the United Nations, civil society, business entities, educators, literary scholars and others because it is a big issue that requires concerted effort to deal with.

Various stakeholders in Burundi have also made attempts to address gender imbalances. Construction of masculinity and femininity differently which sometimes results in unequal gender relationships or gender imbalances refers to the rules and roles assigned to people according to their sex, based on traditional customs and social backgrounds (Nibafasha, 2014). It seems that there is a direct relationship between gender roles and gender identity construction which in turn is directly related to gender power relations. The gender relations of Burundian society tends to revolve around and are influenced by the patriarchal relations, structures and ideologies of the people; these too, to a great extent shape their thinking and determine the female-male relations. Often, women have been disadvantaged and subjugated by men in the society where they are obviously in the majority.

Some scholars (de Beauvoir [1949] 2009; Butler, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2004; Connell, 1987, 2005, 2009) argue that gender is a social construction of men and women through a “stylized repetition of acts” (Butler, 1988) with clearly punitive consequences for the one who performs in an ‘inappropriate’ way to avoid the breaking down of barriers. This construction finds its ways into works of literature such as verbal expressions, and is reinforced by solid social structures; which is true to a certain extent. In Burundi, when a woman performs an important task or behaves courageously, she is qualified as “*umugabo*” man, it is a step upper. But when a man fails to meet the standards of masculinity according to tradition, he is equated with

womenfolk in general and this equals to degradation; which confirms that women occupy a secondary position in the mind of Burundian, despite the many changes in the position of the woman at the societal level. The fact that power relations can change means that this construction is always open to alteration or challenge.

The general perceptions of images of men and women among Burundians as reflected in cultural texts such as proverbs, tales and songs before they were tempered with gender oriented perspectives (Gatimantangere, 2000; Ndayiragije, 2011; Nibafasha, 2014) are strong and dominant men with a polygamous nature and weak, subordinated and fragile women despite their invaluable contribution at family and societal levels. For a long time, the wide society or public domain has been believed to be for men while home society or domestic arena has been perceived to be for women.

According to tradition, the conceptions of gender can be partly brought out by the following Burundian apothegm: *Nta nkokokazi ibika isake iriho* / No hen crows when the cock is there (Nibafasha, 2014, pp. 67-8). Popular mythology claims that female chickens do not crow. Hence, in many African cultures including Burundian one, a crowing hen is considered a bad omen that must be expiated through the immediate slaughter of the offending bird. In one sense, that proverb is used to give credence to seniority. But when it is cited in relation to men's and women's interrelation or interconnection, the message behind this is that women have no significant role in public affairs. They are not supposed to speak up or express their opinions in public, a view that is deeply embedded in African patriarchal values, which relegate women to the domestic arena of home and family (Tamale, 1999). That traditional belief appears in another African proverb which is almost similar to the cited Kirundi proverb: *The hen knows that dawn has come, but it watches the mouth of the Rooster* (Schipper in

Kaschula, 2001, p.33). This proverb implies that the male is the natural speaker for the species, regardless of how much the female may know. She is expected to depend on the male for orating of experience. Such kinds of beliefs sustain patriarchal hegemony and hinder social wellbeing for all and female potentialities to contribute to sustainable development.

As it can be inferred from the background to Burundian family structure, biological sensibilities that were in the purpose of goodwill for the organization of a humane society turned out to be good for patriarchy because they have been used to deny certain advantages or to discriminate against the woman. “Silencing women is a fundamental injustice in the sense that it denies them the basic human right of self-expression,” as Bukenya puts it (Bukenya in Kaschula, 2001, p. 35). That is why the woman has been obliged to dare the forbidden to speak against unfair patriarchal practices.

The complex nature of modern societal structures gives women opportunities to challenge and subvert male dominance using “*motherpower, bridepower or wifepower*” as Chinweizu asserts (Chinweizu, 1990), but also using their skills, experiences and knowledge. Furthermore, focusing only on male domination and female empowerment neglects the fact that some women are also engaged in the subordination of fellow women or that some men are dominated by their fellow men. Women are not innocent victims of patriarchal authority. There are some women who are also villains as they participate in the subjugation of fellow women. In addition, the nature of power relations in contemporary societies is complex because individuals can be both dominated and empowered at the same time.

So, the concept patriarchy is more complex than has generally been assumed. It does not necessarily and immediately suggest absolute male domination and complete female subjugation and subordination. Forms of power relations can be overt or covert, sometimes simultaneously existing; and a patriarchal situation does not always mean that the females are totally powerless in society as Okot (1994) opines. Such are the nuances and contradictions in gender power relations that Burundian society tries to regulate through the various initiatives in order to assert values and attitudes appropriate to the here-and-now women's and men's needs. Discrimination based on sex hinders both men and women from providing resources necessary to attain sustainable development goals. It hinders and discriminates against skills needed by their societies and this affects the wellbeing for all. This justifies the reason why efforts are directed at changing cultural assumptions through male and female consciousness-raising groups.

Ortner (2005) postulates that dealing with gender imbalances must be attacked from two sides: the side of social transformation and the side of language and imagery creativity reflecting contemporary change for its further enforcement. According to her, efforts directed solely at changing the social institutions cannot have far-reaching effects if cultural language and imagery continue to purvey a relatively devalued view of women. But at the same time efforts directed solely at changing cultural assumptions through consciousness-raising groups for example or through revision of educational materials and mass-media imagery cannot be successful unless the institutional base of the society is changed to support and reinforce the changed cultural view (Ortner in Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2005, p. 251). The two sides must go hand in hand for more impact according to Ortner.

In literary scholarship, which draws all its subjects from everyday life experiences in the society, artists interrogate the subject of gender imbalances and use language and imagery creativity to deconstruct masculinity and femininity in the imaginary world in a bid to reconstruct alternative masculinity and femininity which can influence the real world. It is in that category that drama *Ninde* falls because of the common belief that drama plays a great role in promoting social change. It is within that backdrop that I consider the role of *Ninde*, a new genre of literature, as an intervention in the gender problematic.

In fact in Burundi, gender roles and gender power relations are complex and sensitive issues to challenge, deconstruct and reconstruct because they are deeply rooted in tradition, customs and social institutions especially the family structure. They inherit a legacy from tradition that malfunctions in the contemporary African communities because of new challenges that have emerged due to change. Communication through entertainment is therefore one of the ways of tackling the complex nature of gender through language and imagery creativity.

1.3.2.5 Trends of Change in the Socio-political Roles of Women in History

The background to this study would be incomplete without tracing the trends of changes in the socio-political roles and relations of men and women throughout history, with particular focus on the place of women in society while men are presented as backcloth in the struggle for women's empowerment. Four main points help to understand the position of the woman in this patriarchy dominated setting: the woman and the Burundian tradition during monarchic period, the place of the woman

during the republican period at the time of independence, then the woman at the period of pluralist democracy, and finally the place of a woman in Arusha negotiations for peace⁵.

According to the traditional/conventional division of labour, the woman was more involved in the domestic domain while the man was more involved in public domain. The political role of women in ancient Burundi was overlooked despite her great influence behind the scenes. One wonders why the woman would be excluded publicly and yet she was highly involved in the family matters on a societal level (Shirambere, 1984).

Women in Burundi began to be integrated politically with the coming of the first government in 1966. Immediately after independence in 1962, the government officially recognised the irreplaceable role of a woman in the development of the nation. Different initiatives were made to promote the woman socially and economically. Women could contribute a lot inside and outside the house in the development of Burundi alongside men (Nshimirimana, 2010).

Another significant event that marked a turning point in the conditions of Burundi is the pluralist democracy. The Burundian constitution of 1992 gave women a very significant place in the public sphere compared to previous constitutions. They were very active during the electoral campaigns of 1993. It is during this same year that the first women were allowed to enter the regular national army like their brothers.

⁵Burundi went through a decade of political crisis that was ended by cease-fire signature and Arusha Peace Agreement in 2003 after negotiations between Burundian government and armed groups. The 2005 post transition Constitution, issued from Arusha agreements, which is still running up to now in 2017 has given to gender dimension more importance than any other previous framework.

A recent important event that offered women a step further in socio-political roles is negotiations for peace that were crowned by Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi in August 2000⁶ followed by the Agreement of Cease-Fire that was signed in November 2003 in Arusha, after the Burundian civil war. Presently, “the legal framework – the 2005 Burundi post transition Constitution issued from Arusha agreements – grants women at least 30% in all spheres of life” locally, nationally and even in international representation of the Republic of Burundi (Nshimirimana, 2010, p.78). The 2005 post transition Constitution has specific articles concerned with gender equity. For example Title I, chapter 2, article 13 of the 2005 Constitution states:

All Burundians are equal in [their] merits and dignity. All citizens enjoy the same rights and have right to the same protection of the law. No Burundian may be excluded from the social, economical or political life of the nation because of their race, of their language, of their religion, of their sex or of their ethnic origin.

In brief, the place and the role of a woman in Burundian society have been changing throughout time. She is no longer exclusively confined to the home. Her way of life and her manners of expression are changing as well, and she has been freed to take part in public life and in decision making. Women are increasingly negating the metaphor of ‘the crowing hen.’

On the one hand, the current statistics which show that Burundian women [more than 50%] occupy only 30% of political and administrative posts (2005 Constitution) reflect that gender imbalance still persists. On the other hand, while much effort has been made to bring the woman into the ‘man’s world’ (public space), very little has

⁶ http://www.usip.org/library/pa/burundi/pa_burundi_08282000_toc.html Retrieved on 28/2/2015.

been done to bring the man into the ‘woman’s world,’ (domestic space). In the outside world, the relations between men and women are clearly regulated while they are not in domestic space. The study of *Ninde* opens a way of understanding these two worlds and how an interface is created.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

This study interrogates the framing of femininity (ies) and masculinity (ies) and gender relations so as to understand the imbalances in gender relations among Burundians and how the same are redressed. Gender perception is a powerful tool that influences relations and development in the modern world. Many societies in Africa frame gender based on tradition, without considering the dynamic nature of cultures. Tradition also is on the verge of collapse, due to disintegration of systems that supported it. The consequence is that such societies are incapable of effectively utilizing available human capital for development because of lack of adaptation to new circumstances affecting conventional gender performances and received notions of gender relationships. At this turning point in the history of humanity the arts contribute to raising the awareness on gender equity to promote social wellbeing for all. The use of modern technology to technologize verbal art comes as an important medium for framing gender especially in Africa where the reading culture is not yet developed. In Burundi, radio *Ninde* programme plays a pivotal role in framing gender.

How do *Ninde* narratives both ‘visualize’ and speak to the complex matrix of power that is involved in relations between women and men? On the one hand, while some men are stereotyped as oppressors of women, there are pro-feminist men who advocate for the welfare of women. On the other hand, women exercise power and do exert agency in their destiny. This makes complex the issue of how women and men

are represented. *Ninde* dramatic form attempts to represent this everyday experience which frequently lacks form.

Because the issues of gender in Burundi are complex and complicated, this study investigates how *Ninde*, a genre of radio drama grapples with the question of framing the sensitive, complex and complicated issues of gender in a format that can be consumed by the people it talks to/about. This is achieved through a critical examination of characters, characterisation and deployment of language. As such, this study interrogates how the genre *Ninde* frames this rather sensitive issue of gender so it becomes possible to offer symbolic resolution to the problem of gender in a rather diverting form. In other words, it dissects the radio selected plays to find out the perspective from which gender is viewed and the techniques deployed to bring it out for both aesthetic and pedagogic functions. With the awareness that the play is produced within a sound medium, and that it is a dramatic form, this thesis uses the mass media form of drama to analyse the way in which the selected plays have engaged with gender issues.

1.5 Research Objectives

1.5.1 General Objective

This study investigates how the selected drama episodes of *Ninde* are framed as a radio play form both in scene and language to bring out masculinities and femininities and gender power relations through characters, characterisation and language use. It seeks to answer the central question: How do *Ninde* authors imagine and problematize gender and what techniques and strategies do they use to frame *Ninde* as a play form to bring out gender as an initiative of speaking out to influence how gender is perceived?

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study has four objectives:

1. To document the manner in which *Ninde* programme is framed as a radio play form to popularize and enhance its reception.
2. To identify the tropes that the radio *Ninde* deploys to bring out the gender problematic in the sampled episodes.
3. To explore manifestations of prevalent ideologies that influence the framing of masculinity(ies) and femininity(ies) in the episodes under study;
4. To specify the projected vision of gender and power relations and how *Ninde* authors actualize that vision using the possibilities of the dramatic form.

1.6 Research Questions

In order to achieve the research objectives outlined above, I ask the following questions:

1. How is *Ninde* framed as a radio play form to popularize and enhance its reception?
2. What are the ways in which *Ninde* authors imagine the gender problematic and how do they use language to visualise it?
3. How do masculine and feminine differences surface through the points of view, concerns, space allocation and values presented in the narratives?
4. What do these narratives suggest as resolutions to the gender conundrum?

1.7 Research Premises

For comic effects, *Ninde* employs the techniques of abnormality as bridges to negotiate normal gender while the communication oscillates between compliance, resistance against negative conventional gender practices, and complex strategic

combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation. The poetics or the aesthetics of abnormality refers to the uses of extremes, contrasts, deviations, crises, instances of anomie and other 'abnormalities' in drama as bridges to teach people the normal behaviour (Goffman, 1974). It is also hypothesized that *Ninde* offers a shared space for initiating dialogue on gender equity and gives to both females and males some kind of power to influence minds, to put their views across and to get their feelings known. I further contend that play-framing becomes a problem when people 'read' unintended messages which instead of curbing, end up speeding up abnormality instead of using it as bridge to cross to normal behaviour. I am assuming here that the play frame becomes dangerous or harmful if the audience is moulded by the aesthetics that are used to communicate more than the pedagogy on the construction of gender reality.

1.8 Justification of the Study

The first reason for the choice of this study is that drama has been scarcely investigated in Burundian Literature. In fact, *Ninde* deserves more attention than it has received. To study framing of gender in *Ninde* is most linked to my attempt to make a contribution to the gender debate by re-focusing attention on the genre-based performance (of gender). In plays, characters act out scenes of everyday life or in other words the producer of a play frames everyday experience. Therefore, plays are a display of human behaviours in a given society in general but can also be used as a tool to construct new behaviours. It is dialogic. The programme's attempt to bring out traditional factors and socio-cultural structures that affect gender roles and power relations as it is in everyday life makes it worth studying to reveal peculiarities concerning the gender situation in Burundi. This is because through artistic creation many issues traditionally considered complex are dealt with while the audience is

given a chance to shape or reshape their own lives on the model of characters' actions. When a character shifts from undesirable behaviour to socially desirable one, the audience segment that identifies most closely with that transitional character can emulate that character, resulting in a tremendous increase in the socially desirable behaviour in the community (Kincaid, 2002, pp.150-1). According to bell hooks (2001) as cited in Goddard (2007, p.5), the construction of gender relations in fiction likely precedes their construction in society because they have to be in the minds of people before they become reality. She opines that the image has to exist first in people's imagination and then the reality follows.

Additionally, despite the growing popularity of radio drama genre in Africa in general and its use in communicating various matters related to everyday life, research on framing and on possible factors that affect frames of gender are still rare. As Sambai (2014) mentions, there has been some research work on the value and efficacy of education-entertainment programmes in promoting and effecting social change but with very little focus on framing such edutainment programmes. This study is therefore a contribution to the existing edutainment studies with special focus on framing.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of gender issues that is discussed in this study is widespread and obvious, and it cannot fail to have been already noticed, at least here and there, by other scholars in other cultures elsewhere. Yet, I have not found much attention paid to it specifically in Burundian literature and culture. Gender issues in Burundian literature have been scarcely investigated and in radio drama in particular. Actually, there is not any substantive work available that has studied the framing of gender in *Ninde*. I wish to generate and add fresh knowledge to this field. Definitely

what is lacking in Burundi and in Africa in general is not drama – either the traditional or the modern drama – but critical analyses of that drama focusing on the framing of gender relations and issues. My choice is directed to *Ninde* because of its particularity for it has the qualities of both traditional and modern drama.

Conceptualizing gender within a framing approach helps resolve the continuing tensions in the field concerning the role of sex/gender binarity. *Ninde* is particularly interesting because it is oral and from villagers while most of the sources available on problematization of patriarchy and the attempted solutions are mainly from the educated. So my interest is to find out how the ordinary Burundian woman and man express their voice and what they value. In order to understand gender in Burundi, one needs to pay attention to the genre through which it is expressed. *Ninde* is one of the popular genres through which gender is performed. *Ninde* gives the female, alongside the male characters, some kind of informal power to influence minds and put their view across. It is an artistic forum through which females make their presence felt and feelings known, contrary to traditional oral genres.

Next, *Ninde* has motivated me because of its power to inform, to instruct and educate through entertainment. Studying it under framing perspective, adds to the understanding of *Kirundi* discourse strategies and ideologies that inform gender constructions and reconstructions. The incorporation of gender issues in the entertainment industry deserves some critical study with the hope of understanding how the balance between entertainment and didacticism is achieved in such edutainment programmes in Burundian culture. The study contributes to the growing body of local and global research by deepening our understanding of framing gender.

Last but not least, the paucity of critical works on *Ninde* justifies this research. There has been little critical attention to *Ninde* and this is what motivated me to conduct this study. The study shows that Burundian theatre in general and the Kirundi radio drama *Ninde* in particular is after all, a subject worthy of study and interest just as radio drama and theatre elsewhere in Africa have extensively been studied, and serves to provoke further research in this fascinating but too often neglected field. This study is then an attempt to expand framing studies with focus on Kirundi radio dramas.

1.9 Significance of the Study

Given that many people imagine masculinity, femininity and gender relations only in terms of their own local gender system and miss the vast diversity of gender patterns across cultures and down history, this study contributes to showing how Burundian forms of masculinity(ies), femininity(ies) and gender relations are constituted and projected in Burundian social contexts from a Kirundi genre. It has also given tangible results based on a considered assessment of the qualities and inferiorities of Radio *Ninde* in the framing of gender issues that could help *Ninde* producers to improve the style of entertaining while educating.

The results also greatly contribute to the literary academic sphere as they illustrate how gender imagination influences character construction, language usage and style and how this in turn helps to understand and to talk about gender issues. The results also help to prove that literature can help in societal concerns where it can be used as a tool for intervention and social change when the communicative linguistic devices are manipulated wisely. The results of this study contribute in raising awareness on the framing of gender issues in dramatic plays. An analysis of verbal arts can result in discovering general patterns of a culture and such knowledge can contribute in raising

the level of consciousness that may facilitate the process of social transformation. Indeed, it challenges men and women to be aware of certain important aspects of human affairs and relations. This awareness provides a map for social action as it helps to make “the unconscious conscious” (Dundes, 1980). It is within this broader framework that my thesis emphasizes the complexity of issues involved in framing gender issues, leading into the sociological implications. The present study has used a gender performance approach that can be replicated in other studies. Last but not least, the knowledge from the research is a modest contribution from the Burundian cultural texts to gender discourse. This work will serve as reference for future studies.

1.10 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Ninde is drama and as such is like life, it means that it has many faces. Since I could not examine all its aspects at once, the scope was limited to how the radio drama frames masculinities and femininities within the heterosexual context.

To study *Ninde* in an organized way, one challenge was abundance of data. Although a fraction of *Ninde* plays has survived, it remained quite difficult to decide which ones to select to arrive at a meaningful and fair account. The best way to determine whether or not a play was relevant would have been to listen to it, but with hundreds of recordings available, there would be almost no limit to the time such research might require. Mindful of these issues, I drew from the available plays that aired throughout the years covered by this research on the basis of their titles on the CDs.

Regarding which drama episodes of *Ninde* to choose, this study used a purposive or judgemental sampling from the hundreds of *Ninde* plays aired on the Burundi national radio between 2005 and 2015. The life-span within which the research was conducted

was a factor influencing the scope. I sampled ten episodes that represent the main thematic concern of the present study from plays produced post-2005. This year, 2005, has been made a landmark for reference because there are key events around gender issues and the position of the woman in Burundian society more than in the previous periods as mentioned in the background to this study. This allowed having data that have a certain unity frame.

If preference was given to audio plays rather than the video plays, it is because the audio is expected to use language in a more sophisticated way. In fact, where a video has a picture the audio has to draw the picture in a vivid way by the use of words and sounds. *Ninde* plays were also chosen because they provide a large space for exploring as many themes as possible that speak to various aspects of Burundian everyday realities and that inform the lived experiences of their imagined listeners. Focus has been on sounds and the spoken words and how they are spoken, actions, character types and characterisation to see the kinds of images they present with regard to gender. Radio drama is also interesting because of the wide accessibility of radio in terms of broadcast-scape.

It is worth mentioning that this study has faced cultural and linguistic limits of translatability due to translation of data from *Kirundi*, a Bantu language to English, an Indo-European language. Dealing with texts from two very distant languages was a challenge. I acknowledge that language, apart from communication, is also a carrier of culture. There are some expressions which can only be fully appreciated within the linguistic domain of Kirundi language and partially or not appreciated, once transported into another linguistic territory. For instance, rendering the idioms of Kirundi into English hinders effective communication at times. Where a word or

phrase carries a whole cultural meaning which cannot be easily translated into English, I have made a literal translation and then put a footnote to explain for readers, and this enriches the translation.

Unfortunately, even with an effort kept on alert and a supported application, there are the subtleties of volume, pitch, tempo, intensity, repetition, emphasis, length, dynamics, silence, timbre, onomatopoeia, and the multifarious non-verbal ways performers can use sound to convey, for example, character, humour, irony, atmosphere, or tension (Finnegan,2005:170) which cannot be fully appreciated in the transcription and translation. The transcription and the translation do not render all the richness, all the dimensions of the original text, the colours, the sonic richness and musicality of performance, the rich cultural texture that makes the plays particularly Burundian; in translation the depth of words does not go through the second language and the image itself appears somehow distorted when going through the spectre of translation. It was not easy to render the spirit of the original *Ninde* plays in the excerpts that have been used to serve as illustrations in data analysis but I did the best under the circumstances. It did not affect the analysis and so does not undermine the results of the study. In transcribing the excerpts used in the analysis, the use of capital letters means that the speaker shouts and the use of three dots (...) means that the speaker hesitates.

1.11 Literature Review

For the contextualisation and identification of the knowledge gaps therein and location of my study, I only reviewed what is relevant to my research. My review has four sections and took the following structure or approach. First, I have a review of

works that are more theoretical on gender because this helped me to establish how theory is used in understanding gender framing in *Ninde*. *Ninde* was read as texts that are already theorising to find out if gender imagination is used in framing gender to re-affirm, alter or challenge conventional gender practices and relations. So I was very specific in the theories that I reviewed: *Biological determinism*, *Cultural determinism*, *Labour paradigm* and *Feminist framework*. These gender theories are from the western academia. I acknowledge that the relevance of the gender theories developed in the western academia now reviewed with typically African lenses is yet one of the current issues in gender debate in the African context. Second, I have a synthetic review of works on media communication in East Africa with focus on electronic media (radio and T.V). And then I have a section that looked at works that have been done on gender and literature in Burundi. Finally, I have a section of review of works that have been done on *Ninde* as drama in Burundi. In all this review I only considered works that are related to this study and which this study attempts to transcend.

1.11.1 Gender Frameworks

It is said that a gender framework grows out of gender theories and this is a set of implementable policies. The most viable of these theories have action agendas. Gender as a concept of social analysis is not a monolithic entity, since it has been adapted to various interests and situations. Today there are several frameworks of gender analysis developed by different scholars over time; and each of them throws light on the appreciation of gender as a social phenomenon though no solution is available. The review considers only four of the major frameworks for their relevance to this study.

Biological determinism is the most central and the most enduring of the gender relationships. This framework says that the way men and women relate is biologically determined. It means that as men or women, there is a certain way one behaves, there are things one is able to do and other things one is not able to do because of one's biological arrangement. Sigmund Freud is the most prominent theorist in this framework. Others like the evolutionist Charles Darwin followed the line of Freud's argument. Biological models claim that sex determines gender and the way men and women should relate. Biological determinists such as Sigmund Freud theorised that men were physically, intellectually and emotionally superior to women because of biological differences between the two sexes.

In the reasoning of Freud, women had little sense of justice because of "the predominance of envy in their mental life" (Freud cited in Kiyimba, 2001, p. 38). He believed that women were envious of men for the penis that they had, which he refers to as "superior equipment." This concept hints at women's alienation from power. As a result of the "penis envy" or the "castration complex" – which they suffered in the subconscious and refused to accept at the conscious level, women either became too passive or too emotional or both and often retreated in defeat according to Freud (Freud 1984 cited in Kiyimba, 2001, p. 39). It therefore not only became easier to dominate them, but inadvisable to entrust them with certain responsibilities, on account of their so called limited psychological stability or simply lack of it. According to the proponents of biological determinism, women who seek to overcome male domination are fighting a lost battle in advance, what is expressed in Freud's now-vilified dictum "anatomy is destiny" (Sigmund Freud cited in Pamperl, 2008, p. 6). She cannot acquire the "weapon" that confers power on men. But are there not other sources of power?

From this reasoning of biological determinists, used consciously and unconsciously by generations of human communities stemmed some of the most malicious prejudices and injustices against women by hegemonic patriarchy. The same reasoning seems to be the core of tensions and violence between its custodians and its challengers in many literary and cultural texts as is the case in *Ninde* narratives.

It can be argued that, though biology has a role to play in the way society is organised, the so called destiny varies enormously in different historical, cultural and social contexts. If gender was fixed like physical sex, then it would not vary. It would remain constant just as other biologically determined characteristics. But today, the existence of various masculinities and the agency of women in constructing men's masculinity prove that masculinities and femininities are circumstantial, mutable and contestable subjects constructed within a specific socio-cultural context and which change according to circumstances (Mahonge, 2016). We can see in the selected *Ninde* texts many instances which are framed behind the idea of debunking the belief in biological determinism.

Cultural framework proponents consider that culture is destiny. According to this framework, the way men and women relate is culturally determined. It is said that the cultural framework looks at human activities as a complex set of principles protected by ideologies of patriarchy, matriarchy, capitalism, socialism, racialism, and others. In other words, culture is an offspring of group behaviours. There is always a dominant culture and a subservient culture, and the cultural framework of gender analysis proposes that women across classes and races have their own way of seeing things which has a contribution to make to social progress (Kiyimba, 2001). Unfortunately, they do not always have the opportunity to articulate their views of the world because

rich or poor, men think they have a monopoly of the “correct” ideas. The cultural framework cuts across the classes. It does not matter whether the woman has everything she needs in material terms or whether she has been given fair opportunity to compete for the available resources and opportunities with men, she is still the victim of gender bias because of her culture as *a woman*, and is often subjected to male ridicule. This ridicule sometimes degenerates into brutal force when the woman attempts to assert her worldviews. Kiyimba (2001) comments that theorists in this category reluctantly accept that there is a case for natural psychological and physiological demands on people in accordance with their sex, but they reject the rules to enforce gender roles, especially those that are not biologically determined, such as farming, fetching water and firewood, cooking, washing, et cetera. At the same time they reject attempts to turn the woman into “some kind of man” before she can claim her fundamental rights (p. 39).

By reviewing cultural framework I want to bring out the idea that though culture has a role to play in social organization by assigning roles and rules to men and women, it is not destiny as cultural determinists would say because culture is not static. “Gender is not to culture as sex is to nature” as Butler (1997, p. 280) avows. Culture is dynamic, and so is gender. Due to cultural change, things that were forbidden or considered as taboo in the past, are now accepted and performed without fear. “While the binarity of the sexes is an immutable fact,” argues Wodak (2005, p.3), “the traits assigned to a sex by a culture are cultural constructions, [and] are socially determined and therefore alterable”, the same as society itself changes. As it can be seen, the storyline in *Ninde* narratives is built around the tensions between the old elements of culture and the new ones with a projection of cultural change.

Labour paradigm derives from the theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who viewed gender in terms of productive and reproductive roles. This framework was developed within the context of the overall theory of dialectical materialism and postulates that human beings enter into distinctive production relations. According to dialectical materialism, the world is an endless process of movement, regeneration, the demise of the old and the birth of the new. Nothing is immutable and eternal. And this is what has strengthened the optimism of proletariat's struggle against capitalist oppression and is what has inspired socialist feminism to shake the patriarchal exploitative face.

In all the modes of production that human societies have gone through, such as those of slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, the female was the most suffering, according to Kiyimba (2001). As a slave, she was ridiculed and mistreated more than her male counterpart, and loaded with heavier work even when she was pregnant. In addition to all this, the master could rape the woman, as it pleased him. As an employee, she has been consistently relegated to unskilled, poorly paid and boring jobs, while men occupied the managerial, less strenuous and better paid positions. From this point of view therefore, corrective action in gender conundrum is that which addresses modes of production, access to skill and training, and unbiased remuneration for work done.

This framework is based on practical considerations and quantifying of work so that each one may be rewarded proportionately to his contribution and gender is included in the broader context. The contribution of the woman in the production of food, clothing, and in the production of human beings themselves, should be acknowledged, quantified and appropriately rewarded, what has often been neglected in history.

The logic is that by living together as men and women, there is division of work according to what one is able to contribute. The result is that when one looks at human relations, the woman remains behind because she has to take care of children and to deal with the kitchen, which are roles overlooked most often. Above all, the female efforts have been most of the time unacknowledged by the society. However, not only technology has now revolutionised tasks traditionally assigned to women but also it would be taking for granted that all women have to take care of children and to deal with the kitchen only. Division of labour should not imply segregation on the basis of sex. The labour framework is useful in assessing the relationships between the man and the woman in matters of production of societal wealth and access to it, which is projected in some of the chosen *Ninde* texts such as *Play10* where a woman works hard without the help of the husband and is beaten because she denies her husband to sell 'her' crops for alcohol abuse and as bad behaviours.

Finally, *feminist framework* looks at the inequalities between men and women as a human rights matter, and advocates for equality and social development by bringing out the realities of male dominance, especially in systems where there is direct discrimination against women through convention and culture. This framework is a reaction to all the perspectives that intend to limit women's rights on the pretext of her sex. Feminism rejects the division of labour based on sex and rejects also the biological determinism which argues that "anatomy is destiny" of humanity (Tuyizere, 2007). The focus is mainly on the change of legal matters, on the education of women to fight against ignorance and on economic empowerment. The Feminist framework attempts to describe, explain and analyse the conditions of women's lives with particular reference to unequal relations between men and women and what they

propose to address gender asymmetry depends on the assumptions forming the basis of their theory (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2005).

Feministic theories mainly developed in 1890's Britain as a result of British women's conscious struggles to fight patriarchy and male domination. We have many voices such as Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill that spoke in the favour of women but the most important who started to campaign for equal rights is Simone de Beauvoir (1949) with *The Second Sex*. When she wrote her book, what she mainly achieved was to draw people's attention to injustices that they did not pay attention to. She is regarded as the mother of feminism. She is credited with formulating the concept of the woman as the other sex: 'the second sex'. Feministic theories assert that one's gender is not determined at birth but is culturally and socially constructed so that consciously or unconsciously women or men conform to the cultural ideals and norms. We can see how the storyline in the narratives plays around this way of feministic thinking.

Freud's description of women as deviations from the male was for de Beauvoir, one example of the ways that culture constructs woman as man's other, rather than as an autonomous being. So sex not only serves as a marker of bodily difference but also as a source of gender inequality. It is in the spirit of giving credence to woman's autonomy that Luce Irigaray suggests the idea that all women have to do is cut themselves from man, desist being defined against man or patriarchal culture (Irigaray in Kemp & Squires, 1997, p.312).

Within feminism itself as a framework of gender analysis, there are sharp differences. The more radical feminists insist that women can never be free until they "question

the organisation of culture itself, and further, even the very organisation of nature” (Firestone cited in Kiyimba 2001, p.40) because according to them, men exploit female biology. As Kiyimba notes, Firestone advocates for the abolition of “females’ ills such as menstruation, breast-feeding, and menopause”, which are “discriminative biological characteristics”. They are particularly irritated by the use of these characteristics to discriminate against women at work places and in the home. It is argued that women work just as hard as men, and sometimes even harder. Nonetheless, the income is controlled by men. The need for structural and legal changes to address the plight of women is addressed most directly by the feminist framework. This framework finds literary and cultural texts whose philosophies suggest that men are fundamentally superior to women objectionable.

All these frameworks, be it determinists, cultural, labour and feminist, are kept in mind when analysing the framing of masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) in *Ninde* texts. For example, the biological determinism is useful in assessing how patriarchal hegemony tries to resist people that defy it through violence. The cultural framework is kept in mind when assessing how culture unlashes and at the same time restricts the freedom of gender performance. The feminist framework is useful when assessing those aspects of *Ninde* where the human rights of the woman are violated. Likewise, the labour framework is useful in assessing the relationships between the man and the woman in matters of production of societal wealth and access to it, which are projected in some scenes of the selected *Ninde* texts.

1.11.2 Works on Media Communication in East Africa

This section provides a review of available studies in East Africa that are based on framing and framing effects through the use of radio dramas, television dramas and

theatre. There is an increased use of the media to communicate developmental, health and social concerns. This credit is attributable to the degree with which people consume and trust the media. “The media not only provides information about a given subject but it also provides a frame through which audiences perceive social reality” (Njogu 2005 in Sambai, 2014, p. 20). Frames are ‘interpretative packages’ that give meaning to an issue. Framing through the media therefore conditions how people view reality. By virtue of emphasising some elements of a topic above others, a frame provides a way to understand an event or issue. The frame adopted in a media account shapes the way particular details are presented and provides a particular view of the story. Framing has been found to be particularly important in understanding and influencing the people’s attitudes and beliefs. Through frames, issues can be represented as part of a larger reality that audiences can easily comprehend (Sambai, 2014).

Odhiambo’s (2011) study on development of theatre in East Africa observes that theatre as an artistic practice has within time transformed from traditional ritualistic practices of the ‘drama of gods’ to a practice that strives for maximum involvement of the audience. Odhiambo’s article maps the evolution of theatre for development purposes from pre-colonial through postcolonial and contemporary scenes which he indicates has maintained its ancient narrative nature but has with time transformed to serve an array of social and development concerns. Though the study is not on radio or television communication, Odhiambo’s acknowledgement of the role that artistic practices particularly based on enactment in play in communicating pressing issues across Africa is of particular importance to my study because it lays foundation for this study where I analyze how enactment in radio play grapples with communication of gender issues.

In her study on framing HIV/AIDS and sexuality in television dramas in Kenya, Sambai (2014) explores framing as a concept and ways in which it affects the packaging and conception of mediated messages with particular emphasis on HIV/AIDS based messages and matters of sexuality in two television dramas in Kenya, *Makutano Junction* and *Siri*. The study interrogates the ways in which the two education-entertainment programmes play a role in alleviating the HIV/AIDS pandemic and its related concerns by providing reliable information. Through a critical reading of specific episodes of the TV dramas, the study observes that certain myths and misconceptions of contracting HIV need to be questioned. It argues that gender stereotyping and certain conceptions of being ‘man’ or ‘woman’ which are socially and culturally conditioned are partly responsible for the continued spread of HIV/AIDS. Though based on TV dramas, Sambai’s study is very insightful in terms of the consideration and analysis of the extents and implications that framing of issues of concern of everyday life have towards the generation of an impacting meaning.

Tanganika’s study (2012) examines how Entertainment-Education has been used in *Musekweya* serial radio drama to contribute to the process of reconciliation and trauma healing in post-genocide Rwanda. It explores the techniques used in the programme development, implantation, and crafting of a radio drama appropriate to target audiences. The findings show that the design and implantation process, based on the Sabido methodology had satisfactory effects. Using para-social interventions and efficacy behaviours as indicators of effects, the study concludes that the intervention has succeeded in enabling audience to acquire requisite knowledge, adopt favourable attitudes, beliefs and overt behaviour change towards reconciliation, co-existence and trauma healing. While Tanganika’s work focuses on the theme of peace, reconciliation and trauma healing, mine focuses on gender.

Mbogo's study (2012) is about exploration of the 'Comical' in the 'Serious' and the 'Serious' in the 'Comical,' in Kenya's longest running edutainment *Vioja Mahakamani* (Courtroom Dramas) to appraise how comedy and humour are used to educate people about their rights, courtroom etiquette and procedure. He points out that through the use of stereotypes and ethnic accents that 'spice up' the programme, everyday events and challenges are debated and resolved in comical yet 'serious' ways. Though the study does not focus on communication of gender issues, the rich discussion on edutainment informs my understanding of the marriage of 'delight' and 'instruction' or of the artistry and thematic dimensions in edutainment programmes.

Ligaga's study (2008) looks at some of the many ways in which edutainment programmes can improve the lives of the people with an analysis given to the themes of HIV/AIDS, forced marriages, infidelity and infertility. In her analysis of the development of radio theatre in Kenya, Ligaga (2008) notes that edutainment programmes, both through radio and television, have been instrumental in showing the many levels at which fictional dramas and other mass media forms of entertainment can be analysed for their role in education and information dissemination. Ligaga's study examines the social and political relevance of the genre of the radio drama. Although Ligaga's study does not engage with the subject of gender issues *per se*, it situates my study within other studies on the development of edutainment programmes in East Africa. It specifically forms a basis for this study by foregrounding pertinent issues around radio drama's communication.

Even though the above reviewed studies do not engage with the subject of framing gender issues *per se* several aspects of those studies do in their own rights help in locating my study within the context of edutainment through theatrical practices,

television and radio programmes in East Africa. My study is specific on the framing of gender in *Ninde*, a radio play from Burundi. *Ninde* is the most popular radio drama in Burundi which utilizes Entertainment-Education (E.E) approach to communicate very different social and developmental concerns given the worldwide success that such programmes have registered in terms of reaching larger audiences and in demystifying naturalized unnatural beliefs better. This includes issues dealing with rape, gender-based violence, sexual and reproductive health, and HIV/AIDS matters. The general purpose of entertainment-education interventions is to contribute to the process of directed social change, which can occur at the level of an individual, community, or society (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004). The effectiveness of E-E programmes as agents of social change, however, largely depends on the attention paid to message production and reception factors. The research thus seeks to explore strategies deployed to achieve the objective of communicating messages about masculinity and femininity in a radiodrama genre from Burundi.

1.11.3 Studies on Burundian Literature and Gender issues in Burundi

There are not many studies on gender issues in Burundian literature that have focused on what masculinity means and its counterpart femininity and the consequent male-female relations. This is not however to mean that the concept of gender is new in Burundi, as it can be noticed that in the Burundian culture, there are several songs, tales, folktales and proverbs that depict behavioural attitudes or relations between men and women. The fact that men-women relationships are portrayed in different elements of Burundian culture proves that in Burundi, gender is not a foreign notion, imported from the western world as some people would say. Furthermore, it is not a new concept. It is present in Burundian culture; it is translated in man-woman relationships and social obligations. Gender is a concept that Burundians live with; it

is anchored in their life, and it is part of their social realities, order and daily experience. So, it is reflected in their language and literature. Before contemporary time which is much influenced by the feminist movement, gender was taken for granted and almost natural.

A number of works have been written on Kirundi language and literature developing various themes such as friendship, hatred, greed, family relations, neighbourhood, hard work, the image of women and men and many more themes. Of all these works, three are relevant to my study. Two of them (Gatimantangere's (2000) and Ndayiragije's (2011)) deal with the portrayal of women in different traditional genres of Burundian oral literature though they do not directly relate images of women to images of their counterpart men. The third work studies the portrayal of masculinity and femininity and their relations as portrayed in Kirundi proverbs, a traditional fixed genre.

In her B.A. dissertation, Gatimantangere (2000) carries out research on the concept of "women" as depicted in Kirundi proverbs from a linguistic perspective and concludes that the Burundian woman is perceived in her multiple roles in society such as wife, mother, and co-wife as well as in her biological structure and moral conduct.

From an angle different from the preceding work, Ndayiragije (2011) describes how Burundian society represents the image of woman through two genres of oral literature: folktales and epithalamiums (wedding songs). The author compares the attitudes of the traditional Burundian society towards woman as they are presented in oral literature with sociological and anthropological descriptions on Burundi. The researcher concludes that the woman is in the centre of life. Her image, according to Ndayiragije (2011), is not isolated but derives from her relations with other members

of the society and then appears as grandmother, mother, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, aunt, daughter or stepmother and sometimes as barren (Ibid, 65). To a certain extent, there is no “woman” in the abstract universe devoid of social hierarchy, in the argument of the researcher. That fact is peculiar to African society where the whole makes the body or where the place of the individual is so small to leave visibility to community. The interests and order of the community take precedence over a single person’s interests and freedom.

In the Burundian philosophy of life, ‘man or woman is always part and parcel of the whole community’ and you become humane when you faithfully assume your responsibility towards others (Ntabona, QVES no 16). The community or society is not a sum total of isolated individuals but people who are interrelated and interconnected by some family links and all what it entails as duties and rights. That philosophy of life agrees with Goffman’s view that ‘society [has] to be the first in every way and any individual’s current involvements the second’ (Goffman, 1974, p. xvi).

While the two works above concentrate on the image of women only and do not give a gender-based contrast or do not deal with power relations, Nibafasha (2014) studies the societal construction of masculinity and femininity and how these gender identities affect gender relations as portrayed in Kirundi proverbs. The study further explores how the language of proverbs as a ‘fixed form’ heritage of tradition adjusts sometimes with difficulty to current political, economic and socio-cultural changes that affect gender identities and roles in turn. While society is dynamic and so have become gender roles, the traditional conception of masculinity and femininity in proverbs is still a male decision maker, provider, property owner, protector,

spokesman, and therefore dominant in contrast to a female who is morally weak, passive, emotional, with no right to property ownership, hardworking but for the benefit of a man, second citizen and therefore subordinate to man. Proverbs seem to maintain the status quo where things have changed. With evidence from data, the study proves that the societal construction of masculinity and femininity differently, which sometimes results in unequal gender relations, reveals society's aspiration and desire to social order by presenting patriarchy as a stable or immutable part of that social order which the nuclear family structure has profited the most to the detriment of the woman. The study recommends that feminine and masculine constructs as portrayed in Kirundi proverbs should be revisited for the benefits of the here-and-now men and women.

All the three studies use traditional genres to read gender as a cultural and societal fact of a society in continual change. A close examination of these studies reveals that there are a number of prejudices in our proverbs, songs and tales against Burundian women which are used to suppress their potentialities and consequently prevent them from participating and contributing to social, economic, and political growth and development of the society. The current political, economic, technological and social changes that have been shaping gender perceptions, and which have in turn shaped oral literature forms and functions, make therefore the oral materials documented in such earlier studies and conclusions drawn therein no longer very relevant for the current state of society.

1.11.4 Studies on *Ninde* as drama in Burundi

In Africa, there have always been enactments of hunts or of historical events, especially battles. In many places there were satirical performances which sometimes

included small dramatic scenes as the different characters interact. This kind of theatre is named “traditional drama”. Unfortunately, this drama was most of the time unrecognised because most observers of traditional performances in Africa who wrote about them had no interest in drama or came to drama with preconceived notion of the European type and simply dismissed it. Many European scholars had considered African oral narratives as primitive and unsophisticated because they judged them on the same standards as the written literature instead of giving them just overdue worldwide acclaim. Few scholars, like Finnegan (1970) and Okpewho (1992) reveal full appreciation of the literary qualities of African oral literature. In her seminal work *Oral Literature in Africa* (1970), Finnegan successfully brought a new field of study into the academia.

However, when it comes to the topic of ‘drama in Africa’, the following quotation is exactly what Finnegan still says even in her 2012 new edition:

Though some writers have very positively affirmed the existence of native African drama (Traoré 1958, Delafosse 1916), it would perhaps be truer to say that in Africa, in contrast to Western Europe, drama is not typically a wide-spread or developed form. ... If most African peoples lack specialized drama, they yet, by the very oral nature of their art, lay greater stress on certain dramatic characteristics of their literature than do cultures that rely primarily on written forms (p. 485; p. 488).

When reading that quotation and many other passages from Finnegan (2012), it can be noticed that western scholars came to Africa with a prejudice that culture can only spread from a superior to an inferior people, that is, from West-to-the-Rest of the world. That is what led them to appraise African drama in terms of European drama standards, and therefore giving it less credit.

With regard to Burundi in particular, Finnegan (2012, pp. 435-439) was interested in oratory, formal speaking and other stylized forms, and not in drama. The reason behind this as she acknowledges it in the preface of her first edition (1970) is that she based herself on more 'obvious sources' to write her book. Traditional Burundi (described by Albert in 1964 based on fieldwork 1955-57 focusing on investigation of rhetoric) that Finnegan relies on to support her argument on oratory and rhetoric in Burundi makes many of her statements about Burundian people and their culture need to be revisited. In traditional Burundi, there was drama, and yet not many works have been written on it. It is true that theatre as it appears today, that is, the formal drama with audience, performers, a performance, a physical stage or platform and costumes, is new in Burundi, like elsewhere in Africa in general, but drama as work of art based on imitation and mimicry has a long tradition in the continent.

In Burundi, as in other parts of Africa, during the colonial period and after, there have been more and more intellectuals and some of them were interested in drama. These beginners tried to follow if not to copy the European models. Thus during the second half of the twentieth century many plays were produced, some in foreign languages and others in the national language, written by reverend fathers or by non-religious people (Kabuyenge, 1994). And yet, only few critical works have been written on drama in Burundi. The study of the radio drama *Ninde* has so far not attracted the kind of sustained critical attention that it deserves. Only three Bachelor theses are reviewed for their relevance to the present study.

On the one hand, Sinizeye (1989) in his dissertation sets out to prove that *Ninde* has all the qualities required for a performance to be a drama. This researcher attempts to give sound evidence to prove that *Ninde* is a dramatic work of art because it adheres

to all the requirements of a drama. In addition, he concludes that it is a popular dramatic literature. Obviously, this is true when he means that it is a drama of, for and by the people. And if it means that it is a well-liked dramatic literature, it has a broad appeal within the society. *Ninde* panders to the lowest tastes of the mass of the people and attempts to inspire Burundians to a collective and radical reassessment of their society.

On the other hand, in her study, Kabuyenge (1994) concentrates her discussion primarily on the comic and satirical aspects of *Ninde* to show that *Ninde* as a literary production or rather dramatic literature contributes to the development of Burundian literature and language and that it has an important role to play in the spiritual and moral evolution of Burundian society. According to Kabuyenge (1994, pp. 28-33), when the audience is enjoying an episode of *Ninde*, it is simultaneously made aware of the human follies and weaknesses shown by the situation in the play. The audience, depending on the development of the story and the final revelation, is shown what fate is waiting for someone behaving or acting in accordance with or contrary to the norms established in the society. As the same author continues to argue, comedy alludes to life and that is why it seems to be real.

Budengeri's (2012) study is a dissertation in Psychology and focuses on the audience's attitude or understanding based on what they have heard from the broadcast messages through the programme "*Ninde*?". Overall, the audience of *Ninde* is pleased with the programme given that the message is communicated through an entertaining format. So what makes it interesting is in reality the object of framing.

The reviewed literature under this section suggests that there is scarcity of sustained critical studies of *Ninde* plays. It is then curious that one of the most consumed radio drama genre in Burundi has received little academic attention. The thesis intends, not just to fill this gap by exploring how the Kirundi radio programme *Ninde* frames gender as an attempt to raise gender awareness, but also to challenge existing assumptions underlying existing literatures. The study thus observes how *Ninde* plays try to actualize masculinity and femininity in order to influence a new way of imagining/perceiving gender.

1.12 Theoretical Framework

This study is conceptualised within an eclectic theoretical approach due to its interdisciplinary nature. It is anchored on two major theories that are used as tools for critical analysis of how the radio drama *Ninde* frames masculinity and femininity and gender power relations for edutainment. The two are the theory of framing (Goffman, 1974) and the theory of gender performativity (Butter, 1988; 1990). Within these two overarching theories, other related approaches such as discursive interpretation as well as cultural explanations spice the discussion at various points as the need arises.

Framing is a concept introduced by Bateson (1972) and developed by Goffman (1974) to account for how speakers signal what they think they are doing when they say a certain thing in a certain way in a certain context (Tannen, 2005). Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckkman, 2007). The major premise of framing is that particular frames of an issue instil a specific worldview in people's minds through priming and making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. A particular frame conditions the packaging

of messages so as to either encourage or discourage certain interpretations. Framing therefore has the ability to alter and influence the public's perception by controlling discussions and interpretations of an issue.

Frames “comprise the contexts within which all forms of interaction take place”—including all human perception, interpretation, and communication (Wendland, 2010, p. 28). Frames are the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality—and sometimes to create what individuals take to be reality. These mental structures, or frames, appear in and operate through the words we use to discuss the world around us, including [gender]... (George Lakoff, 2006 cited in Wendland, 2010, p.30). Frames thus perform the necessary function of directing, even limiting debate by putting into verbal play selected key terms, examples, comparisons, and conceptual metaphors through which participants can comprehend and discuss an issue. A frame represents the content of the story by which individuals and groups come to recognize their world.

Frame analysis helps in the construction of meaning and retains a belief in the potential for discourse to affect action beyond the text (Entman, 1993). It retains its methodological roots in detailed linguistic analysis. Goffman (1974) conceives a frame as a way of organising experiences in order to identify what is taking place. Within sociology, he coined the term ‘frame analysis’ to describe the process of deconstructing the individual’s “organisation of experience” (1974, p.11). Goffman’s aim was to try to isolate some of the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense of events and to analyse the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject (1974, pp. 10-11).

One of Goffman's main contributions was thus the idea of 'primary frameworks'. He believed that primary frameworks were the first point of the organisation of experience. He states, "we tend to perceive events in terms of primary frameworks, and the type of framework we employ provides a way of describing the event to which it is applied..." asserting that "acts of daily living are understandable because of some of primary framework (or frameworks) that informs them" (Goffman, 1974, pp. 24-26). He outlines two discrete primary frameworks: 'the natural' and 'the social' that help people to make sense of 'what is happening' around them. Natural primary frameworks "identify occurrences seen as undirected, *unoriented*, unanimated, unguided, 'purely physical,'" while social primary frameworks "provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being" (Goffman, 1974, p. 22).

Primary frameworks form the basis of my most basic understanding of edutainment phenomenon in *Ninde*. I do frame analysis as a part of gender analysis in *Ninde*. In gender analysis we deconstruct society to understand how it organises its relationships. This research draws from Goffman's theory of framing to dissect *Ninde* to understand how the Burundian community organises its male-female relationship. For Goffman, a frame consists in a particular scheme of interpretation that people depend on to understand and respond to different situations and events. Frame analysis is known as a discourse analysis method that is primarily concerned with dissecting how an issue is defined and problematized, and the impact that this definition and problematization has on the broad discussion on the issue in question.

In this study, I appropriate the term ‘framing’ to refer to aesthetics and symbols that are used to package and communicate gender issues in *Ninde* artistic productions. I explore and extend the concept of framing to better understand the ways the radio programme *Ninde* uses to make visible gender-implied messages in an audio medium and to negotiate relationships in an entertaining mood. My interest in identifying frames of gender is based on how ‘being a man’ and ‘being a woman’ are defined and explained based on the moral and social understandings of the people involved, given that “frame is the structure of experience individuals have at any moment of their social lives” (Goffman, 1974).

I use frame analysis as a radio critical discourse analysis method to deal with the question of style, setting, choice of characters and characterisation to find out how, through characters and language, roles are given to men and women. The frame analysis helps to explain how the social power play, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, or resisted and subverted by talk in *Ninde* drama context. It particularly helps to explain the kind of techniques used to bring out gender roles and gender power relations. In short, framing and frame analysis are considered from the perspective of language and symbolic levels through metaphors, stereotypes and tropes that facilitate definition and presentation of specific matters of gender in a particular way.

The loophole of play framing when it comes to media communication is that while knowing that any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, it assumes that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction as if the audiences have the same ability to decipher that within a play context a bite or a slap, or insult does not

stand for what it is otherwise known to mean, namely aggression' (Goffman, 1974). The assumption of framing seems to overlook the fact that the audience does not have the same maturity and the same selective capacity to tease out the intended message from the frame. A play keys life and therefore playing frames can subsequently be dangerous because of the power of media discourse to influence or shape modern societies where people can be influenced by the nature of the frame used to communicate than by the context of that communication. Framing a play becomes a problem when the appearance and performance does not lead to the construction of the expected reality. Actors can talk dirty or violence in a play with the intention to teach something positive and thus influence people with the vulgar or with violence; they can use stereotypes thinking they are curbing while they are actually speeding up harmful or dangerous practices through the play(violence for instance). Given the heterogeneity of the audience which includes both parents and children, the framing of gender can at times pose ethical dilemmas. Of note is that I do not agree with the principle of a framing that does not sit with the existing moral order of a certain stage of culture.

Because the theory of framing does not accommodate all my thoughts, it is blended with the theory of gender performativity as indicated at the beginning of this section. During my analysis, I do not pay attention only to words but also to how they create masculine and feminine characters by the way words are uttered and the way they are used by men and women. That is where the theory of gender performativity by Butler comes to explain that any performed utterance is significant because 'saying' is 'doing', where "the body becomes its gender through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time"(Butler, 1988, p. 523). This study is decidedly "informed" by Butler's theory of performativity in that it looks at the

ideology of gender as a social construct. It engages with gender identities, which is femininity (ies) and masculinity (ies) as constructed entities that are not fixed. To say that gender is performative is to say that it is a certain kind of enactment. In its very character as enactment resides the possibility of deconstructing it and remaking of gendered reality along new lines (Butler, 2009).

The term 'performative' comes from Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1965). It is a noun which is derived from the verb to 'perform' and indicates that "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action" (Austin, 1965, p. 6). Austin's theory of performativity originally applied to linguistics was extended by Butler in gender and leads us to an understanding of how some utterances construct feminine and masculine identities in society. Gender as performance meets Goffman's view which posits a self which assumes and exchanges various 'roles' within the complex social expectation of the 'game' of modern life (Goffman, 1959).

Butler originated the argument that gender is not an essential quality but rather a performative one. She applauded Beauvoir's claim that "one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one", as well as the challenge her work posed to essentialist notions of gender that would bind it on irreducible material sex. From performative view, the reading of gender performances are distinct from sexed bodies (Francis, 2010).

Different from essentialists, who relate sex, gender and sexuality to each other, Butler claims that there is no necessary relationship between one's body and one's gender. For her, gender is 'unnatural.' Butler's argument implies that it is not compulsory for a male body to display traits that are normally considered 'masculine.' Similarly, it is possible to have a 'female' body that does not display traits generally considered 'feminine.' In this case, we can have 'masculine' femininity or 'feminine'

masculinity. She claims that the best approach of challenging the status quo is to displace categories such as 'man,' 'woman,' 'male' and 'female' by revealing how they are discursively constructed within a heterosexual matrix of power.

Gender is performed through language (as a form of speech act), bodily (in terms of one's appearance), and also through one's actions. Butler perceives gender as a 'corporeal style,' an act (or a sequence of acts), a 'strategy' which has cultural survival as its end, since those who do not 'do' their gender correctly are ridiculed. But it is my contention that change must necessarily pass through the ridicule of the challengers of the status quo. She clarifies her argument by stating that gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being (Butler, 1999, pp. 43-4).

Gender performative theory supplements the framing theory to explain how language is constitutive of masculinity and femininity. By saying words in radio drama, women and men perform acts that contribute in shaping the identities of men and women in the real world, and it can be positive or negative depending on how words are used. According to Butler (1990), the performativity of gender is not a singular act, or something accomplished by one particular act; rather, it is 'the reiterative and citational practice,' the compulsory repetition of gender norms that animates and constrains the gendered subject but which are also the resources from which resistance, subversions, and displacement are forged. To be a subject at all is to be given this assignment of repetition, but – and this is important for Butler – an assignment which is never quite carried out according to expectation, so that one never quite inhabits the gender norms or ideals one is compelled to approximate. In

that gap, in the different ways of carrying out the gender's 'assignment,' lie possibilities for resistance and change. Stress falls here on the way the performative force of language comes from the repetition of prior norms and prior acts. Gender identities are constructed and constituted by language, which means that there is no gender identity that precedes language. Butler states that "[t]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1999, p. 33).

The gender theory of performativity is the most radical contribution of Butler on the question of gender identity and power relations. It provides critical insight into how hegemonic heterosexist discourses work to constitute 'the subject' – although she also jettisons the foundational notion of critical agency without presenting a viable alternative. First, Butler challenges the sex/gender distinction or between material/biological bodies and gender ideology that had dominated gender theorisation since the publication of de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* (1949). Butler's (1990; 1993; 1997) major argument is that everything, power relations inclusive, depends on how we perform our gender. According to her, since gender is a repetitive enactment of performance, it is possible for individuals to change their performance so as to subvert the social norms and perform various roles.

Butler's theory of performativity regarding subjectivity and agency helps to explain how the world is framed in terms of relationships, why and how particular identities emerge, their effects in time and space, and the role of subjects in accommodating or resisting dominant or fixed subject position. There is a complex dialectical interplay between norms of male domination and the individual's attempt to subvert these

norms. She contends that “performativity cannot be understood outside the process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms” (Butler, 1993, p. 95). Theories of the performative offer better accounts of the entanglement of norm and action, whether presenting conventions as the condition of possibility of events, seeing action as obligatory repetition, which may nevertheless deviate from the norms. Literature, which is supposed to ‘make it new’ in a space of convention, calls for a performative account of norm and event.

I look at how Butler applies linguistics -performatives from a gender approach and that is what I do to my plays because actions in *Ninde* are only accessible through utterances. Butler’s theory helps to explain how *Ninde* performances act out or “do” or “undo” or “redo” masculinity and femininity by words in *Ninde* dialogues. From Butler’s theory, we understand that speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, making requests, persuading, convincing, asking questions or making promises. It is in understanding gender as performance that lies the possibility of constituting it differently. All what I hear from the radio drama are words and intonation and I look at the performance of masculinity and femininity and gender power relations through utterances and other sceneries.

Understood through the lens of Butler’s theory of gender performativity, gender identity is not fixed in nature but relies on culturally constructed signification. Her key move toward refashioning gender norms lies in redefining gender as performance as an ‘act of doing’ rather than a mere ‘state of being’ (Butler, 2004). If gender is an act then it can be performed in an infinite number of ways, and one actor can potentially slide between roles. This seems to point towards the conclusion that

“gender is not something one is, it is something one does, an act, or more precisely, a sequence of acts, a verb rather than a noun, a ‘doing’ rather than a ‘being’ (Butler, 1999, p. 33).

Following Goffman’s and Butler’s line of thought, I do not therefore examine masculinity and femininity as fixed, unchanging, and universal categories in *Ninde* as essentialists’ definitions have assumed, but I explore them from a more multilayered approach. The research therefore pays attention to the practices through which male and female characters perform their gender in different forms, sometimes contradictory, that are determined by social settings like the family and the way they generate their masculine and feminine performances within definite structures of patriarchy.

However, gender performative theory has a principle that I do not agree with. The vision of a world in which the episteme no longer includes gender as a primary ordering principle marks Butler’s work as participating fully in the utopian theoretical tradition (Flick *et al*, 2005). According to her, since gender is a repetitive enactment of performance, it is possible for the individuals to change their performance so as to subvert the social norms that produce and enhance heterosexist gender identities and relations. Butler is advancing a non-heterosexual identity and relations: that is one of the things I do not need in the context of my study. As social beings that have to co-exist in an organised society, should we subvert all social constructs for the sake of subverting only? Some of these norms are useful in social organization. The language may carry elements of gender equity in heterosexual context. What I need from Butler is the element of performance to explain gender-based speech acts. I contend that the

problem around gender is not on heterosexuality but rather the use of male and female differences to discriminate against one another. In her essay “Conversations,” Helene Cixous clearly entrenches the importance of this difference:

I don't believe a man and a woman are identical. The fact that a man and a woman have the whole of humanity in common and that at the same time, there is something slightly different, I consider a benediction. Our difference has to do with the way we experience pleasure, with our bodily experiences, which are not the same, our different experiences necessarily leave different marks, different memories (Lodge,1988, p. 321).

Cixous is right to believe that men and women are different. There are ‘roles’ that can be performed by either a man or a woman but there are for instance biologically sex-linked ‘roles’ that cannot be performed by men and women interchangeably. Differences are thus an asset according to Cixous. Performativity as theory has limits beyond which it cannot ‘perform.’ Men and women are of course different. But as Rubin (Cited in Connell 1987, p.79) posits, they are not as different as day and night, earth and sky, yin and yang, life and death. From the standpoint of nature, men and women are closer to each other than either is to anything else. According to Feng (2002), there is a vast body of evidence indicating that men and women are biologically and psychologically different, and that what heterosexual men and women want in partners directly corresponds to these differences. I opine that gender difference is relevant and necessary in certain circumstances.

In my study, I choose to integrate the two theories of framing of gender, rather than use them sequentially. As already indicated, some aspects of the theories are disregarded because they are not relevant to the study. The two theories guide me to analyse how the radio programme *Ninde* frames masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) in the imagined world, or how men and women “do” or perform gender by “saying” words in *Ninde* plays as oral performances of dramatic dialogues within

heterosexuality. Using Goffman's concept of framing and Butler's idea of gender performativity as my analytical tools, the research analyzes how *Ninde* uses voice and sounds to interrogate the conventional concept of hegemonic patriarchy and its relatedness.

1.13 Research Methodology

This section presents the research methodology used in this study. The technique used was purposive sampling of ten plays selected from hundreds of plays between 2005 and 2015. The section presents the study area, research design, data collection techniques, data analysis techniques and ethical considerations.

1.13.1 Study Area

The nature of this study was such that the *Ninde* plays being investigated, target Burundians as their audience. This study therefore focused on gender framing by *Ninde* as a representation of perception of the people of Burundi. As indicated in the background to the study, Burundi is at the 'heart' of Africa, neighbouring Rwanda, Tanzania, and DR Congo. The people are highly homogeneous, speaking the same language (Kirundi), most of them being crop farmers (90%), and generally having the same culture.

1.13.2 Research Design

The methodological approach to the study was qualitative, and employed archival study and ethnography research design. *Ninde* archives of aired plays served generally to provide my ethnographic corpus. The design was appropriate since the study sought to obtain information related to the social interactions, cultural behaviours,

frames and perceptions of gender of the people of Burundi in relation to the way they frame gender. Specifically, the study dealt with two variables which are framing and gender.

1.13.3 Methods of Data Collection

The study used three methods. These are:

Theoretical Library Research

The theoretical library research included theoretical studies in literary field, sociology and gender to establish which of the theories of earlier scholars are relevant to the present study; studies in theories of African radio drama as a background to examining how radio plays operate; and a study of the socio-cultural and political structures of Burundian people and their perceptions of gender in general, as a part of the preparation for examining the way a significant aspect of gender is reflected in *Ninde*. The thesis used methodologies that can assist in the ‘reading’ of *Ninde* as dramatic gender-based speech acts.

In-depth Interview

The key informant was one of the current radio *Ninde* producers. He was interviewed to provide corroborating information that was helpful in the background to this study and in clearly answering sections two and three of chapter two on censorship of radio programmes and on the history and design of radio *Ninde*.

Document Study

Ninde documentation and compact discs were studied to get data necessary for this study. The focus was on *Ninde* plays recorded between 2005 and 2015.

1.13.4 Target Population of the Study

This study targeted hundreds of radio drama recordings in the archives of National Radio of Burundi that broadcasts from the capital city Bujumbura. *Ninde* plays are aired every week and with an average of 48 plays yearly, it is possible to roughly estimate a production of hundreds of plays since the radio programme has been running since the early 1980s.

1.13.5 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Although there is an impressive number of *Ninde* plays produced for about three decades, this study focused on ten plays that vividly capture and articulate the issues I sought to investigate in my research. These ten plays made it possible to get adequate and various data that allowed me to answer the research questions with sufficient confidence. The ten plays were selected using purposive/relevance sampling. Relevance sampling aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering given research questions.

When using relevance sampling, analysts proceed by actually examining the texts to be analyzed, even if only superficially, often in a multistage process (Krippendorff, 2004). Relevance sampling is not probabilistic. In using this form of sampling, an analyst proceeds by following a conceptual hierarchy, systematically lowering the number of units that need to be considered for an analysis. The resulting units of text are not meant to be representative of a population of texts; rather, they are the population of relevant texts, excluding the textual units that do not possess relevant information. Only when the exclusion criteria have exhausted their ability to shrink the population of relevant texts to a manageable size may the analyst apply other sampling techniques. Issues of accurate representation may arise at that point, but

only relative to the relevant units from which the sample was drawn, not relative to the whole population of possible texts (Krippendorff, 2004, pp.118-120). Because the resulting sample is defined by the analytical problem at hand, relevance sampling is also called judgemental or purposive sampling.

According to Newman (2007), purposive sampling is used in situations in which an expert uses judgement in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind. One of the situations in which purposive sampling is appropriate is when a researcher uses it to select unique cases that are especially informative (Ibid, pp.142-3). That is how I proceeded in selecting the ten *Ninde* plays to analyse in this study.

Radio producers of the programme showed me where the available CDs of *Ninde* plays records are kept and I judged what to listen to from their dates of production and their titles or labels – which definitely correspond to the major theme of each play – because the plays were really many. So on the basis of *Ninde* CD's titles, I managed to collect a large corpus of fifty plays produced between 2005 and 2015. By listening to each one of the 50 plays, I identified and sampled ten plays. For purposes of my research objectives, the ten plays were sampled using the purposive sampling, in relation to the following five major sectors derived right from the structure of the society: (1) marriage and family (focus on polygamy, husband's and wife's roles and responsibilities in the household, family location); (2) education (focus on education of the girl child); (3) health (focus on HIV/AIDS, antenatal check routines, barrenness); (4) socio-economy (focus on private property ownership), and (5) politics (focus on how power between men and women is featured). The rationale for choosing themes in the five sectors is that they allow one to see how gender reflects on these sectors of the social institutions in Burundi.

The reason for choosing the period post-2005 is that it is a period rich in events affecting directly or indirectly social institutions in Burundi whose experience the drama is supposed to relate to. The period is also likely to provide plays that have a unity frame. Next, recent plays can easily be accessed than older plays. The sample is also, in my view representative of the data I need to achieve the objectives of the present study.

1.13.6 Data Collection Instruments

My research equipment were a notebook, a pen and an audio recorder and CDs to duplicate the selected plays for convenience of analysing them even during the time I was outside the radio station.

Since the radio programme *Ninde* is listened to by the audience, I listened to the selected plays over and over again to grasp the frames of gender performance that would otherwise be missed when the play is transcribed. As part and parcel of methodology for my analytical purposes, I transcribed five of the radio performed dialogues from the recordings, after which the transcribed materials were translated into English from the source language, which is Kirundi before embarking on the data analysis. Because *Ninde* is performance, the transcription does not capture the performance.

1.13.7 Data Analysis Procedures

Data was organised, analysed and interpreted qualitatively using frame analysis of masculinity and femininity in *Ninde* as a critical discourse method. They were analysed taking into account how plays use language and characters to display the social gender behaviours, roles and relations, having in mind that the dialogue

between the interactants in the play is actually an implicit communication between the dramatist and the audience and that language-in-use recognises language as having an effect beyond the boundaries of the 'text' itself.

In order to answer the research questions and to reach the objectives of the research, the analysis, discussion and interpretation of the collected data were guided by Goffman's theory about framing and Butler's theory about performativity and I extended their use and deployed them as critical discourse analysis (CDA). There is a relationship between the two theories and critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is a combination of linguistic methods mainly linguistic pragmatics with theories of power and ideology. It has to do with how to analyse language and to predict the power relations between participants. Frame analysis shares many of the building blocks of CDA but returns somewhat to its linguistic and textual roots. While it shares the same principles of the construction of meaning and retains a belief in the potential for discourse to affect action beyond the text (Entman, 1993), it retains its methodological roots in detailed linguistic analysis and helps to analyse characterization and setting that critical discourse per se cannot do. So, gender- based framing or gender-based performative framing of language was better for my analysis. The radio dramas were subjectively 'read' as texts that lend themselves to multiple readings and interpretations by different audiences.

First, the literary and stylistic analysis of techniques deployed and symbolism used in reference to males and females was done and related to the contents of the plays. The setting, text organisation, characterisation, language, word choice and tonality were examined for their depiction of the dialogues' presentation of gender imagination. Basing on characters' dialogue (the spoken word) and tonal variations as cues that led

me in interrogating the framing and locating themes for further analysis, I listened to the radio drama episodes of *Ninde* over and over again to find out if there were current structures or gender patterns in those dramatic oral performances. How effectively does *Ninde* use the language to bring out gender? How are the words uttered to *do* things or to *produce effect* with language? Is it words that are commanding, requesting, persuading, convincing? What interaction types are the speech acts determining: is it aggressive masculinity or assertive femininity? What does it reflect in terms of men's and women's relations?

Second, important facts were presented, doing it manually with categorisation of themes, and sometimes supporting my arguments with some excerpts from my data. The research paid particular attention to what the characters say, how they express themselves and how they relate with one another to make inferences. Focus was particularly on what men tell women or say about women and what women tell men or say about men, whose vision is presented, actions of men and women, their location in the plays, character types and other structural symbols that seem to constitute the message communicated in a particular episode.

Since I had to consider the dramatic aspects, I considered the oral performance as well. I interpreted my data qualitatively, identifying segments in which gender was evident and looking for culturally patterned differences in signalling meaning that could account for the gender issue. I looked at *Ninde* plays to identify patterns, themes or biases from a gender perspective. I listened as a literary language critic, imagining, and trying to understand what people hear, when they listen. Does that language connote affirmation of positive gender ideas or negative gender ideas? I was interested in how the language is used in the construction of gender identities. Even if

the performers of the plays are giving a moral lesson, are they giving it through the use of language? Is what they are saying, which is a performative act, meant to support the construction of normal gender behaviour?

Butler (1999) highlights the role of language use in constructing a specific masculinity. She contends that gender is constructed via language and discourse. It is through language that we understand someone's performance of masculinity or femininity. As a radio drama, language and sounds are thus a basis of reading, analyzing and interpreting radio *Ninde*. Through the analysis of language used by the male and female characters, I elucidated how the characters express and construct their masculinities and femininities. Radio *Ninde* deploys numerous aesthetic devices including proverbs, metaphors, analogy and symbols. These stylistic devices enable us to identify how men and women perform and construct their gender. I unpacked the meaning of the selected plays in terms of how gender relations are framed and covered the following levels: gender violence, negative masculinity, feminized masculinity, masculinized femininity, female negative masculinity and other various identities. In addition, the status, condition of females and males, and the gender relations in the plays have been identified and the social implications of gender and sexual values frames discussed.

It should be understood that my chapters which are apparently long are not long because of the arguments but because of the demonstrations. The excerpts have been elaborate to capture the dramas. It was inevitable to have these sections though they are long, and they serve the reader who does not have the benefit of the full radio *Ninde* text which is an audio.

1.13.8 Ethical Consideration

This study adhered to all ethical issues (Somekh & Lewin (Eds.), 2005) in relation to the regulation at Moi University. Permission to do research on the topic was obtained from the University. I had also a research permit from the National radio of Burundi and from *Ninde* programme managers. Informed consent was sought from the research participant to ensure that his autonomy was protected. The data collected has been used for academic purpose only. Since the study targeted radio plays, issues of confidentiality, and justice were not encountered. Nonetheless, findings of this study will be made available to the management of *Ninde*, which may be helpful in evaluating their programme. This study has cited borrowed information and ideas to avoid plagiarism.

1.14 Chapter Outline

In addition to the introductory chapter, this work has five chapters. Chapter two presents the radio drama *Ninde* in general as a theatre of the mind. It deals with the history, design and structure of *Ninde* as edutainment drama designed for an audio medium and which mainly employs comedy and satire. Chapters three, four and five unpack the framing of radio *Ninde* through a deconstruction of what we call patriarchal hegemony. The plays critique how patriarchal hegemony justifies unequal and unjust treatment of women. They indeed debunk the myth of patriarchal dominance and reconstruct masculinity and femininity that suit the contemporary perspectives of gender performances. Chapter six provides a conclusion to this study.

CHAPTER TWO

NINDE: THEATRE OF THE MIND

2.1 Introduction

The first objective of this study was to document the manner in which *Ninde* programme is framed as a radio play form to popularize and enhance its reception. This chapter thus presents findings of the history, design and structure of *Ninde* in general as an ‘edutainment’ audio genre, that is, an entertainment content that is designed to educate Burundians by embedding didactic lessons into some familiar form of entertainment.

Across Africa, there have been initiatives and campaigns that capitalize on the use of television and radio to promote social change. One such communication strategy is through the use of TV and radio dramas and soap operas (Ligaga, 2008; Mbogo, 2012; Tanganika, 2012; Sambai, 2014). Apart from plays in colonial languages, African broadcasters made major contributions to an alternative African language theatre style. This tradition, which emerged a little earlier, provided in some ways an even stronger break with the western models of radio drama. African narratives were based on a tradition of improvised creativity rather than individual authorship. The function of the stories was not only to provide entertainment, but also informal education, and social control through the techniques of characterisation, narrative comment and the deep structures embedded in the motifemic sequences (Kerr, 1998). *Ninde* authors have created a distinct style that makes it easy for listeners from both urban and rural areas to appreciate the *Ninde* patterns for a period of over three decades so far with the same enthusiasm. They designed a format in which messages

can be ‘mindvisualized.’ It is worth noting that it is the format of presentation of *Ninde* that has to a great extent helped to sustain its audience’s interests. It is this undertaking that the present chapter sets out to analyse, unpacking the trends or patterns within *Ninde* that give the programme its undying relevance in spite of its existence over a long period of time – more than three decades, which is longer than a generation period.

This chapter attempts to show that there is a direct relationship between the time *Ninde* programme has been on air, and the style of framing related to Burundian culture that it has. This is especially so, bearing in mind that *Ninde* has developed over the years from indigenous viewpoints and not in conformity with American or European styles/problems.

The actors in *Ninde* plays are, to quote Kerr (1998, p.125), “very skilful at using improvised, unscripted techniques of narrative and drama to reproduce the semblance of the traditional performers’ collective and participatory art.” It is within that framework that the research looks at the Kirundi radio drama *Ninde*. Put differently, the chapter assesses from a gender inclination the “amount of entertainment which is used to sugar the didactic pill” (Ibid). I am looking at radio as a particular form which communicates in a particular way; what we can call the “blind.” It assumes that the audience is blind and it only expects them to listen. All images are created through the voice and sounds. I look at how ‘authors’ use the techniques that are available to them through the audio medium to enhance the audience’s imagination.

All over the world, the media plays a central role in transmitting a wide range of messages that are political, social, economic or cultural. However, the media is like a

double edged sword; it can build and it can destroy. It is a force that nothing in the world can stop when it is triggered off. Whole nations disappear because of the media (Frédéric Ngenzebuhoro's Preface of Ntiyanogeye, 1994).

2.2 “Radio Télévision Nationale du Burundi” RTNB and censorship of radio programmes

The establishment of media began in Burundi in 1945 with the first periodical being edited in Burundi under the title *Rusizira Amarembe* (Sower of Peace) (Ntiyanogeye, 1994, pp. 1-2). In early 1960s after independence, the station called “Radio-Usumbura,” which was still communal to Rwanda and Burundi, became national (Ibid, 19). This station later transformed into *Radio Télévision Nationale du Burundi* (RTNB) (Burundi National Radio and Television). RTNB has since gone through several changes to what it is currently. The media has transformed the society in significant ways: clamour for independence, political maturation, social, and cultural transformation. For a long time, RTBN was the only station, until 1990s that private players entered the media scene.⁷

The potency of RTNB was witnessed in 2015 when it was unsuccessfully targeted as a medium of communication by the people behind the failed coup attempt on 13th and 14th May. The private media was then used to announce a successful coup, and the state (national) media was used to communicate the abortion of the coup. This confirms what Ligaga (2008) and Mbogo (2012) say concerning media, that national broadcasters are often protected by power holders and targeted by power seekers. Fardon and Furniss (2000) also assert that historically, coups are executed in Africa in similar ways, which is, using broadcast stations (Cited in Ligaga, 2008, p.16).

⁷ <http://www.ua.ac.be/objs/00110840.pdf>, p.89 [Accessed on 22/4/2016]

On the positive, RTNB has been successful in many and various broadcasts. One of these programmes is *Ninde*, a dramatic play which is the subject of the present study. *Ninde* is a radio theatre designed to educate and inform listeners on social, economic, political and cultural questions in a relaxed and entertaining way. The dramatised subject matter in *Ninde* is drawn from everyday life, framing artistically a variety of societal issues ranging from gender, economy, various conflicts, health issues such as sexual and reproductive health, good governance, human rights as well as social situations prevailing at the time it is performed. The ‘authors’ pick relevant themes such as polygamy, family conflicts, family planning, prevention of mother to child transmission (PMTCT), HIV/AIDS, sexual promiscuity, drug, etcetera (Ntiyanogeye, 1994, p.74). This confirms an assertion by Njogu (2005, p.25) who argues that dramas and soap operas are used to entertain and educate, to change attitudes, increase family dialogues, influence individual behaviour... (Cited in Ligaga, 2008, p.75). The same argument is true with regard to the radio drama *Ninde* in Burundi.

In the course of this study, it was found that radio and television programmes, *Ninde* inclusive are censored in Burundi before broadcast. This reflects the feeling of fear by the government that such performances can lead to revolt by the masses against the state. This echoes Kidd’s (1983) observation that in the Third World, popular theatre is often used as a tool of protest and struggle, making it subject to government control and manipulation (Cited in Sambai, 2014 p.45). In this way, media become susceptible to manipulations by the state which assumes total control over the society and demands unchallenged obedience and loyalty.

Therefore, although one of its assignments was to talk about political questions according to terms and conditions of the contract between RTNB as representative of

the government and the authors of *Ninde* (2008 version of the 1981 Contract between RTNB and *Ninde* actors), *Ninde* is run in such a way that caution is exercised both by producers and actors, so that the government is not ‘offended.’ Authors are careful to avoid ‘the controversial topics’ in their dramatic productions. So, *Ninde* is pro-government and is censored. Its budget is fully covered by the state, limiting the freedom of the programme and its actors. According to the same contract, *Ninde* actors cannot perform a private play without prior permission from the RTNB as a representative of the state. *Ninde* programme therefore tries to survive under such conditions keeping away from political talk and focusing on everyday realities from which it obtains its themes.

Because *Ninde* is produced for a state broadcaster, there is constant censorship or surveillance of the programme and the actors. This surveillance of the national broadcaster is also demonstrated through the presence of the Burundian Army at the RTNB gate and in its neighbourhood, which apart from protecting the RTNB offices also becomes the visual reminder of the government’s eyes. One would not be wrong if they conclude that the programme *Ninde* advocates for government’s agendas using a popular programme. This attests to Sambai’s (2014, p.46) argument that in developing African nations, television (and radio) programmes normally advance and promote state ideology as they are usually exploited as instruments that construct and protect the values and institutions of the ruling elite. The radio becomes a medium, to use Kerr’s (1998, p.80) words, “helping to create a symbiosis of mass culture and popular culture.”

I read *Ninde* in this research as a popular cultural form though this is partly in contradiction with Barber’s view with regard to popular culture because of the

influence of the government's eye during its production. Barber (1997, p.2) is of the idea that popular theatre programmes should be conceived as “the works of local cultural producers speaking to local audiences about pressing concerns, experiences and struggles that they share...these arts are about things that matter to people.” Although *Ninde* production advocates for certain values and positions in the society, the fact that it is censored, and ‘forced’ to act in certain ways is enough reason not to have total confidence in *Ninde* addressing locally felt needs. The issues raised in *Ninde* may matter to people but it pushes an official position or discourse in a popular language because the programme is produced for a state broadcaster. So, to study *Ninde* is to acknowledge the relationship it has with its audience, without ignoring the over-bearing presence of RTNB as a state broadcaster and the influence this has on the production of the plays. As the state broadcaster, RTNB represents the moral standards and cultural values of the community. This stance dictates the kind of content that can be aired through the state broadcaster, as it is stipulated in Article One of 2008 version of the Contract.

2.3 The History and Design of the Radio Drama *Ninde*

There is scarcity of literature on *Ninde* programme. *Ninde* is the longest aired play in the national language, and is a pioneer production of all other Kirundi radio dramas. For many Burundians, the programme remains popular because it addresses their social, economic, and other needs in a language they understand. The radio is also popular because it serves as the source of basic news and information, more like an ordinary “daily newspaper,” serving even the illiterate. This process of information transfer and education are done in an artistic and entertaining way, I quote Bouman (1999, p. 25), “in order to enhance and facilitate different stages of pro-social

(behaviour) change.” As Coleman and Meyer (1990, p.68) aver, the concept ‘edutainment’ refers to any entertainment content that is designed to educate by embedding didactic lessons into some familiar form of entertainment. The primary advantage of such edutainment programmes rests in their ability to attract the attention of people who might otherwise deliberately avoid messages that appear in an obvious educational form (Coleman and Meyer, 1990).

Radio in Burundi is considered as an effective tool in promoting issues of social concerns because it is perceived to be cheap, accessible to all, transcends literacy barriers and uses the local language. As Hofmeyr (1993) avers, it also relates to “the oral nature of most African cultures” (Hofmeyr, 1993 cited in Ligaga, 2008, p.6). *Ninde* has been created to help to fulfill that mission of mass education (Ntiyanogeye, 1994). Over the years, radio stations have played various edutainment programmes (for instance, *Umubanyi niwe muryango* ‘One’s neighbour is member of one’s family,’ *Murikira ukuri* ‘Light the way to the truth!’, *Agashi* ‘Mind your behaviour!’, *Birandambiye* ‘I am tired of those things’...), most of which are serials, ending in suspense. Each *Ninde* episode is however a once-off play, with sufficient moral lessons to the imagined audience in course of the story unfolding. The moral lesson is either stated in a form of a proverb or catch phrase as a recall of the theme to capture the whole moral so it may be preserved and not be lost in the entertainment.

Another advantage of *Ninde* is due to portability of the radio gadgets. It makes it possible to reach people far away, even those who live in remote areas, at minimum cost. The radio gadgets are in the hands of many people from all economic status even those without electricity, since some radio receivers use small batteries. Unlike stage theatre, *Ninde* depends on sound and imagination. The real strength of audio is an

ability to infiltrate the mind and to unleash the most powerful dramatic weapon of all which is the imagination of the listener (Hand & Traynor, 2011). Of course there may be an argument that radio plays are inferior to televised images, but Crook (1999, p.54) asserts that there is no “philosophical difference between seeing physically with the eye and seeing with the mind,” and therefore radio plays are equally as potent as movie or stage theatre plays. It creates its new world in the world around us. The drama has a sociological nature as both a record and as an interpretation of social life (Goffman, 1974). From the ‘reading’ of *Ninde*, I found that the performance is designed such that the space in which the perceived audience’s world is reflected upon. The performance takes place through the sound medium (radio), in which the different dramas are presented. The opening and closing formulas are borrowed from the African oral tradition of storytelling, which makes the drama all the more captivating.

Ninde producers have been noted to be careful on how they use sound technique. This explains why the radio programme has been successful, because according to Ligaga (2008) echoed by Tanganika (2012), successful edutainment radio drama producers have to pay attention to the use of sound and other techniques. *Ninde* complies fully with these techniques of linguistic devices, voice and sound to try to approximate stage by putting the information in a form that can be consumed by the people whom *Ninde* imagines to speak to.

Radio *Ninde*, which means ‘who is that’ is organised to captivate the audience. The question ‘who is that’ is posed at the beginning of each play, and the audience listen to the plays trying to find out the answer to that question, they ‘spectate’ in order to ‘see’ with the mind’s eye the types of characters framed by the play, and in the end

they get the lessons intended. Although a similar programme has recently been aired on television every Tuesday evening at 9:30 p.m after news in English, but the recentness of the programme, and the small audience it is able to reach because of the inaccessibility of television sets by majority of Burundians significantly limits its potential.

Although they have a basically didactic intention, *Ninde* plays are presented in a lighter form. In this way, they have a good chance of changing people's attitudes. *Ninde* drama has a corrective purpose. And for this reason the title fits the broadcast very well. Usually at the end of the performance of every *Ninde* episode, the audience would have identified the character or characters portrayed in the play.

According to Kabuyenge (1994), *Ninde* drama initiative started towards the end of 1980. An interprovincial competition was organized where representatives competed, acting plays that were both entertaining and educating. One of the central provinces Gitega, represented by Giheta Commune won the prize. Following this victory a radio producer and the Giheta group would produce four plays per month, plays combining both entertainment and education in every sense of the word according to the contract, in exchange for some incentives.

On Sunday 4 April 1981, the first play was broadcast by the group from Kabanga. Since then every Sunday evening at a half past eight *Ninde* is aired on the National Radio, either as a new play or a rebroadcast of an old one. The group was trained by radio producer(s) to perform plays appropriate for radio broadcast, especially the fact that voice articulation is done to compensate absence of visual elements. As a matter of fact, in radio the actor appears to the audience only through his/her voice.

Producers and actors must be able to select those words and those sounds which allow the audience – which is actually composed by any person who is listening to the programme from anywhere – to ‘see’ the performance through their ears.

Ninde is pre-recorded for airing, and therefore does not have a place for immediate audience feedback as in a real stage performance. In radio, the scenes take place behind the curtain, since we are concerned with the voices alone. The point of concentration of characters is to show the who, where, what and how by voice and sound alone, without telling it in so many words, since each play lasts only one hour. Character and action, rather than spectacle are central in such a case. Characters often relate and animate events. Great emphasis is placed upon the actor and his/her ability to capture the audience’s attention and imagination without assistance from the many of the theatrical devices employed on the stage since in the context of radio drama the stage is the mind. *Ninde* mainly depends on dialogue and sound effects to help the listener imagine the characters and story. They use some ways to guide listener in stories. This is in accord with Hand and Traynor’s observation that there are certain narrative conventions developed in radio drama to compensate the absence of physical theatre and to ensure that listeners can be ‘hooked’ in easily (Hand & Traynor, 2011, p.36).

A ‘reading’ of *Ninde* also allows to see that it uses uncomplicated narrative structure, involving few characters to allow the audience to follow easily, and the language uses a mixture of dialogue and soliloquy for the progress of the storyline as can be noticed in the various excerpts used for arguments in this study.

Ninde actors are selected on the basis of their talents. In fact, when one is listening to the performance, they notice that *Ninde* actors possess extremely flexible voices;

voices that have in them a quality of theatre and yet a sense of reality and sincerity. Moreover they have got a gift of mimicry and have developed an ear for all types of speech. Because of their voices, it is possible to differentiate the types of characters and personality that they express. Above all they have a well-developed imagination because they improvise their dramas.

The history of creation of *Ninde* has the information that the broadcast managers decided to have more than one group, so that different voices can be heard, and different people can identify with them. Apart from the group from Kabanga, the first play by people from Giheta Commune in the Province of Gitega was broadcast on February 23, 1984. The third group from Bururi Province played in 1992 “to have another kind of landscape, another kind of people, another kind of talk” (Kabuyenge, 1994, p.20). But this group did not perform many plays. It was suspended after a few years because their performances did not appeal to the audience as the first two groups had done.

The dramatised subject matter in *Ninde* is actually drawn from everyday life. Thus, *Ninde* plays frame artistically a variety of societal issues and social situations prevailing at the time it is performed but the focus of this study is on plays communicating gender-implied messages. When *Ninde* was first initiated in 1981, performers, who are mostly villagers, focused particularly on rural life since they did not know much about the city (Kabuyenge, 1994). The fact that the actors came from the village did not limit their ability to communicate ethics, since what is good in the rural area is also good in the city, and what is evil is evil. Besides that, performers are nowadays influenced by modern trends though most of them are villagers. Thus, the plays deal with raising consciousness about Burundian ethics as a whole.

Thematically, *Ninde* episodes reflect several significant social facts and realities. It is these complex phenomena that constitute everyday experience which are performed in the drama and they are reflected in language because of its nature to mirror the Burundian society. The numerous social problems which the plays shed light on include the universal conflict of the good versus the bad; marital conflict; evil machinations of men against their fellow men relatives or friends, and a host of other social challenges. Some of these problems are of course the obvious concomitants of the rapid socio-political change currently taking place in Burundi and Africa at large. Radio drama *Ninde* is, I quote Ligaga (2008, p.6), “a genre that operates within the sociology of everyday life.” One can learn a lot about Burundian society by listening to *Ninde*. The foregoing is in accordance with Wolfram Frommlet’s (1991) observation that most radio plays in Africa are actually

based on problems and aspects of contemporary African societies, rural traditions and values contrasting urban behaviours and ideas; the search for cultural identity in times of rapid change; socio-economic problems, emancipation of women in predominantly male oriented society (in Ligaga, 2008, p.19).

For Frommlet, these radio dramas are useful in making a radio audience aware about problems, conflicts and possible solutions that can work in a given society.

Like popular plays in any society, *Ninde* plays are attuned to the interests and experiences of audiences. The play actors depict current social conflicts, or project problems and dilemmas which are real to the members of the audience. It has been noticed that the universality of themes such as romance, love, marriage and sex is punctuated by experiences that are very local in order to inform the lived experiences of the imagined listeners of the performances. This agrees with de Certeau (1984, p.ix) who argues that “analyses that an author would fain believe universal are traced

back to nothing more than the expression of local.” The themes in Radio drama *Ninde* are expressed through local experiences, language, register, plot or storyline, settings and characterization.

It is also important to note that *Ninde* drama stands out, not just in Burundi, but also regionally when compared to other radio theatres from the East African region. Compared to *Musekeweya* for example, a radio drama in Rwanda, the two are different not only in subject matter but also in the rationale and the process of their making. *Ninde* deals with a wide range of disparate themes in once-off plays, while the serial drama *Musekeweya* focuses on helping Rwandans recover from the trauma of genocide, and find reconciliation and peace. According to Tanganika (2012), the Radio serial drama is a major component of the media campaign by a Dutch NGO, La Benevolencija-Rwanda, with objectives in the sense of harnessing peace building, reconciliation and trauma healing in Rwanda. The process of creating the storyline in *Musekeweya* is participatory. After storyline has been developed, the script writers prepare a synopsis of episodes in Kinyarwanda which is then translated into English and sent to the team of experts based at the University of Massachusetts for comment and approval in order to examine and advise on the cultural and relevance of the synopsis. The writers then write the episodes and send their English translation to the same experts for approval before actors are called to the studio for recording (Tanganika, 2012).

Ninde does not take all this long process. According to my radio *Ninde* producer informant Ndiokubwayo, the radio producers and the team of actors from rural area cooperate to design the play based on the social concern of the moment. *Ninde* drama is made of orally improvised plays. Actors are given a theme and rehearse just for a

short time before the play is ready. Thus, they do not have scripts. Actors/ actresses are only provided with an outline of the subject matter, after which it is up to the producer or each one of the actors to find the right words at the right moment. In *Ninde*, media professionals act either as producers or facilitators by providing a technical assistance to actors/authors. After the community diagnosis, *Ninde* actors can create an improvised play on the social issues or concerns identified. And within only one hour which is the time allotted to each play broadcast, there is not much time to start, develop, and end a story which has too many threads running through it. The study noticed that in the performance, the actors concentrate on one basic situation until it is resolved using few characters, usually less than ten persons, and the setting is usually in the same locations (home and bars often), so as to focus and not confuse the audience .

As old wine in new gourds, the radio “has provided an environment in which a new storytelling genre has been born”, if I use Crook’s (1999, p.3) words. *Ninde* plays are dramatized narratives in dialogue forms pre-recorded to be aired on radio as a new form of orality which appeals to a much larger population group than ever before, in fact, I quote Degh (1994, p.1), “to a much broader array of diverse social groups” located on a wide geographical space than the ordinary physical theatre, because of the help of technological devices. The radio drama has therefore a life of its own. The performance becomes the space in which the audience’s world is reflected upon.

The ‘reader’ of *Ninde* narratives is struck by the balance between men and women characters in *Ninde* performance. This is a good indication that with respect to gender, women are just as creative and outspoken as men. It is absolutely normal for women to air their grievances or assert their rights with respect to husbands or male relatives.

When referring to the positive effect of drama, Kincaid (2002, p.150) says that “[d]rama has more effect on an audience than many other forms of communication because it tells an engaging story, it involves the audience emotionally, and it depicts changes in characters with whom the audience identifies.” This is about framing and this study looks at how this is done in *Ninde* drama.

2.4 The Plots of the Selected *Ninde*

For the purpose of this study, the definition of plot is extended to speech as action. Plot in Aristotle’s sense is not any series of events connected with a hero or a theme, but *a course of action that shows a purpose from its rise in an individual’s will, through a struggle against obstacles, to a decisive conclusion* (Thompson, 1946, pp.118-120, emphasis is Thompson’s). The principal form of *Ninde*, like any dramatic action, is speech. Unlike the novel which tells its tale by written words, or the movie which mainly uses images, radio *Ninde* play employs the spoken words in dialogue mixed with soliloquy. Many themes run through these complex performances but I limited the summary to those structured around a masculinity and femininity plots.

The dramas analysed in this research are summarized as follows (all the names of characters are fictive):

***Play1: Urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu*⁸ (2008) / If you eat your relative, you will digest grief.**

Play1 focuses on the issue of domestic violence, melodramatically engaging with the victim and causer and with the consequences of violence. It is about a violent man

⁸ It means that “If you abuse your relative, you will reap grief/regret”, understand relative as a member of your family by birth, marriage or adoption.

Nkinahoruri who always beats his wife for unjustified reasons. She leaves the house and goes back to her parents because she is fed up with her husband's violence. But the husband goes and brings her back. He continues abusing her without any valid reason. He uses all the income in alcohol abuse, and good-time girls. His child is sent away from school for non-payment of school fees; and he does not care. One evening, he comes home very drunk with a good-time girl and tells his legal wife Ngendanganya to get out. When she tries to resist, he batters her until she loses her front teeth and she runs away for safety. Ngendangaya suffers trauma due to unending beating and becomes a mad woman.

It is clear that the play melodramatically presents Ngendanganya's plight with the intention of appealing to the emotions of the listener. At the climax, the trauma takes a toll on her, and she begins wandering on the streets and market places, taking off her clothes. In this state of madness, she counter-acts power against men by insulting them and threatening to bite them and denounces the vices of her husband. Through her character, the play portrays the consequence of domestic violence. Men in the neighbourhood go and convince Nkinahoruri to behave differently because his behaviour was causing shame to all men. He agrees to go and look for the wife and takes her to a trauma healing centre. At the end, there is a situation of harmony in family where Ngendanganya regains sanity and Nkinahoruri repents and asks for pardon. The couple lives happily thereafter.

Play2: Ivyo utipfuza ko bikubako, ntukavyipfurize n'uwundi (2014)/Never do to the other human being what you would not wish to be done to you

This second play dramatises how Mibare's two daughters cause him hardships by throwing him out of their mother's house. The male character Mibare who lives at his

wife's home first of all feels the inferiority complex, because this is not a common practice in a patrilocal society. However he is reassured by his wife and his brother-in-law to overcome his anxieties. The situation becomes more complicated when his wife dies because his daughters become very hard to him.

At the beginning of the performance, the man Mibare sells all his inherited land with the complicity of his wife Budodwa who has told him that she has a big and fertile land at her parent's home. When they get there, the wife tries to fulfill her duty but Mibare always suspects that he is despised because he lives at the home of his in-laws, which is culturally demeaning. One of their two daughters gets pregnant and Mibare, a man just like the man who impregnated his daughter, blames his wife for not bringing up their daughter well. Another woman enters the scene, while they are quarrelling, and observes that both parents needed to have shouldered together the task of raising their children, and therefore, Mibare should stop blaming his wife. Budodwa dies at some point.

The most striking scene is when Mibare's two daughters gang up to expel their father, asking him to go back to his father. He has nowhere to go given that he sold his land and shared the money with their mother. The tone and the mood that Mibare's daughters use when they are commanding him to leave the house are incredible when one remembers that it is a daughters-father relationship. Their uncle however intervenes, and sends away the two daughters, telling them to go to "their father." They leave the home crying and begging for pardon but he lets them go. As the story unfolds, the uncle brings the two daughters and their father back home lecturing the two daughters that they should never do to the other human being what they would not wish to be done to them. The play raises a number of gender issues. First, it raises

the attention that raising children should be a shared responsibility between husband and wife. Secondly, it dramatises the dilemma faced by a man who chooses to live at the home of his wife in a patriarchal society. Lastly, it raises the attention on how the disempowerment of the man in this context leads to loss of father's authority.

Play3: Izija guhona zihera mu ruhongore (2011)/ For cattle to get exterminated, it all starts from the cowshed

In the framework of prevention of mother to child transmission of HIV/AIDS, *Play3* dramatises conflict in the life of two married persons. Riyera and her husband Banzubaze are advised to go for HIV screening before they can think of having a child. The husband does not only refuse getting tested but he also forbids his wife to do so. The climax is when the wife comes back from the clinic and tells her husband that she has tested HIV positive. He batters her almost to death, while his mother stands by to catalyze the discord. An HIV positive man from the neighbourhood comes in, helps to stop the beating and persuades Banzubaze to go for an HIV screening for his benefit and the benefit of their offspring. We are later on informed that the man tests positive, and that his wife Riyera is now pregnant. They accept to take medication to protect the foetus. The play concludes with a meeting of a health professional (Doctor) and patients together with care givers. Riyera is present in this meeting. During the meeting, the Doctor participates in creating awareness to patients (and through them, listeners) on the importance of getting tested of HIV before conception, as that would help them give birth to healthy babies even if they were already infected with HIV, to save humankind from extermination.

Play4: Intabarirwa ibarirwa n'uko amaso atukuye (2006)/ A person who never listens to advice is convinced when his eyes get reddish

This play dramatises stubbornness and its sad consequences. In the first sequence, it opens with a family gathering around beer, where a grandmother offers as inheritance a plot of land to her grandchild Sabokwigura (the daughter of her daughter), something that is not common in Burundian culture for a girl inheriting land. In the second sequence, Sabokwigura behaves badly. Her mother tries to advise her but in vain. She speaks impolitely to her mother. Sabokwigura becomes a spoilt and stubborn girl who meets a spoilt and stubborn man Gihushi who is already married to another woman and they enter into a romantic relationship. Suddenly, a friend of the stubborn man comes and persuades him to give up that bad behaviour of wooing but in vain. Sabokwigura sells the land inherited from her grandmother and takes all her money and other belongings to Gihushi, who divorces his first wife in order to live with her. They spend her money to buy materials, and begin to have a semblance of luxury.

In a demonstration that habits die hard, Gihushi throws away Sabokwira and takes another wife. He seeks joy in getting involved in love affairs with various women but he finally finds himself in jeopardy. Ironically, this third wife manages to cheat Gihushi and takes away everything from the house, including all Gihushi's clothes while he is asleep. She leaves for him only his eye glasses and his neck tie. Gihushi remains shut in his house for three days because he does not have clothes to put on. After leaving Gihushi's home, Sabokwigura becomes miserable because she does not have any assets to rely on because everything had been taken by Gihushi. She regrets not having listened to her mother's advice. Gihushi also ends in loss and regrets for

not having listened to his friend's advice. He is clothed by his friend Handereya. The play draws attention to a new issue in modern cash-driven economy where men enter into relationships with wealthy women not because they love them but because they need their wealth. It also establishes the same standard by showing that the one who does not listen to advice ends being consumed by the sorrows of regret whether it is a woman or man.

***Play5: Ni iyo yiharuriye*⁹ (2015)/ He is the one who made his own way**

Play5 dramatises harmful consequences of ingratitude and dishonesty. The play begins with a young man called Rusimbi who is living with his aunt who has felt pity on him because he was a street boy, having no parents. This young man does not want to help his aunt in household tasks because he is a 'boy' and wants to eat and to play only. The aunt decides to throw him out and he has nowhere to go because he sold his inherited land before joining the street. While he is almost going back to street life to live on discarded waste, he is lucky to find a rich girl Rozata who marries him at her own home, on a piece of land that she owned. Knowing that Burundi is a deeply patriarchal and patrilocal society, marriage at the girl's home is not common in the Burundian culture.

In one of the sequences, one can hear how they enjoy life together vowing to remain faithful to each other. Rozata loves her husband so much. However, their joy does not last long. Rusimbi schemes how he could sell the land and go away with the money to seek other women. He goes far away to consult Rishari, a man they did swindling together in the past to find advice on how to perform the evil scheme of 'eating' the wife's land in secret. Rishari is however a changed man, and could not be of any help.

⁹ It means "He has been the cause of his own fate."

He tells Rusimbi that he is no longer involved in dishonest affairs because it is risky. He in fact advises Rusimbi not to trick his wife. Rusimbi reveals to Rishari that he is going to pretend to be ill so that the woman can sell the land to get money for treatment.

In an ironical sharp turn of events, it emerges that Rishari was Rozata's brother. In one instance, Rozata is heard complaining that her husband is seriously sick. She even accuses one of her neighbours Rejina that she had bewitched her husband. The situation is however salvaged when a man comes to stop the fight between the two women. This man happened to be Rozata's brother, Rishari. Upon learning that Rozata's husband is dying back home, and that she is planning to sell a piece of her land to help in the medication, Rishari decides to go to a local bar to buy beer to his sister as a way of encouraging her and comforting her because of the so called problem of sickness she faces. It turns out that Rusimbi is with another woman in the same bar, and is heard speaking from a room. Rozata breaks the door and finds them inside. She is so shocked to see that the bar has turned into a 'hospital' for Rusimbi. Her brother Rishari takes this opportunity to disclose Rusimbi's fraudulent plan. In a family meeting that Rozata calls for, she publicly declares that she is throwing her husband Rusimbi out because he is a man of bad habits. The husband is punished for his lack of trust and his 'infidelity.' At the end, Rusimbi goes back to the streets very miserable. Because of his ingratitude and his dishonesty, he suffers the consequences of being thrown out.

Play 6: Aha niho mba ndi (2014)/ That is where I would have been

This play is a narrative about forced/early marriage, a traditional practice, which is still being carried out in some regions in Burundi, and which interferes with the

growth and development of young children, especially young girls. The father Nyirigo coerces his two daughters to drop out of school and get married. This man wants much dowry from the two daughters to get rich quickly. Jozerine, the older daughter, is determined to continue with her studies, while the younger daughter, Shantare opts to drop out of school. Shantare seems excited with the idea of marriage, that she even is heard ridiculing her sister Jozerine that she would finish her studies past menopause, and she would have missed out on life's sweetness. Shantare gets married to a rich businessman. The father is proud of her because of the gifts that the son-in-law gives him, especially beer. While the mother understands well and values Jozerine's choice, the father gets angry because Jozerine denied his proposal and he throws her out. Out there, Jozerine gets a family benefactor who takes care of her and pays for her school fees.

The climax is when Shantare (who has now become Mama Fiston in the dialogue because he has got a son who carries that name) comes back home from fields to a rude surprise: her husband had brought a good-time girl into the house. When Mama Fiston confronts her husband Papa Fiston, she is seriously beaten and thrown out. She goes back to her parents' home where she finds, by coincidence, the family celebrating the diploma of Jozerine. The play concludes with a monologue in which Shantare or Mama Fiston regrets dropping out of school in order to elope with a husband, who ended up disappointing her. She complains and regrets that she would have been also celebrating her diploma like Jozerine, if she had not dropped out of school.

Play7: Bishikira bose (2014)/ It happens to both women and men

Play7 deals with drama of infertility. It is a play centred on a married couple who have been unable to have children. ‘Naturally,’ it becomes the woman’s fault, showing how stereotypes of childlessness automatically question a woman’s fertility. The play ends with the man proven infertile, shifting the blame from the wife. Initially, after years of childlessness, the man had opted to take another wife, who already had a child she bore when still at her father’s house (a single mother), at least to be sure she was fertile to ‘give’ him children. He then chased away his first wife accusing her of infertility, but this one remains faithful to this man. The second wife does not conceive either. He even tries elsewhere but without success. This play draws attention to how Burundian culture deals with the problem of infertility in marriage. It also raises the issue on how men perceive their freedom to get involved in several love affairs while the wife does not.

Play8: Imbanyi ni iya twese (2012) / The pregnancy is for both of us (wife and husband)

This play is a drama intended to make men more responsible with their wives’ pregnancy. It contrasts two couples for that purpose: Severinos and Muhindos. Severino is a man who cares and assists his wife Makurata in domestic chores and who accompanies her when she goes to the clinic for routine checks. He is conscious that the pregnancy belongs to both of them as the child would be theirs both. On the contrary, Muhindo does not want his pregnant wife Njerina to go to the clinic for checks, let alone to accompany her. He overloads her with housework and fieldwork while he is relaxing in bars. He thought he was behaving as expected of a ‘real’ man. Muhindo, together with one of his friends, Gasupari, even try to ridicule Severino for

helping his wife. They call him *umugore* (woman) and accuse him of bringing shame on men. They do not understand him and think that Severino's behaviour is the effect of charms that his wife gave him.

The local chief, who happens to be a man, organizes a meeting to raise awareness among men on the need to assist their wives and to accompany them to the clinics for routine checks and HIV/AIDS screening included, so that they could give birth to children free of HIV in case they would be HIV positive as parents. During that meeting attended by only men, Gasupari, Muhindo's friend is convinced. One day, Severino is physically aggressed by Muhindo when they meet on the way, insulting him that he is an animal and that he is the destroyer of their marriage. Muhindo accuses Severino of inciting their wives to rebel against them. Gasupari intervenes as a facilitator in this quarrel and together with Severino, they take this opportunity to convince Muhindo on the benefits of taking care of one's wife when she is pregnant. As the story unfolds, Muhindo becomes a good caring husband who emulates Severino. He repents that what he did was due to ignorance. This play draws the attention of men who only impregnate their wives without sharing the burden of the pregnancy and then claim paternity of children just because they sired, while ignoring the important aspect of fatherhood: caring for the child before and after birth.

Play9: Ugira ngo uhemukiye abandi ugasanga uhemukiye ubuzima bwawe (2015) /

When you think of betraying others, you find yourself betraying your own life

Play9 portrays a young woman called Yoranda who is dated by a young man Yakobo. Yoranda is a young woman (still single) of initiatives who earns money from selling the products of her harvest or her flock. She takes her money and gives it to Yakobo

so that he can build a house in which they will live when they marry. When the house is almost getting ready, Yakobo disappoints Yoranda and dates another girl called Karita. Ironically, Yakobo does not know that this new fiancé Karita is Yoranda's elder sister. Yoranda gets mentally affected because of this betrayal. She is taken by her parents to a centre for treatment and counselling where her sister Karita is a counsellor. When they reach Karita's home, Yoranda sees Yakobo's photo attached on the wall in the sitting room. Her psychiatric condition becomes even worse and she starts screaming saying that she has seen an animal, referring to Yakobo as an animal.

By conversing with Yoranda in her state of insanity, she reveals that Yakobo had betrayed her trust. When Karita learns that the cause of Yoranda's insanity is Yakobo's disappointment, Karita automatically breaks her relationship with Yakobo. After breaking with Karita, Yakobo tries to date another girl called Matama. This one already knows his bad behaviour and rejects his proposal, but first quarrels him for his swindling behaviour. It is Matama who lectures him, and through her the audience that he should mind about his swindling behaviour which she says is the source of trouble for women. Yakobo has a bad ending.

Play10: Ivyari imagera vyarageruye¹⁰ (2012) Circumstances have changed.

The play dramatizes gender-based discrimination and violence against girls and women by men, and how women challenge the status quo until they gain the cause. The male characters are Bihori and Masatura. Women are not subjected to this violence passively like in the past but they resist. The play opens with a scene where a girl, Kamariza, is overburdened with house chores while her brother stays idle. While

¹⁰ Things are no longer the same way they were in the past.

Kamariza's brother has got a chance to attend school, Kamariza has not. Even during the time he has not gone to school, he does not help Kamariza and her mother to till the land because he is a boy and the mother supports this behaviour. In a dramatic monologue, Kamariza breaks the silence and denounces this injustice.

The theme of gender inequality and domestic violence is repeated in the second and third scenes. In scene two of the same play, *Ndinzemenshi*¹¹ is ill-treated and beaten by her husband Masatura because she has given birth to a second baby girl. He says that she gives birth to 'substandard' children only. This injustice is also duplicated in Bihori who wants to sell beans belonging to his wife without her permission. Helena opposes the idea of selling her beans until she wins the case. In another scene, Bihori beats his wife Helena to the point of almost choking her, blaming her that their daughter has been raped because Helena failed to bring her up well. As the story develops, a lesson is communicated that the task of raising and educating children should be a shared responsibility between wives and husbands. The men Bihori and Masatura idle around while their families remain poor because their wives struggle to make ends meet without any assistance from their husbands. This injustice is denounced by younger women who are fed up of ill-treatment perpetrated by their husbands.

On the contrary, we have an excellent example of a man that deserves to be emulated, a husband and father Majambere who sends his children both girls and boys to school, who helps his wife in household chores and who has allowed her to be elected as a local leader. Other men ridicule him but at the end he becomes a person of reference

¹¹ The surname *Ndinzemenshi* literally means 'I endure a lot of hardships'.

in progress in his entire neighbourhood. His daughter completes her studies after some years, gets a job and brings income home. Majambere's family is portrayed as a successful household which exemplifies success against the majority of families that lived according to outdated traditional practices bent on belittling women. The irony comes when Masatura sends his wife to borrow money and gets it from Majambere, the very one they had been ridiculing.

The last scene of the play is about a meeting between participants and the Chief of the District who is trying to convince men to get rid of old traditional mentalities related to gender and to follow the example of Majambere for real progress. During the meeting, the Chief of the District convinces participants to send their children to school without gender discrimination, to share responsibilities in family and to cooperate in all family matters. The objective of the play seems to be a warning against gender discrimination and to demonstrate that those who do not respectfully contribute along their women are destined to fail. In the modern cash-driven economy, old gender habits are no longer relevant because 'circumstances have changed.'

The different synopses presented above show a true picture of what is generally going on in many families in Burundi. The plays centre on domestic dramas to comment on various aspects of socio-cultural life in Burundi. These plays centre on a few characters caught in moments of crisis. The action gathers momentum with increasing involvement until tension is released into laughter /enjoyment or a feeling of pity and equilibrium is restored.

Although *Ninde* plays deal with various issues of social concern, the selected plays have different gender perspectives that members of the audience can begin to consider

in the gender agenda. Hence, they are read from a gender inclination in this study. Because of *Ninde*'s format of airing once-off plays, it is possible to analyse as many storylines as possible compared to the continuous format of most serialized dramas.

2.5 The Comic and Satirical Aspects of the Radio *Ninde*

This section presents comic and satirical aspects of *Ninde*. The essence of *Ninde* and drama in general is that it is concerned with conflict. If people were in harmony with each other and their surroundings, there would be little need for an audience to listen to and watch plays in order to understand the human condition. What is important to note is not only how *Ninde* presents conflicts but also how it resolves them in comic and satirical ways.

Ninde storyline always resolves issues at the end of each play because of the once-off story format of between seven and nine short sequences comparable to scenes that allow dealing with an issue thoroughly and therefore making it relevant to the everyday lives of listeners. Instead of having the same characters week after week in "classic soap opera style" (Kerr, 1998, p.144), *Ninde* has different characters in once-off plays, like the Zambian Radio drama (see Kerr, 1998), though actors are almost the same. It uses very confident and talented actors who bring their skills and gifts to spice up their performances.

According to Rogers (1982) the style of radio drama differs from theatre performance and practical techniques have evolved for the genre such as: to introduce the radio play or episode, as a short and simple statement must be provided to set the scene and convention of the play; the importance of sound effects to establish the mood and particular environment; economy of words and that language must be coherent and rational to communicate (Cited in Tanganika, 2012, p.38). On the other hand, Crook

(1999) emphasises the role of the voice through dialogue and narrative, music through instruments and choral voices, sound effects from atmosphere and spots effects or abstract sound synthesised or natural sounds or recorded narrative and dialogue to the imagination. According to Crook, characterisation is a key ingredient of a good radio drama, noting that there must be a dynamic relationship between the activity of the character and the urgency of the plot. In the foregoing context, the present study was able to trace the way *Ninde* is introduced and the relationship between plot and characterisation that plays a major role in the realisation of an effective radio drama.

Ninde plays are one hour didactic satires which depend on the comic improvisatory talents of actors/authors. The purpose of every comedy and particularly the satirical comedy is to hold a mirror up to society to reflect its follies and vices, in the hope that they will as a result be mended. It is commonly perceived that satire is the most “serious” form of comedy and that a satirical play aims are not only to please and amuse but also to instruct. Satirical comedy has a strongly ethical bent. The offending characters are severely chastened for their faults so that their fates can be seen as exemplary (example of Rusimbi in *Play5*); through characterisation, the audience is shown at any rate what is to be avoided. Hence, in the sense that there is moral criticism in *Ninde*, this series of plays can be said to be morality plays. In fact every play has a moral lesson.

Within this thesis, the moral story is read as a text that is able to influence the behavioural patterns of perceived listeners. In the design of *Ninde* as a morality play there is the defeat of vice and the triumph of the virtuous character over a vicious one because in a satirical play, the audience must be shown extreme forms of character and behaviour, the human frailties. As illustrated in the character of Nkinahoruri in

Play1, 'authors' try to show that behaviour outside a prescribed social norm is unacceptable. They stigmatise Nkinahoruri's foibles and clumsiness. The price to be paid by those victims for acting contrary to the views of the majority is isolation and exposure to ridicule. When Ngendanganya, Nkinahoruri's wife gets traumatised and runs mad, Nkinahoruri is ridiculed by other men and he is coerced to spend money for her medication. The play ends happily with the husband and the wife living in perfect harmony; hence by implication this is the suggested remedies for men out there who still abuse their spouses. That kind of comedy is said to be satirical and its vital principle is the 'ridicule'.

Ninde is a satirical comedy because in addition to the fact that it entertains its audience, it has a moral function. This notion of 'moral' is intimately linked to the notions of values and attitudes, attitude being, to quote Sherif and Cantril (cited in Kabuyenge, 1994, p.52), "a more or less permanently enduring state of readiness of mental organisation which predisposes an individual to react in a characteristic way to any object or situation which it is related." These moral attitudes are of paramount importance because they are, among others, elements which determine overt behaviour. Furthermore, the adhesion to certain ethical standards and norms goes with the formation of the corresponding attitudes, that is, the disposition of reacting in a manner which is characteristic of certain stimuli. These in this context, are situations of everyday life. *Ninde* develops various characters from one episode to another depending on which moral lesson it intends to impart. The possibility of reading popular cultural forms as moral is pegged on their ability to produce useful lessons for audiences.

The genre's formal features include what Goffman has termed 'abnormality for normality,' that is, the ability for the play to portray an abnormal behaviour in the character with the purpose to construct a normal behaviour or to enhance the ideas about acceptable ethical standards of the Burundian society. Most of the time, *Ninde* uses an abnormal character as an aesthetic strategy to teach the normal behaviour and to make people laugh, forgetting that one may be laughing at self. It is an aspect of development communication that is applied in Entertainment-Education. What is dangerous with this frame of abnormality for normality' is that the audience can take the means for the ends.

Apart from presenting what people should not do in one character for entertainment purpose, *Ninde* also teaches people what they ought to do. In other words, we can say that *Ninde* uses a double character format. It teaches what people should do by making salient what they should not do. This is different to *Radio Theatre's* style from Kenya, according to Ligaga's study (2008). She reads the story in drama as a text that is able to influence the behavioural patterns of perceived listeners by providing them with moral heroes and actions that inspire good behaviour in the Kenyan society. But in the two radio theatres listeners are supposed to learn from the stories and use them as examples against which they can reflect on their own life experiences.

Carrying many varied themes beyond what is discussed in this thesis, the performances in *Ninde* are often set against expressed or implied proverbs or popular sayings. There are such examples as *Urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu* /If you eat your relative, you will digest grief (*Play1*), *Ivyo utipfuza ko bikubako, ntukavyipfurize n'uwundi* /Never do to the other human being what you would not wish to be done to you (*Play2*), *Izija guhona zihera mu ruhongore* / For cattle to get exterminated, it all

starts from the cowshed (*Play3*), *Intabarirwa ibarirwa n'uko amaso atukuye/* A person who never listens to advice is convinced when his eyes get reddish (*Play4*) and *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye /*Circumstances have changed (*Play10*). The proverb genre is one of the fundamental framing devices in *Ninde*.

To enhance the reception of the message, audio *Ninde* also uses the technique of repetition. In *Ninde* certain phrases are repeated as in the oral performance to evoke the oral nature of the radio *Ninde*. A series of actions always reveal feelings and emotions in the performances. The latter are intensified or reduced. The following excerpt from *Play3*, which is an example of many others, illustrates repetition where the characters are emphasizing the importance of getting HIV-test before thinking of giving birth to a baby (the repeated phrases emphasized in the excerpt apart from the names of characters). When there is necessity of giving a certain amount of emphasis to a point that needs to be stressed, the authors highlight it through repetition of the phrase(s) in order to put across the message:

Riyera: *Aha rero wewe [Mm?] uriko umpanura ko yuko [Ee] imbere y'uko notwara inda.../* So dear [Mm?], do you mean you are strongly advising me [Eh], that **before thinking of the possibility of a pregnancy...**

Maderena: *Imbere y'ugusama. /* **Before conception.**

Riyera: *Ego imbere y'ugusama. /* Yes, **before conception.**

Maderena: *Imbere y'ugusama [Ee], banza ugende wipi...mwipimishe[Mm], hanyuma rero [Mm], nimba basanze hariho ukuntu wanduye[Mm], baca bakorohereza kuko bica bituma bagukingi...bakingira urya mwana ari mu nda./* **Before conception [Eh]**, go first and get tested...get tested, you and your husband [Mm], and after [Mm], if they find that you have been infected by the HIV virus [Mm], they make everything easy for you because they protect...they protect the foetus that is in the womb..

Riyera: *Baca bankurikirana? /* They start doing a **follow-up care for me?**

Maderena: *Ee. Urya mwana ari mu nda.* / Yes. For the foetus that is in the womb.

Riyera: *Bagukurikirana ikibondo kiri mu nda?* / They do a **follow-up care** for the foetus in the womb?

Maderena: *Akavuka atanduye.* / And then the baby is born safe without HIV infection.

Riyera: *Mmm!/Mmm!*

Maderena: *Kandi bakazoca baguma bagukurikirana n'iyoye wasamye [Mmm], baguma bagukurirana.* / And they will **keep on doing a follow-up care for you** when you become pregnant [Mmm], they **keep on doing a follow-up care for you.**

Riyera: *Mmm! Oya ivyo nivyo. ..* / Mmm! That's correct. ..

Maderena: *Bakaguma bagukurikirana urumva baguha imiti baguha imiti baguha imiti [Mm], gushika mpaka ukavyara.* / They **keep on doing a follow-up care for you**, giving you medicine and giving you medicine and giving you medicine [Mm], till you give birth to the baby.

Riyera: *Oya n'ukuri urazi iyo mpanuro umpaye...* / What a great piece of advice truly speaking... (Play3)

As it may be observed in the excerpt above, repetition has more specific stylistic qualities in *Ninde*. It does not only serve to stress the message but also serves as an aesthetic device. This view concurs with Okpewho's (1992) observation when referring to repetition in oral performances. Repetition in verbal art has both an aesthetic and a utilitarian value. In addition to stressing the message to be communicated, "the repetition of a phrase, a line, or a passage does have a certain sing-song quality to it" (Okpewho, 1992, p.71).

Another observation drawn from the 'reading' of *Ninde* is that it uses the technique of duplication of scenes or ideas. Recursive theme or motif in *Ninde* is involved with different places/settings and different characters through duplications of the key

message into the scenes of an episode. *Ninde* encompasses the idea of a staging or amphitheatre in the mind of the individual as much as is in the physical stage. Similarly, to live physical theatre, each play is divided into scenes which vary between seven and nine scenes. The boundary between one scene and the next is marked by a musical jingle or signature tune. This specific music represents the curtain falling between scenes of the physical stage. The radio performance assumes that the audience is blind. So, the framing ensures conditions of both the listener and spectator inside the mind of the listener, hence the expression by Crook (1999, p.8) ‘the theatre of the mind’ which I use as the title of this chapter. Contrary to theatre on physical stage, the stage is the mind in the case of radio *Ninde*. This corroborates Hand and Traynor’s (2011, p.33) assertion that “[t]he mind of the listener is as pivotal to radio drama as the screen is to cinema”. Radio *Ninde* is a mind drama. While the audiences are listening to an episode of *Ninde*, they are ‘watching’ with the mind’s eye and the mind generates an image which is ‘emotion’ and ‘feeling’, an essential feature of human experience in drama (Crook, 1999, p.61).

The popularity of *Ninde* among its audience derives from its framing because it draws its nourishment from its roots that are Kirundi language and culture and immediate environment, that is, from everyday experiences that the audience can easily identify with. *Ninde* uses the classic radio techniques of establishing distance of characters, fades, and sound effects. As a listenable thing, *Ninde* also uses magnifying or shrinking techniques through the use of words. *Ninde* plays effectively use techniques of flash back and internal monologue.

As it can be observed in the excerpt below from *Play10*, there is a monologue providing background information that the woman has got a second baby girl and this

is what constitutes the origin of her hardships with her husband because he dislikes girls and would like to have boys instead; and expresses her feeling of a premonition that he is going to be hard with her when he comes home:

Ndinzemeshi: (*Ndinzemeshi yivugana yidoga yongera aganya*) Ataraza? Nk'ubu iyo yagiye, m'hu! Aza kuza asubira kunsarirako! Reka ndatwironderere, nta kwarama kwanje (*Aca yimyozza*). Naho navyaye hirya y'ejo, naho numva mu mugongo hameze nabi, ntaco. Umwana wanje ntiyorara ubusa (*Aca yimyozza*). (*Humvikana urwamo rw'ibiharage atereye mw'ibakure kuko ariko arasorongora ibiharage ngo ateke*) Mm! Reka ndabirondere. Ndabizi ntabirondeye aza kuza ansarirako, aze yaborewe! (*Atereye mw'ibakure ibindi*). Ewe, naragowe. (*Aca yimyozza*) Ati naragowe si uruvyino! M'hu! Ng'usubiye kuvyara ubukobwa? (*Abandanya aterera mw'ibakure*) Ng'uru rugo si urw'iwawe. Ngw'abazovyara abahungu bazozza. None ga Mana? None ga basha jewe iyi si ndayibereyeho kw'iki? M'hu! Urabona ntanikintu na kimwe yanguriye! N'umwana ntaco mfise ndamufatamwo. (*Haca haramutsa umuntu yihinduye akajwi Ndinzemeshi akiriko arivugana*)/(Ndinzemeshi complains in a monologue) Not yet come? I don't know where he went to. When he comes back he will be mad with anger toward me again, hm! Let me myself prepare food! I am having no rest at all (*She sucks the air*). Even if I gave birth to a baby two days ago, even if I feel like having a backache, there is no problem. My child cannot sleep on an empty stomach (*She sucks the air*). (*The beans make noise while being put into a metallic container after she has sifted them*) Yes! Let me prepare food. I know if I don't prepare food, he will get mad with anger toward me when he comes back; he will come back drunk! (*She puts other beans in the metallic container*). What unfortunate woman I am! (*She sucks the air*) 'I have been unfortunate' is not a good song! M'hu! He will be telling me that I have given birth to girls again (*She keeps selecting beans to cook*) He will tell me "This home does not belong to you"; that "those who are able to give birth to boys will take over". Ooh my Lord? What is the reason for me to dwell in this world? M'hu! You see he did not buy even one thing for me! I don't have even a loincloth to hold my baby in. (Somebody, having disguised her voice, shows up when Ndinzemeshi is complaining alone).

Ndinzemeshi's own monologue implies a sense of awareness with respect to problems that are caused by performance of aggressive masculinity. Given that the time for *Ninde* to be aired is limited, and in order to allow a lot of information to be

known, it uses the internal voice device (soliloquy or monologue) in many scenes. In the excerpt above, one hears Ndinzemenshi's internal voice. This device ensures that listeners can be made aware of a lot of important information which is not dramatized and which allows the audience to follow easily the dramatized parts. The audience gets backwards into the past and forwards into what will happen in the future when the man comes. "In the monologue, there is description of what is happening (or what the character thinks) than to dramatize, which would involve several actors and more studio time" (Richard and Traynor, 2011, p.37) and this allows economy of time.

Ninde narratives often encapsulate the didactic content at the end of the last scene as actors dramatize, either as a straight imperative such as *Ivyo utipfuza ko bikubako, ntukavyipfurize n'uwundi* "Never do to the other human being what you would not wish to be done to you" (*Play2*) or as a proverb *Intabarirwa ibarirwa n'uko amaso atukuye* "That who never listens to advice is convinced when his eyes get reddish" (*Play4*). *Ninde* plays therefore, derive "most of their aesthetic energy from the juxtaposition of traditional values and modern institutions" (Kerr, 1998, p.129).

Perhaps the most obvious link with oral narratives is the moral authority which *Ninde* tries to exercise on listeners, similar to that of folk tale traditions. Many listeners think of these plays as "real" especially as they use actors whose voices plausibly fit the characters. Dialogues are adapted to the background and statuses of the characters (old/young, urban/rural, husband/wife, man/woman, lovers and so on). And it is through the spoken words and sounds that all these differences among characters are visualized.

Ninde uses various techniques to achieve its objectives of entertainment and educating. Within the plays under consideration we can distinguish three main

techniques. The first one is the psychological realism. The ‘authors-actors’ aim at achieving the psychological verisimilitude by means of surface realism. This way of achieving psychological realism has as its objective to give the moral ethic. After a realistic portrayal of a character, the message to the audience is that everyone should beware not to think, feel or act as the person described in the play. The audience perceives what should be the message through the unfolding of the story as it is being dramatized. Secondly, we notice the ‘ironical end’ device. At the end of *Play4*, it is really ironical that what Gihushi stole from his wife Sabokwigura is stolen from him by the good-time girl he himself brought to the house. The end of *Play5* is similarly ironical. The protagonist Rusimbi who was expecting to cheat on his wife by selling her land is the one who is thrown out of the land. Thirdly, there is the use of ‘the unfamiliar’ technique. This device can be depicted in *Play8*. The man Severino is engaged in unaccustomed activities (female roles). The awkward character making an adjustment to the new experience is used for comic effect. In short, *Ninde* authors-actors use all these devices to have the comic effect. According to *Ninde* radio producer Ndiokubwayo the characters are invented right at the same time as actors perform. This concept of improvisation makes *Ninde* unique and gives it importance.

In general, *Ninde* plays are of an amusing nature because the very aim of *Ninde* is to entertain its audience while instructing it (cf. Article 1 of 2008 RTNB Contract). I argue that comic characters generally give a visible form of or personify some qualities most of them dominated by a single passion or obsession which renders them, at least temporarily, unfit for life in a well-adjusted society. Their behaviour or ideas cast doubt on the codes of practice and belief which the majority of people accept as sane and normal. This is enough to make the comic character ridiculous such as in the case of Rusimbi in *Play5* and subsequently the audience is amused.

That means that the other characters as well as the audience do not sympathise with the bad character. They are insensible to his condition. *Ninde* exploits all avenues for appealing to the amusement and humour of its audience and its sense of the comic. Actors use humorous language, make unexpected statements, bring in jokes and digression; and tell humorous anecdotes while ensuring that the main story and theme of the play are reaching the audience. The language and idioms used as a comic drama contribute a great deal to the overall humour.

The structure of *Ninde* can be reduced to a basic formula of parallel sets or contrasting sets of images used to reinforce the message to be put across. Image means chain of actions or set of actions. Images are created by voices and sounds in the mind of the listener. How is the creation of images made possible given that images are achieved more powerfully and effectively through the visual than the auditory? How are the images constructed through sounds? Based on the findings in this study, I argue that in radio drama, the dialogue and sounds become more important than in stage drama. The language helps to ‘visualize’ or to make visible the invisible. *Ninde* tries to approximate stage. Actors create image for the audience through dialogue. We have an imagined visuality.

To enhance the imagination of the audience, *Ninde* relies on the richness of the Kirundi language, such as the use of proverbs, insults, metaphors, analogy, repetitions, parallelisms and contrasts in addition to sounds. It is this kind of language that tugs at the listener’s heartstrings to arouse emotion. This is in agreement with Ingram who states that “the theatre of the mind is an emotional theatre, where feelings are the primary currency, mixed with mood, memories and imagination” (Ingram, 1994 cited in Crook, 1999, p.61). Kirundi proverb is used as a prominent framing

device in *Ninde*. Kirundi proverbs are told in various sorts of situations and serve a variety of purposes such as to reinforce or foreground the argument, to render clarity and charm to one's statement as well as authority to one's points, to punish vices, to justify or to encourage a behaviour, to add some wit or spice to one's statements and to make the points more firmly or to equip citizens, especially the younger with the fundamental lessons of conduct and moral discernment in an indirect but firm way (Nibafasha, 2014).

Ninde enables the framing of many issues of social concern. For instance, *Ninde* enables the framing or visualization of masculinities and femininities. How does the language frame a woman who is performing masculinity or a man who is performing femininity? As a reader of *Ninde*, one gets to know the characters the actors are creating for the audience through the dialogue. It is through how male and female characters speak, what they say, how they behave, what they do or what others say about them that the listener can get the feeling that a woman is performing masculinity or emphasized femininity, or that a man is performing femininity or hegemonic masculinity or aggressive masculinity as detailed in chapters three, four, and five of this thesis. For example, through the dialogue between Nkinahoruri and his wife Ngendanganya in *Play1*, or Papa Fiston and his wife Mama Fiston in *Play6*, or Bihori and his wife Helena in *Play10*, one can get a feeling of aggression to the extent of physical abuse of the respective women. In their dialogue, the men perform aggressive masculinity which the women resist doggedly. Apart from the aggression in words and high tone of voice you can hear the sounds of heavy blows against the women and the screaming of the latter.

One crucial feature of the plays' content is the ambiguous relationship between men and women. The immediately striking feature of the plays is that men's and women's relationships are only problematic in the domestic sphere. When outside in the public space, there is no problem because one notices that a man can follow where a woman commands as a woman can follow where a man commands. For example, the doctor who holds a meeting at the clinic to make patients more aware of the benefits of knowing one's HIV-status before getting pregnant is a woman and both male and female patients follow her exposé carefully, with questions raised by both men and women for more clarifications (*Play3*).

The strength of *Ninde* plays lies essentially in the fact that it is a dramatic performance which by combining some elements from tradition with elements of contemporary life provides amusement or relaxation and education to Burundian people in a medium they can easily relate to. Though the plays are in Kirundi, the unique mother tongue shared by all Burundians, there is a little amount of code-switching between Kirundi and French or Kirundi and Kiswahili for the scenes set in urban or semi-urban areas. To amuse the audiences, these 'foreign' languages are spoken clumsily.

2.6 The Imagined Audience, its Engagement and Modelling

Because *Ninde* audience is imagined by the text, this section attempts to present how radio drama texts make it possible for listeners to grasp lessons from the way issues are framed, and how they invite the listeners to apply those lessons in life. The idea of imagined audience used here is borrowed from Anderson's concept (2006) of 'imagined communities' when alluding to the role that imagination plays in the conceptualization of a 'nation' into existence. The people who are listening to the

radio *Ninde* also exist by imagination. They are just the same like the Anderson's concept of imagined 'nation'. *Ninde* programme does not know them. By illusion, it just imagines them as a 'group' that is framed by the objective of using the drama medium to entertain them while informing them or giving them some sort of education on values.

And why is it illusion to imagine the audience as a 'group'? Because there are different demographics: women, men, youth, aged, parents, children, urban dwellers, villagers, and non-Burundians who are living in Burundi or in its neighbourhoods who understand *Kirundi*. This 'target audience' is imagined straight from inception stage, with programme designers' imagining their existence, problems, needs, conception *et cetera*. When the message is framed, the response of the audience is also imagined. That is how the Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities' or 'nation' as an imagined political entity speaks to that. The communication considers the audience as a 'group' regardless of the different demographics of the audience.

Critically speaking, because the audience is heterogeneous in terms of problems and needs for edutainment, the communication on gender presents ethical dilemmas because it becomes hard to determine what is right for whom. My contention is that it is unethical to expose the faults and foibles of the father in the performance because the audience includes children in a society where the father figure is supposed to be held in esteem because such a frame could lead to the erosion of the father figure in real life. The exchange of harsh words between husbands and wives in the fiction can affect the education of children in the real world.

The audience is imagined through the ways in which *Ninde* authors frame communication. Research on framing effects indicates that altering the way an issue is presented in the media can influence people's perceptions significantly (Sambai, 2014, p.20). Goffman (1974) emphasizes reflective aspects of social life, that is, the ways in which we think about what we do affects the performance of the activity itself. Goffman defines frame as a way of organising experiences: we use frames to identify what is taking place. For example, a story or "organisation of experience" may be a joke, a warning, a lesson, an invitation, and so on. As edutainment, *Ninde* stories mix warnings, lessons and jokes. They are indeed performatively constructed as 'scenes' or 'stages'.

Elements of radio drama are similar to those employed in stage drama. Nonetheless, there is a difference between the radio drama and the drama on the stage. I argue that both the stage drama and the radio drama begin from the same notion. All drama assumes an audience and *Ninde* does not make an exception. All of them are about stage. In other words, the stage is there before they are enacted. Visuality is what brings the difference between stage drama and radio drama. The radio play uses dialogue, which is performed to create 'visuality' offered by stage drama. For stage drama, the stage is real and there is physical contact between the performer and the audience while in the case of radio drama the stage is the mind of the listener. Given that there is no physical contact between radio drama and the audience, radio drama has alternative strategies of bridging this gap. The radio has its own techniques of communicating drama to enhance its audience's imagination because it is trying to approximate stage. They are not seeing, it is like when you are reading a play. There are stage directions. The stage directions or rather the dialogue help one to create the

scenery, help one to understand the characters. All this is about framing. It is for the listener now to form image of the sceneries and characters in mind through the framing.

But how does *Ninde* assume an audience? Being an audio medium of communication, *Ninde* essentially relies on proverbs, dialogue, characterisation and sounds in order to bridge the gap, as detailed in the next chapters. However, other dramatic techniques come into play in the creation of image, setting and mood to achieve dramatic effects.

In the case of this study, the framing helps the audience now to interrogate how masculine hegemony once thought fully consolidated, finds itself challenged by femininity in its boundary/its space and altered to fit the requirements of the new circumstances. The audience of *Ninde* is imagined as “both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). *Ninde* audience is not in contact with the performers like in case of a physical stage. Therefore, it is to be distinguished, not by its falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which it is imagined.

Kirundi is first of all the language through which the audience of *Ninde* is imagined. For the play to have effect, its perceived audience must be able to understand its intentions and then apply lessons learnt from the play to ordinary events. Sometimes this application takes place immediately, where the imagined audience sees direct links between a story and its real context. These forms speak of social realities in a language and simple techniques the audience can easily understand.

The foregoing concurs with David Wade's opinion (in Lewis, 1981). Wade discusses radio drama as popular art that is accessible and followed by large audiences if it does not put any barriers of language and production techniques such as might be erected by verse or poetic prose or extensive use of radiophonics. When it deals with social or moral issues, it presents them in a recognizably topical way and in a contemporary setting; the various themes it offers is of high relevance to the audiences. Wade opines that audience and broadcasting determine each other and as the broadcaster depends for his success on audience behaviour, he has to consider audience conditions such as timing. According to him, day time listeners for example will have specific needs to suit them as they are not totally at leisure and might need a play that feature issues of the day or at least those which are recognisable to be so, and look for information about the world. The techniques of radio drama raised above are as vital to the successful edutainment programme. From the foregoing, we see how the selected *Ninde* uses various strategies to frame gender-based narratives in the form of audio, to popularise and enhance its reception.

It is also important to look closely at the narrative techniques adopted by *Ninde* texts in order to communicate the gender ideology carried in to the audience. As Hollindale (1988) says, "ideology is inseparable from language." As a matter of fact, the narrative structure of a text is a powerful component in conveying ideology. Through framing, images of social reality are constructed in a patterned way that ultimately affects the way the audience perceives life because framing organizes reality through conscious salience and emphasis of specific aspects of a story as Sambai (2014, p.206) observes.

Radio *Ninde* adopts a number of strategies to draw the audience into receiving it in a particular way. As has been observed by Mikhail Bakhtin, “each epoch, each literary trend and its artistic style, each literary genre within an epoch or trend, is typified by its own special concepts of the addressee of the literary work, a special sense and understanding of its reader, listener, public or people” (Quoted in Barber, 2000, p.354). Radio drama operates within the medium of sound and has its own modes of addressing for attracting the attention of its listeners who consume it as a product of sound.” In *Ninde* how images, the voice and sounds are used is of paramount importance to ‘visualize’ the character choice and behaviour.

The other way in which *Ninde* has managed to speak to its imagined audience is through its timing: Sunday evenings at 8:30. Winston Mano (2005) argues that scheduling creates and maintains an audience that a programme wants to target. Sunday evenings means the imagined audience is taking a break from the daily tasks and that the whole family is together as they plan going to work the following day. It therefore manages to captivate Kirundi audience from all walks of life who have access to radio. Another way in which radio drama imagines its audiences is by using narratives that reflect social reality in Burundi. *Ninde* plays are presented as stories that dramatize different aspects of everyday human relationships. These stories do not exist in a void but are drawn from people’s experiences in real life.

Radio drama also imagines and involves its audience through building its storyline in a dialogue form in order to convey ideology. The dialogue form is a powerful technique to influence the audience because any one identifies themselves as one of the speakers or addressees. The names of characters used in the dialogue are names that can be found in their milieu. The dialogue technique also allows reflecting the

values that the society intends to impart to its members. As Sambai (2014, p.170) argues, dialogue serves two strategies: one is to attract and maintain audiences' attention through the use of "you" person; the other purpose that this strategy serves is that through direct address and the short replies of the addressee, members of the audiences cease to become the unseen spectators and passive recipients of the message but they are conceived as active participants in the dialogue by virtue of the fact that the performer is directly addressing them, and it is as if s/he expects reactions from them. Conversational form is more violent in emotional impact than the experience of merely reading a description in the third person. Performance makes the play very lively with the qualities of direct address, exclamation and dialogue. Performance has a physical effect on audience and that is what makes *Ninde* plays different from a written poem and a novel.

Another important element of the dramatic conversation that makes it lively is that when one is listening to *Ninde*, they hear sounds such as *M'hu*, *Mm*, *Eeh* that are employed to demonstrate that the speaker and the addressee are both participating in the conversation. Dialogue and the short hearer's replies are cue to demand assurance that the audience is participating. "[I]n performances of all kinds", notes Goffman, "the obligation to provide continuity for the audience, that is, constant guidance as to what is going on, accounts considerably for the manipulation of participation status and the enactment of channels" (Goffman, 1974, p.234). Direct address, exclamation and dialogue make the radio performance very lively. That is also how the identity of the character who is speaking is known: a boy, girl, woman, man, wife, husband, doctor, chief district, etc. This direct address sends us to orality. The sounds tell the listener where the character is speaking from while the tone of the voice reflects the mood of the speaker.

The next way the audience is imagined and involved is through the use of warranting expressions in *Ninde* as a framing strategy. According to Wardhaugh (1985), a warranting behaviour is most of the time adopted when it seems necessary to give a kind of personal “marking” to words or sentiments that you are expressing so that those who are listening can be left in little or no doubt as to what you believe or feel about what you are saying. Such expressions allow the audience to ‘see’ the degree of commitment performers have to what they are saying, but, of course, like all such expressions, it is good to note in passing that they can also be used to deceive, since all remarks prefaced by “to be honest” are not offered honestly. From Wardhaugh’s view, warranting expressions are the kind of expressions one may have recourse to when they want to gain trust from others. When these expressions are used in *Ninde* performance, they produce certain effects in the way listeners receive the communication. Warranting expressions may include swearing expressions. The latter are generally used to prove the truthfulness of one’s saying or to gain trust even when the speaker knows that they are lying.

Proverbs or proverbial statements can in the same way be used as expressions showing a warranting behaviour. This happens often in African cultures with the intention of instructing or giving advice. A similar vision is that of Finnegan (1970, p.414), who argues that “[p]roverbs may also be specially suitable even in everyday situation of advice or instruction.” Proverbs have the tendency to attract the imagination of listeners. This is because proverbs are recognized as “eternal truths,” to use Okpewho’s phrase (1992, p.231). It is in this regard that they are often referred to in *Ninde* plays in the purpose to convince or advise the imagined audience. Warranting may also be accorded with achieving persuasion. Here I agree with what Aristotle (1952, p.587) says about rhetoric. He defines it as the faculty of observing in

any case the available means of persuasion. Rhetoric can then be regarded as an art of using language skilfully for persuasion. According to Aristotle (1952), a speaker always makes sure that he impresses his audience by some speech devices.

By analogy, *Ninde* actors try to impress their audience through performance. Persuasion may also come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. In fact, there are elements of orality in radio drama *Ninde* such as proverbs and formulas used as aesthetic elements in order to communicate effectively to the imagined audience. Arguing for the significance of these elements from oral traditions in the genre of radio drama, the study considers this aesthetic as one of the strategies through which the play invites the listener to consume *Ninde* as a local play.

Last, audience imagination, engagement and modelling are achieved through characterisation, and Goffman's idea of 'abnormality' comes in. How does *Ninde* create characters? *Ninde* uses parallel or contrasting characters to 'visualize' the character choice and behaviours in order to enhance the audience's imagination of characters depending on the finality of the play.

The most striking feature of characterisation in *Ninde* is antithesis. At least one of the characters portrayed in the selected *Ninde* is anti-model, that is has a behaviour which is completely alien to the customs of the group at least temporarily so listeners should avoid behaving like that because it has bad outcomes. And surely in the society, there may be one or another who is like that character. *Ninde* uses the abnormal behaviour to teach the normal behaviour as an aesthetic strategy to bring people to laugh, forgetting that one may be laughing at himself or herself, what is known as punishing vices laughingly. This figure of speech is used for the delight and amusement of the audience. For instance, the girl Sabokwigura in *Play4* behaves like Kalulu in Kerr

(1998) who is an antithesis of the well-brought up African child. Sabokwigura's disrespect and impolite speech to her mother and her sexual promiscuity are presented for the delight and amusement of the audience although the anti-model behaviour of the character would be scandalous in real life.

Therefore, with regard to the use of characters *Ninde* as an edutainment drama engages its audience in any of the three ways: imitation, modelling, or avoidance. There are transitional characters that are shown as transforming their lives from living recklessly to living cautiously with the hope that members of the audience can emulate. You see either individual developing from bad to good as the story unfolds or from nothing to something. This is seen for example in Nkinahoruri (*Play1*) who is very cooperative with his wife in the last scene of the play, regretting and repenting of the wrong things that he used to do to his wife. It is also in Muhindo's (*Play8*) conviction to accompany his wife to the clinic for pre-natal routine checks.

Ninde also uses the contrast of good and bad characters. Nyirigo's attitude of throwing out his daughter for having refused to go into a forced marriage and chosen to pursue her studies is contrasted with Mushingantahe's compassionate attitude of welcoming the girl in his home and paying school fees for her remaining three years until she finishes her studies (*Play6*). The audience can aspire to be transformed like Nkinahoruri. Bihori's and Masatura's situation of refusing to show solidarity with their wives is contrasted with that of Majambere¹² who lives cooperatively and peacefully with his wife to prompt change in men who still have old thoughts with regard to their relationship with their women (*Play10*). The Bihori-like and Masatura-like characters display an utterly outrageous performance. They consider women as

¹² Literally meaning 'Progress'

objects that are meant to be used and intimidated. The audience is warned not to conform to Bihori-like or Masatura-like hegemonic models even as this hegemony sustains their power and privilege.

This engagement is, in short, a process in which the audience can learn by identification, imitation, modelling and avoidance. Listeners as individuals can identify through being like (imitation) or aspiring (modelling) or avoiding being like the characters that they come into contact. The setting and characters become useful models through which producers pass their intended messages. As Kingara (2010) suggests, “[c]haracters who reflect audience’s views and morals create the most emphatic connections with audiences” (cited in Sambai, 2014, p.177).

The images of women and men framed in the selected plays seem to function as warnings versus models. In other words, the use of doubling, or the creation of a double for each of the main characters allows for the juxtaposition of warnings and models with regard to gender roles and power relations. You also see a character remaining bad whose fate at the end serves as a moral lesson to the audience such as the men Gihushi in *Play4* and Rusimbi in *Play5* (round versus flat characters or dynamic versus static, Foster).

To a great extent, *Ninde* uses mainly *round* characters as its goal is transformation of men’s and women’s attitudes on issues of social concern. A round character is complex and undergoes development sometimes sufficiently to surprise the ‘reader’ and therefore to impact her/him because *Ninde*’s aim is to amuse while modelling its listeners. As Kincaid (2002, p.137) observes, “the story affects us by way of analogy.” Names are also important and for the characters Ndinzemenshi, Sabokwigura, Ngendaganya, and Majambere in the drama are very important.

Kerr (1998) makes a similar observation, that [radio] programmes rely on a formulaic approach, often one that simply contrasts characters of good moral standing against those of dubious repute (contrasting set of images). As Mbogo (2012, p.1) observes, “this representation format was created around the notion that [radio] programmes ought to inform as well as suggest preferable ways of living and interacting in the larger society.” In some plays, the storyline is built on a duplication of a dubious repute and the audience have to learn the preferable ways of living in the larger society through the moral lesson which can be drawn from the character of bad moral standing in form of remorse. The male character Gihushi and the female character Sabokwigura in *Play4* are good examples of stubbornness. They end up regretting for not having listened to advice calling on them to abandon their promiscuous life before it is too late. As a critic, there is, of course, no guarantee that every person in the audience is balanced and intelligent enough to be exposed to and learn from the anti-model hero to make up their own mind. Here I argue that the danger of this format is that the performed narratives are likely to endorse anti-model characters, that is, people who behave in ways different from those their culture legitimises. This framing strategy may end up normalizing the abnormal.

Of importance in this section is also the formulaic opening and closing of *Ninde* when addressing its public. The opening formula is made of four important elements. First there is *Ninde* signature tune or *Ninde* jingle. This is then followed by an excerpt of at most two short sentences from the play, either by one character or an interaction between two characters, for introducing the play to stimulate the audience’s appetite.

The following case is an example of such kinds of excerpts from *Play10*:

Bihori: URAMARAMAJE ABANDI BAGABO SHA!// YOU ARE PUTTING SHAME ON OTHER MEN!

Majambere: *JA HIYO! UWUTAYAKOBETEJEMWO AYAKONDOKAMWO. / AWAY FROM ME! IF YOU DON'T STRIVE TO MOVE FORWARD, YOU WILL FIND YOURSELF DISCONNECTED FROM PROGRESS.*

The third component that immediately follows that piece is two voices of narrators – one male and one female – who interact with a series of questions as presented below:

A female voice: *M'hu! Uyo yoba ari wewe? / M'hu! Would that one be you?*

A male voice: *M'hu! Eka data si jewe. / M'hu! Truly speaking, it is not me.*

A female voice: *None yoba ari jewe? / So, is it me?*

A male voice: *Eka nawe siwewe. Ariko ni bande ga ntu? / No, it is not you either. Who are they then?*

The fourth and last component in the opening formula is *Ninde* specific tune before the first scene starts.

The four components speak directly to the listeners as individuals while respecting the maxim of politeness. The above opening formula applies to all the radio *Ninde* plays. The series of questions between the two narrators seem to be addressing persons individually and not as a group. One can see from the questions as posed that there is the maxim of politeness to save one's face, not to sound aggressive or not to directly blame the perceived audience that the follies of the character or characters in the play reflect one or another person from the audience. Each individual from the imagined audience enters into the play with the assignment to identify "Who are they then?" (Since 'it is not me and that it is not you'). That question can be read as an implicit assignment for each listener to check if they are not such kinds of people or if such kinds of people are not in their neighbourhood out there.

That way of perceiving audience is similar to *Radio Theatre's* perception of audiences, according to Ligaga's (2008) study. She observes that the *Radio Theatre* perceives audience as dispersed throughout the country but it is nonetheless perceived as a homogenous group through the radio play's form of address which assigns the audience a certain position from which to receive the text, thus imagining the audience as a collectivity.

One particularly interesting feature just before the play closes is that the words in the last string of the play reinforce the message. In fact, the actor's last words recall the moral lesson of the play in form of a proverb or a proverbial statement most of the time so that the lesson may not be lost in the entertainment.

As far as the closing formula is concerned, each *Ninde* closes with three components as follows:

- *Ninde* tune like the introductory one
- The same two voices of narrators in conversation:

A female voice: *M'hu! Uyo yari wewe? / M'hu! Was that one you?*

A male voice: *M'hu! Oya ntiyari jewe namba./ M'hu! Truly speaking, it wasn't me at all.*

A female voice: *None yari jewe ga yemwe? / So, was it me?*

A male voice: *Oya nawe ntiyari wewe. Mbega bari bande ga yemwe? / No, it wasn't you either. Who were they then?*

- Closing *Ninde* tune

The closing formula also follows the maxim of politeness through the opening questions but in past tense. It is as if the assignment to find "Who is that" that was given at the beginning of the play did not get a response and therefore remains

hanging in the audience's mind. The formula avoids blaming anyone of its audience of being the incarnation of the satirised follies. However the message has gone through. The end of *Ninde* stories is interesting for the way in which the radio drama formula of domestic morality can be transformed to provide subtle analysis of changes in community values.

From the preceding discussion it is evident that *Ninde* has a specific formulaic tag line. This compares favourably with the formulaic openings and endings of most African narratives. In that regard, *Ninde* borrows from the story-telling tradition. However, narratives are to be performed before an audience and there is a close interaction between the narrator-performer and audience. The study on *Ninde*, however, focuses on imagined audience. While radio theatre functions within dramatic form, it is however produced in a sound medium. As such, *Ninde*'s imagined audiences relates to it at the level of voices and sounds rather than visually, as envisaged in the stage theatre. These formulas are a sort of framing because they are culturally variable the same are plots and characters. The formulas become 'performative' utterances and 'perlocutionary' acts (Austin, 1965, pp.99-144) which affect the mind-set of the imagined audience. The *Ninde* opening and closing formulas are not only an aesthetic element but also have a thematic affinity with the story that comes between. Those interrogations are seemingly no more than a rhetorical device: 'who is that' may therefore be you, I or all of us.

Ninde attempts to inspire Burundians to a collective and radical reassessment of their society. Albert Bandura (1977) theorizes that sometimes those who look at such narratives (like *Ninde*) as useful see them as avenues for the observation of behaviour enabling them to identify behaviours that are acceptable and those that are not.

Therefore, the moral story can only make sense to the imagined listener if it enacts reality which he/she understands.

In the radio drama *Ninde* there is an allusion to visuality and the dialogues are designed to create it. Radio assumes the audience is blind and therefore uses words and sounds to help the audience to actualize images. Images are created through language and through sounds. There is an imagined visuality. The performers in the radio drama create a world in the mind of the imagined audience that the latter try to 'visualize,' imagining the entire thing, to imagine the characters. The listeners imagine the setting, they imagine the characters. The dialogue becomes very important in radio drama even more than what we call stage drama. Through dialogue and through terms, there is a way radio *Ninde* helps the audience to create images and settings. In the selected plays, the dialogue creates for the listener different settings such as the home setting, the bar setting, the meeting setting; they create the noise from the market for the listeners, noise from the bar, the clinic atmosphere, and noise from other sceneries.

It is through voice and sound that *Ninde* texts tell us when it is a woman who is talking, if the woman who is talking is assertive or aggressive, or an aggressive man, they frame the voice accordingly. *Ninde* also utilises local idioms, images, symbols, Kirundi names, idiophone, onomatopoeia, and other elements of sounds, the screaming of the woman when she is being beaten, the neighbours' screaming... to help listeners visualize the type of characters that is framed. These images are defined by their concreteness and their sharp vividness in communication. Through voice and sound, the absent is made present; the invisible is made visible in the mind of the listener.

Proverbs are the most common strategy that *Ninde* uses to enhance the audience's imagination, but also to infuse the radio plays with wisdom and vitality. Proverbs as a genre of folklore¹³ are very important means of expression because they help to express abstract ideas in a concrete way. The place of proverbs in the verbal art of pre-colonial Igbo communities is aptly described by Chinua Achebe as "the palm oil with which words are eaten". These proverbs are an integral part of the narrative design. They lend an air of historical authenticity to the language and ideas. They bring clarity and richness of imagery to the audience. The proverbs help make the dialogue of the characters and reflect the everyday setting, while at the same time providing a means of evaluating and defining the characters.

The content of the ten selected plays being itself set against proverbs or local popular sayings has been organized and condensed into two proverbs that seem to be overarching in gender debate in this study: *Urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu/* If you eat your relative, you will digest grief and *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye/* Circumstances have changed. I am not interested in the chronology of the plays because I am not interested in the history but in the unfolding of the stories whose patterns seem to be reflected in the two proverbs. The two proverbs give a picture of how masculinities and femininities are conceptualized, understood, and dramatized in the contemporary Burundian society.

¹³ Folklore is a socially relevant communication with constants and variables in content and style, based on tradition, and applied to current needs, whether caught in primary or secondary orality, printed or electronically reproduced out of the normal context of use (Definition adapted from Linda Dégh, 1994, p.1).

By using these proverbs in the original language, I want to say that there are some nuances that are difficult or cannot be translated. I leave them in the original because they capture the essence in a more deep and profound way. In the selected narratives, these two proverbs are meant to play the key role in actualizing gender relations in Burundi. The proverbs are already a form of framing because they condense and make us see how gender is manifested in the drama. And in Africa proverbs are all understandable. They are verbals and then they catalyse in our mind certain images, so that when somebody uses a proverb, you begin to think about a parallel, for example: the fight in the home, domestic violence, the gender quarrel, the consequences of violence, and promiscuity. Proverbs act, in fact, as a bridge between the human mind and the culture. Unfortunately, for someone to whom Kirundi is a strange culture, the two proverbs produce little effect.

Kirundi proverbs are mostly used as rhetorical aids and stylized verbal forms in *Ninde*. Proverbs therefore function as a strong tool for the conceptualisation of images. They also help to establish the authority of a statement or a custom in situations within the *Ninde* narratives. They are used to make a point in a metaphorical way. The factor that gives proverbs power is that they are inherited from ancestors. This ensures that when a Kirundi proverb is uttered, “it strikes like an arrow into the heart” of the listener, to use William Bascom’s (1965) words. Proverbs are metaphorical statements since they reflect a general truth – but not always absolute – by reference to a specific phenomenon or experience that once happened in the past. In Okpewho’s (1992) argument, it may have once happened as an accident and was therefore passed on from generation to generation to shape the lives of men and women. Because proverbs originate from tradition, they are endowed with greater value, prestige and spiritual dimension because they are considered as a

spiritual legacy from our forefathers. They have been proven to be effective in exercising the social control and in the maintenance of institutions of the Burundian culture in the past (Nibafasha, 2014).

Radio *Ninde* being an audio medium, the proverb can be easily retrieved from memory and the image that it recalls keeps on coming in the mind of the listener even later on when the radio performance is over. The literary aspects of proverbs enhance their sense of didacticism and education by expression of an abstract idea in concrete terms. The neatness, the beauty and shortness with which proverbs are framed give them a mnemonic quality which is fundamental in orality.

I can make a link between how radio now enables the framing of what I am calling gender-based narratives. So how does it visualize for instance masculinity? How does one get the feeling that this person is performing masculinity? Even a woman who is performing masculinity, how is she framed? How does the language frame her so that we can definitively say this woman is actually performing masculinity or this man is performing femininity? Is it the way the voice/tonality has been rendered? Is it the way they are using the language? Or is it the way others are speaking about them or framing them or constructing them for us? To make the absent present or the invisible visible, radio drama therefore helps in the framing of the constructed femininity and masculinity in a particular way.

The *Ninde* narratives under analysis both reflect and speak to the complex matrix of power that is involved in relations between men and women as husbands and wives or as fathers and daughters. The storyline itself complicates the situation. Rather than a linear plot in which events happen in a sequence with one action leading to another from the diagnosis of the causes of the problem through making moral judgements to

the resolution, there is episodic disruption and linking of events in which audiences are presented with bits of different subplots and counter-narratives that are suspenseful to add spice to the storyline for fun. Because of that complex structure, the frames can be either ambiguous or polysemous or both at the same time, being plausible to confuse the audiences in the identification of the character(s) to emulate and who to avoid.

To remedy this confusion, the message in each play is reinforced in a sort of meeting or gathering where a member with a given authority delivers a speech or holds a meeting and where members are given time to ask questions and be answered. The focus on meetings somewhere in the play (often the last scene) is intended that the audience themselves get lectured apart from learning issues from the characters. This framing technique reflects how much the Burundian cultural tradition values speech or the '*Ijambo*.' Every meeting considered to be important is concluded with a speech that everybody listens to almost religiously. The speech of an authority is even more respected, almost sacred. This is reflected in the performances by who delivers a speech about what in *Ninde*. The speech about HIV/AIDS in *Play3* is delivered by a doctor. In *Play10*, the speech about household welfare by advising both men and women to cooperate in household roles and to share the responsibility in building the nation is delivered by the District Chief.

These meetings become a forum through which certain retrogressive cultures get challenged. The meetings are important in the sense that they capitalize on the exchanges between the meeting holder and the participants to educate audiences on such issues as the consequences of conflicts in families. They are also used to provide counter-narratives that aim at dismissing commonly held views.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the history, design and structure of *Ninde* as an ‘edutainment’ genre. *Ninde* is a one hour didactic satire which depends on the comic improvisatory talents. In *Ninde*, there is a presentation of individual vice and weakness. However, as a state broadcasting radio and because of censorship, the management of *Ninde* has limited the themes of the plays to domestic and cultural conflict, “steering them away from those macro-political issues which might have been more sensitive” to the government (Kerr, 1998, p.132).

In the structure of *Ninde*, there are elements of orality such as opening and closing formulas, proverbs and Kirundi idiomatic expressions as aesthetic elements and vehicles of the intended meanings. The plays address very closely the development problems faced by Burundian people who are the target of the performance. *Ninde* imagines its audience as individuals who are listening to the performance of narratives and speaks to its imagined audience through dialogues and soliloquy, and characterisation. So, here there is imagined visuality because all images are created through the use of voice and sounds. *Ninde* also speaks to its imagined audience through its scheduling on Sunday evenings, a day and time of rest. It also imagines its audience through communicative techniques which give to the plays not only communication effectiveness but also Burundian radio drama style. The stock of Kirundi imagery and artistry gives *Ninde* a feeling of freshness for every listener and a sense of *rundiness* for Burundian audience.

In the following three chapters, I make a link between how radio *Ninde* enables the framing of what we call gender-based or gender- implicated narratives. I look at how

femininity, masculinity, aggression and resistance are performed through dialogue and other techniques that radio *Ninde* uses to enhance the imagination of its audience. In my analyses, I am interested in how the selected plays make visible any simplistic representation of dominant gender-based messages.

CHAPTER THREE

*URYA UWAVE UKINOVORA INTUNTU*¹⁴: THE AESTHETICS OF VIOLENCE IN *NINDE* DIALOGUE DECONSTRUCTING PATRIARCHAL HEGEMONY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the second objective of the study which was to identify the tropes that the radio *Ninde* deploys to bring out the gender problematic in the selected episodes. The chapter thus discusses how *Ninde* episodes are deconstructing naturalized unnatural conceptions, beliefs, practices and norms about power and sexuality that tend to put the patriarch in position of dominance. In this context, the proverb in the title ‘visualizes’ the gender problematic as warfare opposing the custodians of patriarchal hegemony who are mainly men and the revolutionaries who are mainly women and their respective allies. The revolutionaries attempt to deconstruct the age-old oppressive and discriminative practices because these are what boost men’s superiority over women.

This chapter unpacks framing and how the narratives debunk the myth of patriarchal hegemony by making salient the idea that the old sexual power relations based on dominant/subordinate model between unequals enslaves both the victims (women) and the victimizers (men). The proverb in the title is used in one of the episodes to depict the warning against patriarchal hegemony in the vision of deconstructing the exploitative norms and practices of patriarchy that the radio drama pictures. The chapter unravels what the proverb evokes in the minds of Burundians, and what images it seeks to bring out.

¹⁴ Literally translated as “If you eat your relative, you will digest grief” and meaning “If you abuse your relative, you will reap grief/regret.”

It is known that human beings normally eat food and not other human beings and they digest food and not grief. The idea of people eating human beings or digesting grief is an exaggeration. The chapter presents a concept '*uwawe*,' which can be literally translated as 'your own' (somebody), which is deep in meaning, reminding people to handle their own people (could be relatives or anybody considered one's own) with care and not abuse. In the philosophy of Burundians, even when '*uwawe*' (your relative) does something wrong to you, you should never revenge, as a Kirundi saying goes: *Wihora uwawe ugahonya umuryango* / 'If you take your revenge on your relative, you will exterminate the whole family'. What affects him/her does not leave you intact. So the framing uses exaggeration by deploying the phrasal verbs 'to eat' and 'to digest grief' in order to make salient the idea that the negative effects of abusing your own kind come down on your head and to develop emotional response in the drama.

As Kincaid (2002) puts it, drama is a communicative form the essence of which is confrontation that generates emotion. Emotion is the motivational force that drives actions of characters, leading to conflict and its resolution. "By means of involvement and identification, the confrontation and emotional response of the characters generate a corresponding emotional response in the audience" as Kincaid (2002, p.150) argues. By observing such a change in a drama some members of the audience will undergo the same kind of change themselves (Ibid., p.140). The dramatic communication process aforementioned is realized in *Ninde* through elements of drama specifically action or plot, character, language or verbal expression as discussed in this chapter.

Framing is important in terms of (re)presenting correct information to the public. Goffman coined the term 'frame' analysis to describe the process of deconstructing

the individual's 'organisation of experience' (1974, p.11). In the same way, this chapter unpacks *Ninde* narratives to understand how language and sounds are used in the project of deconstructing patriarchal hegemony.

According to Sambai (2014), frames in communication affect the attitudes and behaviour of audiences. The same way politicians deploy framing in an attempt to mobilize voters to view them positively by persuading them to think in a particular manner, framing in edutainment prioritizes particular definitions and interpretations. Sambai (2014, p.68) notes that dramatic narratives enact life stories that are likely to embrace certain beliefs and values while silencing others. As such, framing effects are achieved through the abnormalization of the normal and the normalization of the abnormal. This is what Goffman (1974) terms the aesthetics of 'abnormality.' The aesthetic lies in departing from the natural framework. It is a kind of defamiliarization where habitual things are presented in "an unusual and strange manner in order to awaken [people's] critical judgement" (Sambai, 2014, p.170-1). In so doing, there is creation of a new normality. However, there is also risk of re-affirming the old.

Based on the setting, linguistic symbols and the use of character types as strategies deployed in *Ninde* to frame gender-based messages, this chapter focuses on the ways the programme presents and (mis)represents the common narratives around gender based violence, its assumed causes and its settlement.

3.2 How Does the Proverb Speak back to the Gender Debate?

How does the proverb in the title of this chapter act as a framing technique in the discourse of gender? It frames for us the relationship between men and women in certain contexts. The framing endorses the logic that peace begins at home. Gender based violence is barbaric and serves neither the man (villain) nor the woman

(victim). The proverb pictures a vivid image of the negative impact of aggressive masculinity on wellbeing for all. *Urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu* can be read as a melodramatic actualization of the narratives of patriarchal hegemony that requires listeners to engage with this issue from a sensitive point of view. In fact, shaking the patriarchal exploitative face requires a strong justification. By ‘visualizing’ aggressive masculinity as harmful not only to the victims (the one who is eaten: the woman in this context) but also to their predators (men), the proverb is used as a warning to people to give a valid reason why patriarchal hegemony should be dealt with. This proverb is not only a warning but also an indirect instruction involving a whole human experience rather than ‘eating one’s relative.’ It is a warning that offending one’s kinsmen results in negative consequences.

In the sampled narratives, forms of physical violence are generally associated with men while forms of emotional/psychological violence are generally associated with women. While the former variant is meant to be desperate gesture of domination, the latter is a calculated strategy of subversion; and while men are generally perpetrators of physical violence, they are generally victims of emotional/psychological torment in the same way that women suffer physical violence while vising its emotional/psychological variants on the men in their marital unions. The proverb therefore implies that men should not harm their wives because they are related to them. A woman relates to the man in the sense that she is mother, wife, daughter, grandmother, lover, sister, his in-law, and so on. By alienating her, the man implicitly alienates himself because their fates are tightly linked. Naturalized unnatural patriarchal conceptions about power and sexuality thus enslave both men and women.

That proverb raises a fundamental issue revealing the double effect of the aggressive masculinity that is performed by men which paradoxically affects both women and men. This framing indicates that not only do the aggressive performances damage the 'other,' that is, the women, but also the performers, that is, men who perform their masculinity aggressively. The experience has proved that in the present closeness of association between the sexes in marriage, men cannot enjoy material and moral progress unless women acquire an elevated status. Anything that is harmful to the woman absolutely affects the man. This chapter shows how framing in the selected narratives is an extension of how a rigid patriarchal system victimizes both women and men themselves.

The focus specifically is on how narratives, performance, setting and characters 'visualize' the assumed roots of the discords between men and women in the family context as based on the traditional and popular perceptions and beliefs about power and sexuality, which women attempt to defy and how this affects men negatively. The chapter further shows how violence is used by men against women as an instrument of coercion to prevent women from challenging openly the male power and from refusing to obey their unfair commands. Additionally, the chapter presents an analysis of how *Ninde* produces and reproduces certain circumstances and stereotypes that either positively or negatively impact on the struggle for gender equity. *Ninde* is an edutainment programme and as such can risk being read as either purely entertaining or educative depending on the position of the audiences.

The theory of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text (Entman, 2006). The concept of framing comes into play in the discussion of any edutainment programmes because of the dual aim that such programmes intend to

fulfill. While the educational aspect in such programmes is in most cases deliberate, the main advantage rests in their ability to attract the attention of people who might otherwise deliberately avoid messages that appear in an obvious educational form (Coleman and Meyer, 1990 cited in Sambai, 2014, p. 68). *Ninde* addresses audiences who are specifically looking for the enjoyment of the creativity through which the plays are presented, while being infused with moral lessons. The imagined audiences are supposed to consume radio drama narratives as ‘real’ because these narratives are drawn from familiar local spaces, and they reflect issues that occur in the spaces of everyday life. Nevertheless, since the audience is conscious that they are dealing with a radio performance, they are aware that the so-called reality is reflected upon. Drama is essentially realistic and *Ninde* is one because it illustrates well the quotidian aspects of life. *Ninde* is also realistic given that it is based on the mundane experiences of the ordinary people. It involves social relationships, emotion and an engaging story, the most essential components of drama according to Kincaid (2002).

The drama of the everyday life practice is in fact connected to comedy. *Ninde* as exemplified by *Ninde* sample under analysis describes situations that can be observed somewhere in the real world. Because *Ninde* is a drama of the everyday life, it gestures more to the comedic. It deploys the everyday material of life to create humour and therefore criticism through a light touch such as satire or lampoon. *Ninde*’s comical approach becomes important in the interrogation of patriarchal hegemony and in its challenge.

From the findings, I argue that the comedic is a framing strategy because *Ninde* wants to tell the audience something extremely ‘serious’ in a very light touch. The plays

satirize people's faults and so amuse the audience. And what are the elements of the comedic that are used as framing? There is irony, dramatic irony, hyperbole or exaggeration, understatement and the like. All that is part of the comedic as a framing strategy because it is an expressive way of communicating serious issues in a light way; what Ruganda (1992) in the reading of Francis Imbuga's plays refers to as "telling the truth laughingly"¹⁵ or what is also called strategies of concealment. That is part of the framing: framing through laughter or comedy.

It is true that the relationship between laughter and comedy is an important issue. In some critical discussions the two are treated as synonymous terms. However, this attitude does not do full justice to the complexity of comedy. Entertainment or amusement does not necessarily mean laughter. Therefore, even though the audience may laugh during the performances of some scenes of *Ninde*, comedy cannot be summed up in terms of laughter alone. After all the objective of a pure comedy is not just laughter as already stated in the previous chapter. It can also be about scenes arousing a feeling of pity. And it is worth mentioning that laughter does not always mean amusement.

The fact that *Ninde* programme alludes to real social experiences is one of the factors that contribute to the effectiveness of framing. In fact, this becomes more pronounced if the frame is derived from a credible source, resonating with values that do not contradict strongly held prior beliefs (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). To influence the audience towards desired social values and beliefs and adoption of

¹⁵ For the idea of framing through the comedy, see Fred Mbogo's reading of *Vioja Mahakamani* in his PhD Thesis (2012).

positive behaviour, the drama has first to attract and hold the attention of audiences and provide enjoyment through an engaging story. The stories in *Ninde* are culturally relevant, have believable characters, a wide range of emotional stimulation and a variety of ongoing plots or overlapping subplots. Drama in general has capacity to draw and sustain audience attention and has more effect than many other forms of communication mainly because it involves the audience emotionally and depicts changes in characters with which the audience identifies (Kincaid, 2002) ('round' characters) or depicts stubborn characters whose ruinous outcome serves the exemplary to the audience ('flat' characters). The featuring of characters in the chosen episodes dramatizes how modern gender attitudes and behaviours conflict with conventional gender attitudes in the family setting.

3.3 The Conceptualization of the Family and Relatedness in *Ninde*

The institution of marriage, which is the base of the family, is one of the areas that benefit male and female differences and their definition against each other. The selected narratives deal more explicitly with questions of male-female discords in the home. According to Goffman (1977), gender defines appropriate roles, behaviour, and power within the family sphere, and also between the public and the private spheres. In turn, the dominant relationships in the family sphere both reflect and support dominant relationships in politics and society (Goffman, 1977 in Nicholas, 2000, p.457). Although there is influence of gender in the definitions of appropriate roles in the public spheres, there is already a noticeable change in various domains. In the outside world, the relations between men and women are clearly regulated. Violence is often witnessed in family when these relation systems are broken, or the power 'arrow' gets inverted as seen in the sampled *Ninde* narratives.

In my reading of the selected *Ninde* with a gender inclination, the family unit and drinking bars become useful microcosms for representing general societal views on gender issues and an understanding of the programme's conceptualization of feminine and masculine attributes in the context of heterosexual relationship. Masculinity is best understood in relation to femininity. Both are concerned with power relationships that influence the division of roles between the sexes and social construction of sexuality. This echoes De Lauretis' assertion that "the process of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing gender is ongoing, sustained by social institutions that are considered unquestionable and natural" (cited in Mugambi & Allan, 2010, p. 95). As facets of culture that is itself never static, both masculinity and femininity are contingent and unstable and they are influenced by factors such as epoch, class, age, education and sexuality.

Fictional representation is one way of reproducing and deconstructing masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies). It is believed that the dramatic representation of masculine and feminine identities can precede their construction in society. Narratives have the power to create and recreate societies. So, the key to changing attitudes about gender lies in the power of framing as ideas have first to be present in the audience's imagination before it can be present in their lives (hooks in Godard, 2007, p.5). Masculinity is a social and cultural construct that makes one think of the traditional perceptions of males but does not necessarily coincide with males (Dipio in Mugambi & Allan, 2010).

In this study, the terms masculinity and femininity pertain, not to biologically-sex-linked characteristics/roles, but to man's and woman's social status, sex-attributed roles, behaviour and personal qualities and all these surface in *Ninde* narratives

through men's and women's spoken word, through performative. As the 'reading' of the narratives reveals, there are men who are considered feminine and women who are viewed as masculine. But since masculinity is a pillar of hegemonic culture in traditional African societies, being viewed as a masculine woman is a social promotion while being considered as feminine man is a social degradation. But in either case, it is pejorative. It is argued here that men's and women's fates are tightly linked, and that they are both victims of the traditional ideological value system that defines who they should be and how they should relate to each other.

Gender performance is one of the means through which the social order and organization in Burundian society is ensured especially in family. A human being is a social being (with emotional and spiritual needs) and more than just a biological substance. In the marriage institution, harmony is very important. But it can only be maintained if both partners know their rights and their responsibilities towards each other. Masculinity seems to be associated with power and strength and it is linked to man according to tradition as expressed in proverbs (Nibafasha, 2014). Unfortunately, the *Ninde* narratives show that many times the man abuses his power and this causes disharmony. This is consistent with Kiyimba's (2010, p.42) study of tales in Baganda oral literature. According to him, "the overall message of these tales is that a 'real man' must demand the obedience from his wife, even if this means beating her" in order to compel women to accept male authority as the natural order of things (Mugambi & Allan, 2010). The man's right to use instrument of coercion to bring the woman under control is presented in the oral literature of the Baganda as part of the basic understanding of masculinity. It implies that the beating women can get and the silence it can enforce is the ultimate warning to any other woman who might have wished to 'answer back'.

According to such customs and tradition of some African societies (Kiyimba, 2010; Nibafasha, 2014), it was shameful for a woman to have verbal exchange with her husband in an attempt to present her case. A good woman was expected to just blindly submit to her husband. This was one of the most powerful methods of enforcing male authority. This unconditional and unquestioned subservience of women however, in the face of social change, and the empowerment of women which to some extent have been influenced by western thought, education, democracy and human rights, seems to be retrogressive and old fashioned conception of femininity, as implied in the title of *Play10* (Circumstances have changed or Things are no longer the same way they were in the past).

All selected radio *Ninde* dramas make family the setting not only for their identification of the roots of the gender problem but also the solution while bars act as catalyst in tensions and conflicts between spouses. In *Ninde*, men like to go and ‘have a bottle’ in bars. The ‘bottle’ is a symbol of the phallus and beer is used to enhance their masculinity. The proverb in the chapter title and related indigenous discourse which help to decode the dramas’ imbedded notions of masculinity and femininity in heterosexual relations in family provide contexts as well as theoretical grounding for this discussion.

Broadly defined, the family is a basic social unit “which comprises individuals, who by birth, adoption or marriage or declared commitment share deep personal connections” (Levine, 1990 cited in Sambai, 2014, p.70). The argument is that within the context of power and gender relations, the family is presented as a potential arena for domestic violence and yet an irreplaceable institution as a basic social unit for the larger community. The cultural and structural systems assign the man enormous

power over the woman in marriage and parenthood. Also, the man has superior physical strength and sometimes abuses his power and beats the woman, especially in the relationship between husband and wife. In some sequences of the analysed *Ninde*, the man is presented as lazy, ridiculous, untrustworthy, dishonest and brutal. But even when the man is clearly in the wrong, he remains the head of the family and the worst that the woman can do is to leave him. If she chooses to remain, she must remain under his authority, his faults notwithstanding.

The family is presented as a potential arena for men's and women's disagreement and consequent domestic violence from the very construction of masculinity and femininity. When men realise that they fail to persuade and subdue their women, they resort to threat and violence. Therefore, domestic violence is given adequate attention in the framing. The family thus becomes an important unit through which gender issues are problematized and the solution imagined. Although the position of men as decision makers in the household may provide them with power and authority over women, several plays present scenarios where they are under pressure to live up to the expectations and positions accorded to them by the patriarchal society. Men who have not earned respect end up manifesting violence against women as a form of compensation to their weakness.

The family context is complex, because in addition to men asserting their manliness and/or masculinity, women (read: mothers) enhance this notion through instilling a sense of manliness in young boys and extolling submissiveness and expected female social roles to girls, as seen in *Play 10* in Helena's (Kamariza's mother) words:

Helena: *Niwiryamire wewe birakubereye mwananje niwiryamire / Rest my dear son, that's suitable for you.*

Kamariza's brother: *Nagomba Kamariza agende amvomeye amazi noga kuko mpava nja gutembera. /I would like Kamariza to fetch water for my bath before I move out to relax.*

Kamariza: *Ewe Mana yanje... /Ooh my God!...*

Helena: *Uze ugende were iyo ugiye kandi umugabo wawe uze umugamburukire (Kamariza aca yimyozza). Aha ndiko ndakwigisha mwananje. Umugabo wawe uze umugamburukire umupfukamira niwe mwami... niwe mwami wawe. / May you be lucky where you will go for marriage and may you submit to your husband (Kamariza sucks the air). I am here teaching you my beloved daughter. May you submit completely to your husband and even kneel down before him because he is the lord... he will be your lord.*

From an early age, therefore, a girl is socialized to develop socially esteemed values such as submissiveness, and this kind of socialization is done by the same woman who challenges the husband's absolute power.

Ninde plays, aware of traditional family set up, seek to create a culture of positive family ties. According to the selected texts, human beings are presented as social beings that have to co-exist, and to ensure harmony in the family, some regulatory frame is inevitable for the harmonious and continued existence of society. *Ninde* narratives creatively and artistically play with the sex binary either to challenge, to question or to perpetuate conventional gender perceptions in the context of heterosexual relations especially in marriage. *Ninde* narratives complicate the gender divide by drawing attention to the paradoxes of gender. There are internal contradictions in the authors' framing of masculinity in the selected plays.

Overall, although masculinity has traditionally been defined in binary terms with femininity, contemporary perspectives are more attuned to the variability/flexibility of

such traits expressed in gender roles for the survival of society. In affirming this, Goffman presents a Durkheimian society. He declares that he personally holds “society to be the first in every way and any individual’s current involvements to be second” (Goffman, 1974, p.13). Society is not made of a sum total of isolated individuals but of people who are related and interconnected. It is arguable then, that the survival of family depends on how masculinity and femininity cannot be dissociated.

According to Kazina (2002), the concept of family in Burundian society is interrelated with esteem, blessings, and status, as evidenced even by ordinary greeting. When an old person greets a child, (could be his/her grandchild), s/he says: “*Gira so, gir’izina, gir’iy’uva n’iy’uja...*” which means “may you have a father, may you have a name, may you have origin and destination.” This greeting encompasses a whole philosophy of life. From this, it is shown that family roots and destiny, blessings and status, are all conceived as one thing. For an ordinary Murundi, being born into a family, where father and mother are together, is something important and therefore desired.

In a patriarchal society, having a father guarantees recognition and status in society. As such, one becomes completely integrated, and enjoys all privileges such as family name, rights and status. In addition, those who claim to belong to the same father are interconnected by the duties of fraternity. To have a name is also to be recognized and identified in the family as a full member in the long line of family relations. Consider for example Kirundi proverb *Umwana w-umugabo¹⁶ yendanwa ibinyoro* (Nibafasha, 2014, 103), literally meaning that, ‘a girl who belongs to a ‘real’ man is married even when she has leprosy.’ Children born out of wedlock were perceived as signs of

¹⁶ In this proverb, the term *umugabo* refers to a male human being, power and richness.

disgrace because it was dishonouring to the whole family in general and to the father in particular. This popular perception is framed and altered in some plays. In *Play2* and *Play10*, there is a family conflict around fathers that were ashamed of their daughters who became pregnant before marriage. The fathers felt that their social esteem and pride had been injured, and so blamed their wives for that. When a child behaves well s/he becomes the pride of the father but when a child behaves badly the burden of responsibility is placed on the mother as exemplified below in the discussion between Bihori and his wife after discovering that their daughter was pregnant (in *Play10*):

Bihori: *Ntibamufashe ku nguvu kuko yama yiyerereza.../* Wasn't she raped because she was always roaming...

Helena: *Murazi ukuntu ... murazi ukuntu abagabo mumeze? /* Are you aware... Are you aware of your behaviour, you men?

Bihori: *nawe ataco wamira?/* while you never stopped her?

Helena: *Nyumviriza! Murazi ukuntu abagabo mumeze? Wareze umwana...ego...siwe... si ukuvuga ngo ni n'ukurera...yagukundiye, uwumugabo yagukundiye umwita ngo uwo mwana ni gwanje. Mugabo hagize agacamwo naho aca atukwa nyina ngo wareze nabi./* Listen to me! Are you aware of your behaviour, you men? When you have brought up a child well ...yes...it is not...I cannot even say it's a matter of bringing up a child well, but if the child has accepted it... when things are alright, when a child complies with parents' guidance, credence is given to the father. But when things are not in the right way, it's the mother who is insulted that she brought up the child in a bad way.

Bihori: *WAREZE NABI NYENE! /YOU BROUGHT UP YOUR CHILD IN A BAD WAY INDEED!*

Through this conversation between husband Bihori and wife Helena, we see Bihori, (a man, just like the one who raped his daughter) apportioning blame to his wife and the

latter is calling him to reason. The wife takes this opportunity to challenge openly certain assumptions in society with regard to wrong ideologies of manhood. She is quite vocal and firm in this.

In these narratives, the concept of family is presented through exaggeration that men have failed. They hang out idly in bars, associate with harlots (good-time girls), waste family income, are unfaithful and ungrateful to their hardworking wives, and so on (Examples in *Play1*, *Play6*, and *Play7*). Critically speaking, the plays portray men with tarnished father image. This has serious social implications in the Burundian community that go beyond the scope of this study. The narratives also present circumstances where men are willing to change their behaviour after advice. Most of the men in the plays change their behaviour, and live happily thereafter with their families while those who do not change have a tragic end so that it can serve as a warning to the audience.

The aforementioned family conceptualisation constitutes the context within which the roots of the gender problem are understood while reading *Ninde*. While acknowledging that interactions in family are often the proximal causes of violence against women, the family is also a potential source of women's power. Men sometimes need and want love and care from women enough to be willing to trade power for it. Love for mothers, daughters, sisters, and friends may even be a force that "propels some men into becoming allies in a feminist movement" (Deutsch, 2007, p.122) as illuminated through progressive masculinity in chapter four. It is the old construction of masculinity that causes men to have recourse to violence in order to establish power in their home when women attempt to assert themselves and to resist injustice. When women challenge men's privileges that traditional conventional

masculinity entitles them to, masculinity disguises itself and comes back in form of violence. In other terms, from the analysis of the narratives, men who are denied their 'rights' construct their masculinity in violence.

3.4 Male Brutality and Female Vulnerability: 'Visualizing' the Roots of the Problem

In this section, I discuss how domestic violence is framed in *Ninde*. In particular the focus is on the causes of the problem and where responsibility is assigned, and the suggested solutions for the problem. The study assumes that the authors/actors of *Ninde* have presented us with a true structure of Burundian society and appropriate data to understand that society from which the work of art comes. So from that presentation, we can see why the desired direction in the authors'/actors' views about gender and *Ninde* performances become an important component of Burundians' performativity.

For this study, domestic violence is defined as physical, sexual, psychological, economic and/or emotional abuse that occurs between a man and a woman in an intimate relationship such as spouses or parents and children. According to Berns (2001), how to label the problem continues to be debated. The term domestic violence is criticized for not identifying the roles of victim and offender. Other commonly used terms, such as, *battered women*, *abused women*, *wife abuse*, and *wife beating*, identify the victim but obscure the offender. Terms such as *wife abuse* and *spouse abuse* are also criticized for ignoring abuse outside of marriage (Berns, 2001, p.279). But this study focuses on abuse within marriage and family.

The radio *Ninde* makes salient male aggressivity and its consequences both for the victim and the perpetrator. In gender theories we are told that masculinity is performed through aggression. However, violence in the drama *Ninde* is manifested as a form of coercion to the women engaged in the project of deconstructing patriarchal hegemony. As seen, when a woman challenges unfair treatment from her husband, he resorts to violence in order to subdue her. How does *Ninde* dialogue frame violence between men and women? The naturalized unnatural conceptions and practices about power and sexuality are the roots or the cause of tensions of the gender-based violence in the narratives because men use violence as an instrument of coercion when women interrogate the unfair patriarchal cultural order.

The analysis of gender violence in *Ninde* benefits from Kuypers ideas of doing frame analysis. According to Kuypers (2009), framing is a process whereby communicators consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner. Frames operate in four key ways: they define the problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies. Kuypers (2009) posits that frames are often found within a narrative account of an issue or event, and are generally the central organising idea. The argument is that the four key ways of frames in drama *Ninde* can be reduced to three: (i) they diagnose causes of a problem (the old definitions of masculinity and femininity that lead to sexual power relations based on dominant/subordinate model between man and woman in the case of the episodes subject to analysis), (ii) they make moral judgements (this inequality disadvantage both the woman victim and the perpetrator man); and (iii) they suggest remedies (a redefinition of the terms 'man' and 'woman' that can lead to fair and practical sexual relations befitting the contemporary society). This resonates with Entman's (1993,

p.52) observation that “frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe”. It is during the ‘prescription,’ that is, the final revelation or final stage of *Ninde* that the lesson(s) and suggested remedies come out.

Ninde uses the comedic and metaphorical signification as framing strategies to bring out the gender based violence within the family setting. This is in accordance with how frames operate by making some information more salient than other information in order to influence beliefs and attitudes in the perceptions of some specific issues. The narrative structure of *Ninde* follows the original Aristotelian conception of dramatic structure consisting of “a beginning, middle and an end” (Sachs, 2004, p.3). In the selected *Ninde* plays, certain stands are adopted by characters, reflecting the society’s perceptions concerning what are the diagnosed causes of discords between a man and a woman. This is implicitly about masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies). The way they are defined has a direct implication on their relationships.

In order to make salient domestic violence in public opinion, *Ninde* narratives mainly focus on the frequency of the theme of domestic violence. All the selected plays portray a woman brutalised or abused by a man in one way or another. Men are presented as the source of women’s troubles. Domestic violence is thus examined here as a gender issue. Many scholars have suggested that domestic violence is a means by which men construct masculinities (Anderson and Umberson, 2001; Connell, 2005). These studies find that masculine identities are constructed through acts of violence and through batterers’ ability to control partners as a result of their violence. According to these studies, violence is a “resource for demonstrating and showing a person is a man” (Anderson & Umberson, 2001, p.359). This is also

consistent with Moreel's idea that men who feel their masculinities are undermined or threatened develop counter masculine discourses to help them regain their control over women. (Morrel, 2001 cited in Sambai, 2014, p.117). This includes being physically aggressive and violent. Being part of the old conception of masculinity, the man's right to use instrument of coercion to bring the woman under control is framed in *Ninde* plays and presented as an old fashioned understanding of masculinity to be undone.

In an attempt to raise public awareness on the problem of domestic violence, *Ninde* performances highlight the damaging effects of violence and abuses of men against women, and suggest solutions and this theme of domestic violence cuts across all the ten plays (the aesthetics of abnormality according to Goffman). The ten *Ninde* texts single out various roots of this problem but all reflect the faces of conventional masculinity some of which are evil. *Ninde* uses the same biases in framing to deconstruct them with all what it can imply in terms of perpetuating gender stereotypes and domestic violence.

One of the roots or causes of the discord which leads to female vulnerability in the selected episodes is around traditional conception of male superiority even before he is born, without even knowing how his masculinity as a social notion will be like. A baby boy is much more valued than a baby girl. This is the primary root of the problem and others are secondary. In scene two of *Play10*, Ndinzemshi is ill-treated and verbally abused by her husband Masatura accusing her that she has given birth to 'substandard' children because she just bore a second girl and not a boy, that the home does not belong to her and that "those who are able to give birth to boys will

take over". Masatura continues his abuse, by refusing to help her or buy necessary materials like loincloths for the baby. The following is an excerpt of how her husband threatens her:

Masatura: *Wewe...wewe...wewe iyo uvyaye umukobwa ukongera ugasubira, uraja ngaho ukanika ameenyo ukaja ngaho ugatentamara ngo waravyaye? Ngaho ubona wavyaye iki?/ You...You...when you give birth to a female baby for the first time and do the same for the second time, do you stand there and rejoice and celebrate thinking that you have given birth to a child? What have you given birth to?*

Masatura breaks in with a stream of verbal abuse. His aggression is perceived through the words he uses and the tone of his voice. From Masatura's words, it can be noticed that in the traditional conception, the power of man is felt even before he is born. Like in many African societies, bearing a baby boy is powerful 'ammunition' a woman has, an instrument at her disposal to earn honour in a patriarchal society. She can use it to find her way to a better position in society, especially in the clan where she has gone for marriage (Kiyimba in Mugambi & Allan, 2010, p.37). The lack of a son is as near to a social death for Masatura. That is why there is no reward being offered to Ndinzemenshi for having delivered two baby girls, even though it is logical to imagine that there are men who may have only baby boys and be proud of it. Ndinzemenshi, literally meaning "I endure a lot of hardships", symbolizes how a hegemonic patriarchal system subjugates women who are forced to bear hardship in order to survive.

From this traditional conception of the superiority of a baby boy, it follows that boys do not get as involved in the domestic routine as the girls do, as framed in *Play5* and *Play10*. In *Play10*, the girl's absorption into the mother's domestic work routine enables her to receive thorough instruction in the social and cultural norms and taboos

of the society, some of which actually exclude the boy from this work by defining him as different from the girl. This is what Helena does to her daughter Kamariza, who is overburdened with house chores while her brother stays idle. While Kamariza's brother has got a chance to attend school, Kamariza does not attend school because she is a girl. The boy does not help Kamariza and her mother to till the land when he is on vacation because he is a boy yet the mother supports this behaviour. Bihori, the father of Kamariza also says that sending a girl to school is wasting time and money.

In this play, the scenes of Masatura and Bihori are contrasted with the scene of Majambere in which Majambere has no segregation of work or in education of his daughters and sons. Majambere's example is used in the play as evidence that the more "balanced" the roles are within a family, the more stable and advanced the family gets – although "balanced" might also be a relative term cross-culturally and from one household to another within the same culture.

One can deduce from radio *Ninde* that the societal inequalities embedded in gender roles survive even today as satirised. Linguistically, some scenes of *Ninde* use the phrase *Ndi/uri umugabo* (literally, 'I/you am/are a man') in order to acknowledge or congratulate notable performances of both men and women, which reflects that traditionally, hard work and diligence were for men. As Gallimore argues, by calling the successful female performer a man, the society symbolically deprives her of her feminine identity. In granting her the honorary status of a man, the patriarchal order says noteworthy and worthwhile performances are out of the reach of women (in Mugambi and Allan 2010).

In *Play5*, the boy Rusimbi does not want to help his aunt in domestic chores and only wants to eat and play. He says he cannot do the washing, he cannot clean the house, and he cannot cook because he is a boy. He quarrels with his aunt and starts insulting her that people from a background of poverty remain selfish however rich they may become. The aunt throws him out of the house. This scene reminds us of the traditional division of labour between males and females where there were roles and responsibilities exclusively for girls or boys.

The biological sex differences impact on gender identity constructions because people tend to do socialization mainly on the basis of the sex differences. While the girl is completely absorbed in the mother's routine, the boy on the other hand is not completely absorbed in the father's life routine. In *Play10*, when the father goes to idle around, or to drink, the boy is rendered redundant, while his sister is busy helping her mother with chores such as preparing the meal, fetching water, and firewood, tilling the land. This gives him a certain sense of false independence and confidence that prepares him to be the leader of the home and of the wider society. This concurs with Butler's argument that one's gender is created by one's acts, in the way that a promise is created by the act of promising. There are just socially established ways of 'being a man' or 'being a woman.' The naming of the girl or the boy at birth initiates a continuous process of 'girling' or 'boying', the making of a girl or a boy, through an 'assignment' of compulsory repetition of gender norms. As a consequence, it seems that there is a direct relationship between gender identity construction and gender power relations which results in male dominance and female subservience from that kind of socialisation.

Ninde frames expose how men abuse their power as men over women and how women challenge it with resistance and counter-power. So men make recourse to violence and perform violence as a form of asserting their masculinity and maintaining their position. The argument is that while trying to undo that gender issue in such a frame, there is no doubt that the language used helps to promote the notions of male superiority and violence in the real world.

Second, the source of discord between men and women is around education of children. In *Play2*, Budodwa and her husband Mibare quarrel over their pregnant unmarried daughter. He unjustly accuses his wife saying: *Hewe, ukaba wamuragiriyeko ibimwenyi, biragusha* (“Woman, if you have let crooks impregnate her, that is your own business.” Mibare, who is the symbol of those who impregnated their daughter, puts all the responsibility of this premarital pregnancy on his wife. The latter tries to explain that bringing up children is a shared responsibility between parents and that when the child misbehaves the burden must be shared.

The idea of sharing responsibility in raising children which is stressed here challenges the traditional conception that it is only the woman who should be in charge of education of children and be accountable of their faults. Mibare does not want to accept this new conception of relations, arguing that he is not a woman, and that it is the responsibility of a woman to bring up the children. He argues that Budodwa should have accompanied her wherever she goes, even when going to fetch water or collect firewood. Budodwa goes on demonstrating that she is not responsible for what happened to their daughter. In his anger, Mibare utters *Uba wapfyumye umuheza muri iyo nda yawe hako uvyara uwuzoza kumaramaza* /“You would rather have kept her in

your womb forever instead of giving birth to someone who would come to bring shame on me.” Mibare even goes further by threatening to kill his wife Budodwa. The scene of tension and conflict between Mibare and his wife Budodwa seeks to deconstruct that gender bias of not sharing responsibilities as parents in educating children and blaming the mother for their faults.

In *Play6*, conflict rises from a disagreement between Nyirigo and his wife on forcing their two daughters into marriage, a traditional practice in some regions in Burundi, which is still being carried out, interfering with the growth and development of young children, especially young girls. While the father wants his two daughters to drop out of school and get married so that he can get dowry to become rich, the mother wants them to pursue their studies. The young daughter called Shantare listens to her father and gets married. Jozerine the older daughter continues with her studies. The father is proud of the one who drops out of school and does not understand Jozerine while the mother sides with Jozerine and values her choice.

These different perspectives on the future of their children become the cause of tension and conflict between Nyirigo and his wife. They quarrel over Jozerine and the latter is thrown out of the home by the father. Nyirigo’s power to decide for his daughters as a father stems from male power enshrined within the social structures. According to patriarchal structures, the man is the ‘owner’ of the children and the ultimate source of social legitimacy for them. The society of Burundi is patrilineal and therefore accords an elevated position to the father as the provider of the line through which a child descends from the ancestors. In the past, he used to take the important decision of when and who one would marry, which is now deconstructed in the narrative. Nyirigo unsuccessfully attempts to use his social position, power and

ownership rights to threaten his daughter of a curse if she does not carry out his order of dropping out of school and getting married. He finally throws her out of the home because she has held on her position to continue her studies.

Similarly in *Play10*, Bihori beats his wife Helena almost to the point of killing her, just because their daughter is pregnant subsequent to a rape. Bihori shouts at his wife: *Nokuniga uramaramaje.* /“I can strangle you, you have just put shame on me”, accusing her that she does not know how to bring up children well. This again recalls the traditional perception of socialisation of children which was same-sex based. The frame intends to deconstruct this construction as evidenced in the intervention of Mudandaza when he comes in to help Helena. He says: *“Umviriza! Indero y’abana muyijewe mwese abavyeyi.”* (Listen! Both of you parents are responsible for the upbringing of your children).

Third, the root of the problem of domestic violence that is framed in the chosen episodes is unequal division of labour between husbands and wives which puts much weight on the woman while earnings from the harvest are pocketed by the man. In *Play1*, Nkinahoruri asks his wife Ngendanganya to make local wine from bananas and to go and collect timber while he goes to relax in bars. The wife struggles hard and succeeds to get the wine from bananas and she is almost done with this task when her husband comes in before she has gone to collect the timber. Ngendanganya tries to explain to her husband the reason why she has not yet gone to collect the timber but in vain. He starts beating her, because the wife tried to make him reason, thereby questioning his masculinity. By being violent, he is trying to declare his masculinity and self-esteem which he feels was threatened by the woman’s argument.

When Ngendanganya cries and screams, men from the neighbourhood who hear the cries come in to help. Ngendanganya starts explaining and defending her case. Nkinahoruri interrupts her and tells the men: *Muri mwebwe hari uwufise umugore nk'uyu atumva?* / “Is there somebody who has a stubborn wife like mine among you?” This question insinuates a male’s normalized categorization and generalization of women as submissive and docile. His thinking reflects the society’s negative perception of women who try to cross traditional patriarchal boundaries by firmly asserting their rights. Such women are branded as stubborn and arrogant. But after listening to the explanations of the wife of Nkinahoruri, these men see reason and in return end up blaming Nkinahoruri, who will unfortunately continue to beat his wife until she gets mad.

The same unequal division of labour is framed in *Play10*. In the home, the woman Helena works harder while her husband Bihori always remains idle or goes to drink beer, but ironically controlling the bulk of the income which the wife produces through hard work (*Play10*). One of the scenes of the play represents Bihori who wants to sell beans that his wife has harvested without asking for her permission. When Helena opposes the idea of selling her beans, she is seriously beaten by her husband. Bihori beats Helena because they do not agree on the management of their crops which Bihori thinks belong to him because he says that he brought Helena so that she may cultivate for him. Bihori plays the conventional masculinity where all the material resources and the property of the household belonged to the man, including crops. In Bihori’s patriarchal thinking, women are subordinate subjects, not to question male authority. The two men Nkinahoruri (in *Play1*) and Bihori (in *Play10*) are portrayed as irresponsible and brutal who want to keep their power as men at all

cost. They are physically aggressive and violent. It is this evil face of masculinity which is questioned and challenged in the narratives.

Muhindo is contrasted with Severino in *Play8* while Bihori and Masatura are contrasted with Majambere in *Play10*. The two men Severino and Majambere help well their wives in work traditionally known as feminine. The narratives present them as serious men who look for the understanding in the family and who help their wives in roles traditionally known as feminine. They live with their wives in peace, understanding, fulfillment, cooperation and true love. Bihori's and Masatura's situation of refusing to cooperate with their wives is contrasted with that of Majambere who lives harmoniously and peacefully with his wife to prompt change in men who still hold retrogressive ideas concerning women.

The study notes that female vulnerability is caused by various interrelated aspects that are complex to solve. For instance, the lack of access to material resources is blamed as being the distal (i.e., institutional) causes of women's oppression (Deutsch, 2007, p.121) because conventionally, masculinity was closely linked to the economic status of a man (Nibafasha, 2014). It conferred economic responsibilities upon him, one of the most important of which is to get a house of one's own. This idea is defied in *Play2* and *Play5* where the Mibares and the Rusimbis live in their wives' properties. It is also defied in *Play4* and *Play9* where young women have rights to property and can fund their boyfriends. However, it does not matter whether the woman has everything she needs in material terms or whether she has been given fair opportunity to compete for the available resources and opportunities with men, she is still the victim of gender bias because of her identity as a woman, and is often subjected to male ridicule. This ridicule sometimes degenerates into brutal force when the woman

attempts to assert herself. The women Budodwa in *Play2*, Sabokwigura in *Play4*, Rozata in *Play5* and Yoranda in *Play9* are still vulnerable because they are women and they are abused by their husbands.

Fourth, the root of the problem that leads to brutality of men against women is the health issue, and particularly reproductive health. *Play7* frames infertility or barrenness as a source of women's trouble. The drama is centred on a married couple, Matayo and Karorina who have been unable to bear children in their marriage, and as expected, it is the fault of the woman; thereby depicting stereotypes of childlessness and infertility. Ironically, the problem of not having offspring originates from her husband Matayo. Initially he decided to marry a second wife who already has a child to be sure she was fertile. This second wife makes life hard for the first wife by cherishing herself before the husband to the detriment of the first wife. Matayo utters angrily to Karorina: "*Wewe uraja ngaho ukanturubikira umuvyeyi, ukaja ngaho ukanika amenyo ngo uri umuntu?*" / "You cause trouble to my dear wife and would-be-mother of my children, and then you sit there and laugh, thinking that you are a human?"

According to Matayo, not to bear children deprives Karorina of her characteristics of human beings. Matayo and Karorina quarrel and clash over this second wife. Matayo gets angry and beats Karorina his first wife and chases her away accusing her of infertility. Karorina tries to fake pregnancy which she says is from Matayo, with the intention to incite Matayo to restore her rights. The second wife does not become pregnant either, and Matayo even tries to make other women pregnant, but in vain. Karorina later on uses her lie and borrow from her sister a child who will be a 'passport' for her to come back to her husband's home. Later on, it is revealed that

this child belongs to Karorina's sister. Finally, the play ends with the man proven impotent, shifting the blame of childlessness from his wife. This play draws attention to how Burundian culture deals with the problem of childlessness in marriage and suggests a new perspective that views infertility as something that can also happen to men. The play challenges the traditional idea of 'feminizing' barrenness.

Play3 and *Play8* are in the framework of sexual and reproductive health in general and of prevention of mother to child transmission of HIV/AIDS in particular. They dramatise conflict in the life of two married persons around whether to go or not to go for visits to the clinic for a check up so that they can beget a generation free of the HIV/AIDS. In *Play3*, there are Banzubaze and his wife Riyera, and in *Play8* there are Mibare and his wife Njerina. While the wives are willing to go to the clinics for checks, their husbands are not and this is the cause of trouble for women in the lives of these couples. The husbands do not only refuse to get tested but they also forbid their wives to do so. Women are brutalised by their men who use their power to take decisions against the will of their women. It echoes Connell's (1987) argument in her theory of gender and power which explores the depths of sexual inequity as well as gender and power imbalance. According to her, there are three social structures that make up the theory of gender and power: sexual division of labour, sexual division of power, and the structure of cathexis. These three constructs are distinct but are overlapping, and work together to define and explain the heterosexual relationship between men and women and have an influence on women's health (Connell, 1987).

The basis for the sexual division of power begins at the societal level with the inequality of power between men and women. The sexual division of power, at the institutional level, is maintained by abuse of power, authority, and control (Wingood

& DiClemente, 2000). Courtenay (2000) discusses the theory of gender and power but does so from the perspective of the male and this is the perspective that helps us to explain Banzubaze's (*Play3*), Matayo's (*Play7*), and Muhindo's (*Play8*) negative attitude with regard to health issues. Maybe if Matayo had gone to the clinic for a medical check up, he would have gotten healed of his infertility and bore children. At least Banzubaze and Mibare accepted to go to the clinic after being seriously persuaded by their peers, and not by their wives. The refusal by these men to go to clinic for test screening is because they want to fit into the traditional ideal masculine concept. In order to fit the mould of society's ideal regarding the dominant role, it means that these three men must reject certain qualities that are traditionally thought of as being feminine such as going to the doctor for a check up. It is the quest for power and dominance that leads Matayo, Banzubaze and Mibare to unhealthy behaviour and to be violent toward their wives, especially Banzubaze toward his wife Riyera when he learns that she has tested HIV positive.

These men's behaviour affirms Connell's (2005) observation that men construct their masculine identities through relationships with both their fellow men and women. Men are expected to demonstrate features of dominant forms of masculinity, such as power, courage and aggressiveness. For Connell, men are expected to actively struggle for dominance and this active struggle for dominance is actually fundamental in redefining what a normal male gender identity should be. Therefore, societal culture and rituals of the everyday practices encourage men to take up dominating roles over their wives, and women should be unquestioning, submissive, passive, and obedient to their husbands. According to Connell (2005), patriarchal ideology legitimizes violence towards women as a result of the hegemonic masculinity's superiority over them.

From patriarchal perspective, I may say that these men are performing masculinity through violence in the process of asserting their power before their women. However, Connell ([1995], 2005)) argues against essentialists' perception of patriarchal ideology because according to her the essentialists believe that, the construction of male gender requires one to be moulded into a masculine behaviour or role which presupposes autonomy, competition, and aggressiveness, and the domination of the innate human needs for connectedness, intimacy, and self-disclosure. The essentialist patriarchal ideology rests on the idea that a man behaves in a certain way because he has to prove his manhood. Men need to prove their manhood because they have been socialized to believe that their masculinity is actually biologically inherent, and not ascribed, and therefore has to be continually maintained and enhanced through the externalization of masculine behaviours. This essentialist idea is challenged in the characters of Banzubaze and Mibare when they change their mind and cooperate with their wives in going for HIV-test.

Last but not least, the root of violence that is framed as a potential cause of women's vulnerability is polygamy or men's involvement in several love affairs (oversexed men), which brings a link between that masculine construct with virility. There is nothing that threatens the security of a wife than the thought or the sight of another woman competing for the attention and affection of her husband. Nothing is more insulting, belittling and degrading than that. While high value was placed on virility in the past as it was needed in conjunction with polygamy to ensure a sufficient labour force to till lands, and the siring of a large progenitor, especially boys, today's world is beset by HIV/ AIDS, and an uncontrolled virility can be a cause of contamination and a cause of marriage breakdown. Polygamy and sexual promiscuity are

dramatized in radio *Ninde* as a source of conflict in families because it causes jealousy and rivalry in ‘co-wives’ where the husband sides with the younger wife against the older one. Communication through *Ninde* media is used to encourage individuals to tame their virility and guide it into ‘grazing in only one field’. There are instances of polygamous men in *Play1*, *Play4*, *Play5*, *Play6*, *Play7* and *Play9*. Their fate as the narratives unfold intends to sensitize the audience to get rid of that practice.

Play1 for instance dramatizes the many troubles caused to Ngendanganya by her husband Nkinahoruri. One evening, he comes home very drunk with a good-time girl he met in a bar and tells his legal wife Ngendanganya to get out of the house. When she tries to resist, he batters her until she runs away for her safety. He brings her back home and continues with the habit of beating her. She becomes mad because of trauma and it is this insane state of this woman character that is used to stigmatize male brutality and to deconstruct this masculine vice. *Play4* represents the character of a sexually promiscuous man Gihushi who wins the hand of a sexually promiscuous girl called Sabokwigura and marries her after having sent away other wives with threats of killing them. While he is planning to marry Sabokwigura, his friend Handereya advises him to give up that habit of changing wives like cloths and to be a ‘man’ like others. In return, Gihushi replies that he is even manlier than others, that he is a man five times.

In Gihushi there is a representation of the traditional conception of masculinity in terms of virility manifested in polygamy. However, as the play intends to dramatize that the so-called conception is old fashioned, Gihushi’s friend Handereya tells him: *Hewe ndakubwire, uriko wibaza ngo ugomba ku... ngo uriko urondera umunezero ariko uzosanga uhashiriye.* /“May I tell you my friend, you think...to...that... you are

seeking joy but you will find yourself in jeopardy". As the storyline shows, what Gihushi predicted wasn't long coming. Through Gihushi's regret, we are confronted with the fate of men engaging in multiple sexual relations as a way of constructing their masculinity. Later on, the play shows a man paying a high price for such a relationship as it ultimately diminishes him instead of elevating him.

On the other hand, through the characters of the man Gihushi and the woman Sabokwigura, there is a removal/ a defying of double standards in the society's judgement of men's and women's sexual behaviour because all the two characters have a bad end because of their promiscuous behaviour. Promiscuity is shown to be bad both for women and men.

In *Play5*, Rozata marries Rusimbi on her own plot of land, something that is not common in the Burundian culture. In one of the scenes, one can hear how they enjoy life together vowing to remain faithful to each other. Rozata loves her husband so much. However, their joy does not last long. The husband starts thinking how he can sell this land and go away with the money to seek other women. Rusimbi tells his former henchman Rishari that he is going to pretend to be ill so that his wife Rozata can sell the land to get money for treatment. Instead of breadwinning for the family, he misuses its income by promising all sorts of good things to his good-time girl. By wooing this girl in a bar, he puts a lot of energy into the reassertion of his potency and authority vis-a-vis this 'other woman.'

Another instance of polygamous nature is described in *Play6* where Papa Fiston comes home with a good-time girl from a bar. When Mama Fiston comes from the fields, she is angry at them. She tells the young woman to leave the house immediately. Her husband Papa Fiston sides with that woman and seriously beats

Mama Fiston and threatens to kill her. She runs back to her parents' home for safety. The worst of punishment that a woman may receive in Burundian culture is to be sent away from her husband's home. Repudiation for the woman is a socially heavy punishment because a woman who has returned to live in her parents' home is scornfully regarded by her parents and the community at large.

Play7 still dramatizes another instance of polygamy by showing how after staying with his wife Karorina for some time without producing any children, Matayo leaves her behind and enters into a polygamous relationship with the intention of getting children because he has the traditional conception that infertility is only a woman's fate. *Play9* portrays a young woman called Yoranda who dates a young man called Yakobo. She takes her money and gives it to Yakobo so that he can build a house in which they will live when they marry. When the house is almost getting ready, Yakobo disappoints Yoranda and enters into love relationship with Karita, Yoranda's sister. He betrays her trust. When Karita learns that the cause of Yoranda's insanity is Yakobo's betrayal, Karita immediately breaks her relationship with Yakobo. After breaking with Karita, Yakobo tries to enter into another relationship with Matama who is already aware of his lack of seriousness. She spitefully rejects his proposal. It is the young woman Matama who lectures him, and through her the audience that he and men like him should mind about their swindling behaviour which is the source of trouble for women.

The portrayal of the mentioned male characters in the six plays above shows that men construct their masculinity through virility. The traditional masculine culture regarded men as entitled to sexual gratification and the final revelation of the stories seem to deconstruct this oppressive idea because all these men end up losing. Overall,

although the concept ‘man’ is generally powerful, the framing of the man in the chosen narratives reflects a certain link between masculinity and irresponsibility, brutality, dishonesty and untrustworthiness. Certain images of him are comic, ridiculous, and contemptible, on account of his excessive selfishness and irresponsibility, and in such a case, the only tool he remains with to assert his masculinity is violence. The motif of masculine violence is so recurrent in the narratives that at times it eclipses the subject matter which is basically a satire of gender relationships that intends to improve these relationships.

The complex nature of oppression is that in some instances, women also perpetuate or encourage violence against other women. This is evidenced in *Play3* when Riyera is being beaten by her husband when she comes back from the clinic and tells her husband that she has tested HIV positive; the mother-in-law fuels the discord in the following words:

Banzubaze’s mother: (*Nyina aca ashiduka*) RAHIRA! KUBITA WICE MWANANJE!
 NA WEWE YARAHEJEJE KUKWICA SHA! / (*The mother is startled*) SWEAR!
 BEAT HER TO DEATH MY DEAR SON! SHE FINISHED KILLING YOU TOO!

Riyera: *Ariko ga nyoku... ariko ga nyoku? Uko niko uriko urakokeeza ga nyoku ngo kugeza anyishe?* / But Grandma... Grandma? Is that the way you set the blaze telling him to kill me?

Riyera’s mother-in-law sides with her son to make the life hard for Riyera, blaming her that she is the one who infected Banzubaze with HIV. This surely reminds the ‘reader’ of the mother-in-law motif in African oral traditions.

The selected *Ninde* plays also feature young women who seem to be so naive to an extent of accepting to interfere in between husband and wife as co-wife or good-time girls, and hence becoming a source of other women's unhappiness particularly in the family. This is evident in *Play1, Play4, Play5, Play 6 and Play7* where there are women who accept to enter into intimate relationship with married men without caring about the fate of their wives.

Critically speaking, with this kind of framing domestic violence, there is risk of normalization of the intimate violence. My argument is that by dramatizing domestic violence, the latter receives the most attention and there is risk for the audience to be shaped by violence rather than avoidance of it. The repetition of an issue influences the mind of the audience. As Butler opines, gender performativity and identity become established through discourse. There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender. Identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results (Butler, 1999, p.33).

Overall, with regard to power and gender relations, the selected *Ninde* narratives construct the problem of domestic violence as a result of cultural and structural system of patriarchal hegemony which women attempt to challenge. This implicitly means that lack of agreement between men and women mainly due to the traditional construction of masculinity is largely to blame for domestic violence. *Ninde* frames domestic violence in a way that demoralises the abuser who is a man in most of the cases. Plays like these are of course entertaining but popularise stereotypes of the man as untrustworthy, dishonest, irresponsible, brutal, inhuman and ridiculous. This implicitly can affect the authority of the father figure in real world.

It is evident from the performances that the woman is not subjected to the male brutality passively. Women characters are represented as resistant victims. In the performances, women dare to challenge this gender divide by challenging patriarchal dominance from all its roots. In the narratives, women are dominated and empowered at the same time. They are abused until they say ‘enough is enough’, ‘this is not right’, ‘this is not acceptable, I will not allow it to continue.’

3.5 Daring the Forbidden: Debunking the Naturalized Unnatural Ideas about Power and Sexuality through Performance

Ninde dialogue presents women as resistant victims through the way they use words and through the tone of their voices. The naturalized unnatural beliefs which anchor patriarchal tradition are deconstructed from its roots in the selected *Ninde* episodes. The framing shows that this attitude to deconstruct long-held tradition of patriarchal unfair practices can bring to the woman, at least temporarily, more troubles or even injury than before for patriarchal hegemony to be ousted, but that is the only way to go. This reminds one of the common truths that every birth comes with some blood.

How a woman who participates in the resistance or in the project of deconstructing patriarchal hegemony is conceived and framed? Where does she get the power for new normality? This woman who deconstructs norms, ideas and practices that had been constructed from the perspective of man in order to set new normality or to create a ‘new order’ must not be an ordinary woman in the traditional sense of the term. In the chosen plays, the women who are engaged in the project of deconstructing patriarchal hegemony are not empowered by academic degree but by

the hardships or traumatic experiences (examples of Ndinzemenshi¹⁷, Ngendanganya¹⁸). They are equally empowered by the fact that not all men are against them /oppressive. There are pro-feminist men. In the following lines, we look at the framing of the character of these women.

It is through how they use words that the study identifies their forms of resistance. Framing is an inevitable process of selective influence over the individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases. In Kuypers' (2009) assumption, frames are powerful rhetorical entities that 'induce us to filter our perceptions of the world in particular ways, essentially making some aspects of our multi-dimensional reality more noticeable than other aspects. They operate by making some information more salient than other information. The dramatic form of *Ninde* allows characters, especially women to challenge patriarchal dominance. Their attempt to recreate the community by destroying long established patriarchal norms is a way to assert themselves in a society where societal rules govern and hold females in bondage. Goffman (1974) proposes in his theory that solving disputes provides social ideas that help viewers interpret different events. Framing theory supports the idea that gender stereotypes are changed and disputed through the media, and in the case of the present research, the framing of gender in the radio drama *Ninde* allows women not to be identified as helpless victims but as a resistant category.

The analysis is guided also by Butler's thought on power and subjection. One of the intentions of all of Butler's work is to think further Foucault's understanding of power and subjection, especially the way in which power is both restrictive and productive

¹⁷ The surname *Ndinzemenshi* literally means 'I endure a lot of hardships'.

¹⁸ The surname *Ngendanganya* literally means 'I walk with a heart full of anxieties'.

of subjectivity. She has wrestled with how exactly this process works, focusing particularly on the question ‘How does discourse “materialize” a set of effects in the social field, including the “effects” of subjectivity and gender, and the associated notions of normal and abnormal, speakable and unspeakable?’ Butler is not only interested in language and power in this sense, but also in how their mutual implication creates the possibility of resistance to power. Power, however ubiquitous it appears in a Foucauldian world, is also vulnerable, because its norms are never solidified once and for all, but rather are continually in the process of discursive reproduction. Power is sustained by reiteration, but it can also be subverted; “chains of iteration” can be deflected, parodied, turned against dominant norms (White, p.881). From this way of thinking, power and resistance always go hand-in-hand.

Ninde offers, to quote Kerr (1998 p.21), “an important medium for women to express their happiness over domestic achievements, or, more commonly, their distress or protests over domestic problems” in the public. As already mentioned the tradition had that no woman would have said anything against their husbands or fathers, because that would have been deemed dishonourable to the family. In the narratives, women break the silences and refuse to accept male tyranny as the natural order of things through various subversive actions, however small they may be. The dramatic form offers a better framework to satirise these relationships between men and women as husbands and wives and as fathers and daughters.

Ninde performances enhance the performative nature of gender. Through re-enactment in plays, specific gender traits are passed on as ‘new’ natural and acceptable while others are demystified as out of date. Butler (1999, pp.42-3) argues that repeated performance of specific gender traits serves to make what is unnatural

appear natural and legitimate. Butler points out that since gender is performative it is possible to change the way we perform our gender. This offers a possibility for change or alteration of some of the normative heterosexual notions of gender. Now, if this ‘unnatural’ notion of male strength, power and superiority, which has been naturalized through “repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame” (1999, p.43), is pitted against an equally ‘unnatural’ notion of female physical weakness, a powerless and inferior female and used to deter domestic violence against women, this gender performance should be subverted.

Understanding female deconstruction of the naturalized unnatural in the aforementioned context, *Ninde* gives a voice to both females and males as characters and accords them a pride of place and makes ample provision for their fulfillment and active participation in societal affairs. This is exemplified by the way women are given voice in the various episodes and how they speak their mind. Women are not presented as passive victims but resistant victims. From a genre-based performance of gender in *Ninde*, it is noticed that the radio drama *Ninde* frames empower the Burundian woman by enhancing and encouraging her oral skills to pull her from the subordinate condition. They give females some kind of power to influence minds, to put their views across, to get their feelings and distress known rather than keeping them secret. The performative aspect contributes in the self-assertion of women. For instance, Kamariza in *Play10* breaks the silence and says that a girl is a real child and that she should be treated like her brother:

Kamariza: *Ewe Mawe n’ukuri jewe kuvy’ukuri na jewe, n’ukuri kw’Imana jewe na jewe mwarantyoje. M’hu!// You Mummy, in truth I am really...to tell the truth of God you have beleaguered me. Hm!*

Helena: *Bagutyoje mu biki?// In which way have you been beleaguered?*

Kamariza: *Kuva mu nyomyi nashuhije, inkwi nasatuye [Ego], ivyombo nojeje, nakubuye, akazi kanduhishije, mugabo ngo ningende kumuvomera amazi yoga peee? Mbega jeho mwibaza ko ntaruha? Mbega neza nico gituma mwanse...mwanse no kuja kunsomesha mu mashure ngo nta bwenge mfise? Na jewe ubwenge ndabufise. / Since dawn I warmed food, I fetched firewood [Yes], I washed dishes, I cleaned the house; I am tired now because of the many domestic chores but you really tell me to go to fetch water for him to bath? Do you think I don't get tired? Is it the reason why you didn't...you didn't send me to school pretending that I am not intelligent? I am as intelligent as others [boys].*

Kamariza refuses standing the injustice in silence. She brings out her concerns for others to know and find an equitable way out.

Various female strategies used to challenge the naturalised unnatural through performance are represented in the plays, ranging from breaking the silence (examples of Kamariza and Ndinzemenshi in *Play10*), self-asserting and demystifying male superiority (examples of Rozata in *Play5* and Helena in *Play10*), the engagement of a verbal war (example of Karorina in *Play7*), withdrawing (example of Mama Fiston in *Play6*) and to running mad (examples of Ndinzemenshi in *Play1* and Yoranda in *Play9*). They question male power and protest against illogical norms as the natural order of things. They form counter-power alliances with men – Bashingantahe (here referred to as gentlemen here and as progressive men in chapter four) or ‘real men’ in egalitarian sense to challenge the tyrannical power. In the excerpt below from *Play10*, we have an example of such men who intervene to rescue from danger women who are engaged in the project of deconstructing patriarchal hegemony:

Helena: *Ee nyica nyica! Ee! / Eh kill me kill me! Eh!*

Kamariza: *Ugomba umunige?* / Do you want to strangle her?

Helena: *Nyica!* / Kill me!

Kamariza: *(Kamariza aca ashira urushi ku munwa) Ugomba umunige Mawe? (Aca yongerera agakoma induru)/. (Kamariza screams out) Do you want to strangle my mother? (She screams out again).*

Bihori: *Ndekura! Ndekura jewe ndamukunkumure!* / Please set me free! Set me free so that I can kill her!

Kamariza: *(Kamariza aca ashira urushi ku munwa) Tabara tabara Mushingantahe tabara! / (Kamariza screams out for her mother's help) Please gentleman, help help! Help my mother from being strangled by daddy.*

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye ntimusubire!* / I swear on you, don't fight again!

Kamariza: *Noneho Mawe baramunize!* / Goodness! My mother is strangled!

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye ntimusubire!* / I swear on you, don't fight again!

Helena: *(Avuga nk'uwo bafashe mu kanigo) Urihenda sha! Urihenda sha! / (She speaks like somebody being strangled) You are fooling yourself! You are fooling yourself!*

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye...ndabarahiye ntimusubire. / I swear on you don't...I swear on you, don't fight again!*

Helena: *(Avuga nk'uwo bafashe mu kanigo) Urihenda sha! Urihenda sha! / (She speaks like somebody being strangled) You are fooling yourself! You are fooling yourself!*

In their resistance, women such as Helena express fearlessness even before death when their husbands threaten to kill them. This fearlessness before death is itself an oppositional stance and female self-assertion. The dialogues imply a level of acceptance and cooperation by men that is worth celebrating. These men like Mudandaza join the block of 'revolutionary' women, strengthen it and sustain it (referred to as progressive men in chapter four). In the various plays, this category of

men appears whenever there is a dispute. This frame continues however to propagate a biased idea that only men can settle conflict and can be guarantors of peace and public order, and that the key to women's full empowerment is in the hand of men.

In the narratives, the challenge to the husbands is conducted within a dramatic framework defined and controlled by the aesthetic performance-determined criteria of the drama. This is consistent with Kerr's idea that "[p]lays allow licensed protest by women against their husbands or male relatives" (Kerr, 1998, p.236). Authority figures are criticized quite frankly in a way which would have been unthinkable in a straightforward Burundian context. There are key characters whose roles accentuate the power question, as discussed below.

It is important to note that new generation of women are represented as challenging patriarchal dominance by breaking the silence. Kamariza that is mentioned in the previous lines and Ndinzemenshi represent this category. Ndinzemenshi openly says that violence against women should not be kept a secret. She thinks that change can happen if the domestic problem is brought up into public debate.

Ndinzemenshi: *N'ukuri bobishi...nobishira hejuru wosanga uku guhohoterwa kwacu baraku...barakudufashijemwo./* Verily if they [women] speak out...I speak out they could help us deal...deal with this abuse.

Ndinzemenshi's mother: *Ivyo ni ivy'ubu, ntumbaze.* / That is a modern way of thinking, don't ask me.

Ndinzemenshi: *Nemere? He Ma? N'ukuri ubu jewe n'ukuri ndakwiye kuja kubishi...hariho abantu bakuze babona kure. Ndakwiye kuza kubibabwira.* / Accept? Hey Mum? In truth it is time now for me to go truly and disclose it ...there are important people out there who are enlightened. I have to go and tell it to them.

Kamariza and Ndinzemenshi represent women who refuse to endure hardship in silence.

It is also interesting to note that in various scenes of the selected plays, women perform the subversion of the male power in order to demystify the male superiority over female. In *Play6*, Shantare subverts masculinity through insults that challenge and hurt her man's masculine ego. She deconstructs the male power by reducing her man into a criminal, evildoer.

Shantare: *Urazi amagogwa wari unteye ga wa mugesera we? / Do you know how serious are the troubles that you were causing me, you evildoer?*

Papa Fiston: *Ubwo bugesera! / You evil!*

Shantare: *Ndigiriye na kare wari undiye urakaribwa n'umuswa. / I am going away because you have been ill-treating me. May you be eaten by termites!*

Shantare insults her husband that he is a criminal, an evildoer and wishes him to be eaten by termites. As in battle, the insults aim at 'wounding' and even destroying its target. Insults render the husband Papa Fiston emasculated.

In one of the scenes of *Play10*, Ndinzemenshi uses the dramatic license to tell her husband Masatura that he is 'stupid' because he denied to send his girls to school and refused her to present her candidacy in the election. Out of performance context, such an act would be construed as an aggression to the husband. However, it is acceptable for the wife to ridicule or even insult the husband within the realm of performance. In the performance, she uses a reported speech to insult her husband:

Ndinzemenshi: *N'ukuri, urazi Majambere ukuntu yaciye ambwira? Ati naho urya mugabo wawe ari ikijuju, ati ni ikijuju kimwe ca mbere [Mh], ati urabona yuko yanse gushira abana mw'ishure, aguma agutuka ngo uvyara abakobwa, ati yaranse kubashira mw'ishure, ati jewe ngomba ndamwereke y'uko jewe nzi ibintu, ndamwereke. Ati kandi umubwire y'uko uti ibi vyose ati nabihawe nababakobwa yanka. Wa mukobwa wiwe ntuzi y'uko aheruka guheza? Wa wundi nawe yaheza mu mwaka wahera [Mh], ubu ntasigaye ari Buramatari? / Truly speaking, do you know what Majambere told me? He told me this, 'Even if that husband of yours is stupid,*

he is very stupid indeed [*Mh*], you see he refused to send children to school, and kept insulting you for the simple reason that you give birth to girls, I want to show him that I know things, I want to show him'. That is what he said in fact. He further asked me to tell you that all what he possesses have been given to him by the female children you look down upon. Don't you know that his daughter has just graduated? And the one who graduated last year [*Mh*], isn't she now a Governor?

For Masatura, to be told that he is stupid is to project his failure as a man; and it is an insult to his culturally defined manhood. No man wants to be laughed at through performances for not being man enough, and throughout his life, he will strain to perform the gender attributes assigned by hegemonic discourse to the masculine term. For men whose yardstick of power is dominant masculinity, Shantare's and Ndinzemenshi's insults are too much for their husbands to bear. The insults have the performative power of the threat (Butler, 1997) and an attack to the male ego.

It is important to note that through performance, these women try to subvert and resist the existing gender situation by changing the way they perform their gender, sometimes by running away from their culturally prescribed gender identity and the corporate gender identity of the category 'women' which expects them to be docile before their aggressing husbands. While acknowledging the existence and the importance of the category 'women' in the survival of the community, the performance of *Ninde* puts a difference between men and women as 'being' but attempts to reduce the gender space as 'doing'. It implies that the problem is not on 'women' as a category of people but on the definition of the term 'woman'. The narratives raise the need of rethinking the definition of 'women'. The current socio-economic situation and the empowerment of women have dismantled gender structures and increasingly inspire a kind of tragic-comic mediation on the challenges to masculine power. Socio-economic changes have affected conventional gender roles

and male sexual behaviour. Owning a house or owning a plot of land is traditionally perceived as masculine but we have in the narratives women owners of plots thanks to those changes.

For instance in *Play5*, Rozata decides to remain at her parents and to marry a man from there in her own house, what is contrary to the common practice of patrilocality, thus subverting the idea that women do not have right to property and that they have to leave and go to live in the man's property. The texts criticize not the assumed biological binary concept of sex but the frequently accepted biological determination of culturally conditioned traits as exclusively masculine or feminine traits. Above all, the texts criticize those traits employed in justifying the unequal and unjust treatment of women. Owning a house or a plot has nothing to do with having a male organ. Rusimbi marries a woman (Rozata) at her home and yet he is a husband and she is a wife. The same applies to *Play2* where Budodwa advises her husband to sell his land for the reason that it is less productive. So the family goes and settles in Budondwa's clan. At this point in the narrative, genetics seems to count less than the socialisation in the performance of masculinity.

In *Play9*, Yoranda has a plot and she sells her goats and pigs. With the money she gets, she funds her 'fiancé' and so they start building a house where she will live with her husband when she gets married. In the performance of *Play2*, *Play5* and *Play9*, we see the female Budodwa, Rozata and Yoranda denying the 'unnatural' but naturalized gender notion of patriarchal property ownership and patrilocality. So, these narratives bring out the 'demasculinization' of private property ownership and family location. While the identity differentiation between masculinity and femininity is necessary, it should not be constructed as a hierarchical opposition corresponding to

dichotomy between masculine and feminine. As Lorde puts it, “[t]he contemporary challenges require men and women to develop new definitions of power and new patterns of relating across difference” (Lorde in Kolmar & Bartkowsky, 2005, p. 342) with more flexibility.

Another interesting scene demystifying patriarchal hegemony is in *Play5*. When Rozata catches her husband Rusimbi cheating on her, she calls for a family meeting and publicly declares that she no longer wishes to live with Rusimbi. She throws him out of the house the same day. For Rozata, to have a ‘worthless’ husband is worse than not having one at all. Implicit in Rozata’s act is the demystification of the popular perception of a man as fundamentally special and superior to the woman even when he is worthless. The casting out of Rusimbi during a family meeting is a public humiliation for a man and a message that manhood must have boundaries if it is willing to co-exist with womanhood. This presentation of Rozata explains that a woman can change her feminine performance despite the patriarchal system by challenging its dominating and subordinating ideology. Rozata’s divorce from Rusimbi is a sign of disapproval of his deeds.

Another important frame to point out about public humiliation of a man is in *Play10*. Various instances show the husband’s struggle to hold on to a beleaguered masculinity put on trial by an empowered wife who publicly humiliates him. In one of the sequence of *Play10*, Ndinzemeshi publicly bursts out in anger when her husband claims that she gives birth to ‘fake’/ substandard children:

Ndinzemeshi: *Yooooo! Kandi burya jewe ndakwiye kukwikangurira. / My goodness! You know what? I have to wake against you and stand up for my rights.*

Masatura: *Ahubwo vuga buhoro...vuga buhoro ntibagutwenge. / Speak at a low voice...speak at a low voice so that they will not laugh at you.*

Ndinzemensi: *Jewe ntakwikanguriye, ntakwikanguriye n'ukuri jewe ndabona wandengeye. None muri jewe na wewe ubu havyara nde? Uwuvyara ni nde? / If I don't wake up and stand up for my rights... verily if I don't wake up and stand up for my rights, you are about to overdo. Who is responsible for creating babies between you and I? Who is responsible for creating babies?*

Masatura: *Jewe ndakubwiye nti... MVA MU MATWI!* I tell you this... SHUT UP!

Ndinzemensi challenges her husband Masatura through provocative and contemptuous questions in order to hurt his ego. It implies that man is hurt if a woman's contempt for him is made public, and this is the nerve that the woman Ndinzemensi wants to get on in order to bring him down. The crisis in performance is triggered when wives publicly expose their husbands' shortcomings. Such attitude is set against the cultural construct which says that domestic 'matters are not for public consumption.'

Another interesting scene of resistance is Helena's opposition to her husband's act in *Play10*. Her major bone of contention is the husband's behaviour of grabbing whatever she works for, coffee, bananas or beans, and using them not for the benefit of the family but for his own selfish interests. During the discussion between Bihori and Helena, Helena's words oscillate between surprise, sarcasm, ridicule and outright rejection of the husband's behaviour. She uses the very cultural sense of masculinity of man as provider to show how despicable her husband is. That is illustrated in the following discussion with her husband:

Helena: *Iyo mfashe isuka ngenda kurima, ufata ibarabara ryo ku marigara. Nyomba uja mu makarata, nyomba uja kunywa urumogi, nyomba uja mubipfuye nabi, mugabo ukaza gusa wasamika amanwa ngo mpa indya. /When I go to till the land, you take the road that leads you where you waste all your time in nonsense. Whether you go to play cards, or to take drugs, or for whatever evil, I don't know; but you dare come back with your big mouth widely open to only ask for food.*

Bihori: *Kwegera umunwa hiyo! /Shut up!*

Helena: *Kaba ari akawa, ni jewe nsezera. Wewe wibereye ku marigara. Mugabo hageze ko ako kawa kera ...hageze kugira gute, ukarya amashurwe sha. Aha narashavuye sha naratuntuye ku mutima. / Even coffee, I do every task to grow it while you are wasting your time outside there. But at harvest ...and you dare sell it when it is still in full bloom. You can't imagine how I have been abused and angered by your behaviour.*

Helena exposes Bihori's failure as a man. He does not grow coffee which is a role conventionally done by men. He does not provide for the family. In another sequence of the same *Play10*, the confrontation takes place when Helena publicly shows contempt for her husband. She rudely responds to his call to stop their previous discussion in front of the intruder. Instead of the customary polite attitude of keeping the silence (to save the face of her interactant) expected of a wife, Helena makes a subversive reaction, to the shock of her husband:

Mudandaza: *Mupfaso? Ndagize Gakeye. / Madam? Good morning.*

Helena: *Iyo atambwira ukuntu vyamugendeye [Mupfaso? Gakeye], nari kuvuga ko yatoye ubwoko bwa se, hamwe wirigwa kw'irigara. None umwana wanje ntiyigeze ayerera na rimwe./ If she hadn't told me what had happened to her [Madam? Good morning], I would have said that she has inherited from her father's bad manners like when you stay useless outside there. Fortunately, my child did never roam.*

Bihori: *(Arabuze ico avuga. Biboneka ko yagomba guhindura ivyo bariko baravuga uwo aje ngo ntabimenye) Mbega... i...i...iyo ...iyo mpene...iyo...?/ (He is embarrassed. He wants to change the subject of the conversation to cover up the tension) So... that...that ...that goat...that...?*

Helena: *None ho!... Uuuu! Oya oya ndakubwiza ukuri. / And besides!... Uuuuh! No, no, I will tell you the truth.*

Bihori: *Urakora ikibi ntuze! /You woman, you are so wicked!*

Such public display of Bihori's weaknesses angers him. Kamariza's mother attacks her husband Bihori who represents the system that violated and raped her daughter Kamariza. The woman's contempt for the man is made public in order to hurt him.

The woman Helena is an example of women who speak their minds and protest against age-old oppressive habits because these are what boost men's power over women as they privilege the patriarchal practices as the best version of culture. She publicly exposes her husband's irresponsibility and this irritates the husband Bihori who feels his masculinity is under threat, and this is true. As Mugambi (2010) argues, when masculinity is oppressive, such masculinity is "under threat from women's proclivity and ability to challenge oppressive masculinities and opt for alternative forms more conducive to female survival" (Mugambi in Mugambi and Allan, 2010, p.82). For instance, instead of humbly changing the topic as the husband pretends to, Helena publicly humiliates the husband declaring him idler before the *mushingantahe* (the gentleman) who comes in during their quarrel about their pregnant daughter. This declaration is the ultimate act of contempt a woman could commit against a husband. Instead of the customary feminine behaviour, she blurts out a subversive reaction, to the shock of her husband. Such public display of insolence knocks masculinity off-balance because a concealed contempt of a wife leaves a husband's image harmed. To restore 'indomitable' male power, Bihori re-asserts his power by beating the 'insubordinate' wife. In fact, after realising that he cannot persuade Helena, Bihori resorts to threats and violence to the point of almost strangling Helena had it not been the intervention of the *mushingantahe* (gentleman) Mudandaza for rescuing Helena.

Relating the males' intervention and the deconstruction of patriarchal unfair and unjust norms, practices or beliefs in *Ninde*, there is implication that Ngendanganya

and Helena and the like, as women, cannot change this harmful situation by themselves without support from males. This fact endorses the idea that the change depends on males' understanding and taking measures against negative performances that are harmful to all members of the community. This situation implies that without a supportive contribution of males, the rigid patriarchal hegemony will continue to ignore and suppress women, and perpetuate existing power imbalances that favour men. This view is contrary to Beauvoir's opinion in *The Second Sex* where she argues that it is impossible for "men to settle the question of women because they would then be acting as both judge and party to the case" (cited in Butler, 1999, p.15).

The narratives reveal that the crisis in male identity is triggered when the women bring their defiance and contempt for their husbands into the public arena. Matayo's public humiliation in *Play7* becomes excruciating when his wife divulges the true parents of 'their' child (a child that she borrowed from her sister and used as a 'passport' to come back to her husband's home) before the family meeting and blames their lack of progeny on Matayo's impotence. Thus, *Play7* completely inverts the traditional masculine plot to reveal an impotent male identity. The stereotypical belief that it is only women who can be barren is disapproved or deconstructed through the male character Matayo. There is defeminization of barrenness. The true source of their childlessness is placed on Matayo during a family gathering and Karorina uses that occasion to give a 'lecture' that even a man can be barren.

One can draw another level of resistance by comparing the way men and women respond to the same issues. The example here is the way Jozerine's father and mother in *Play6* take the news that their daughter has chosen not to get married but to pursue her studies. Jozerine's father hopes to rise to honour and nobility from the two

daughters' dowry while their mother would like them to pursue their studies and marry later when they have a degree. He tells his wife, who has sided with the daughter Jozerine who does not want to marry, that if Jozerine does not go to a husband as he has decided, both will be chased away. The mother sees things differently. She argues that a child has the right to decide on her destiny.

In that performance, Jozerine's mother in *Play6* counteracts the phallogocentric performance that precedes it, those whose main purpose was the maintenance of a genealogy of morals based on male domination. From hegemonic patriarchal perspective, patriarchs seem not to trust the mental abilities of women to choose for themselves what they want. As a result, they are told what to think and what to do. This type of patriarchal mentality is outrageous and unacceptable to Jozerine and her mother because they consider all human beings, both women and men rational. Jozerine says 'no' categorically to her father's order to go to marry and chooses to study no matter what her father does.

It is furthermore important to note that the naturalised unnatural polygamous nature of men is also challenged in the performance. The traditional social construction of masculinity with a polygamous nature is explained in the way male characters get involved in several love affairs with different women. Sex becomes a tool of domination in such cases. So the number of wives a man has enhances his masculinity. However, the legal woman protests against this practice and she is helped by other men who have already understood the benefits of living with one woman faithfully. We have instances of this in *Play1*, *Play4* and *Play7*.

In normal cases, wives' and husbands' public confrontation with wife or husband exposing each other's weaknesses violate the maxim of politeness. Goffman (1950)

similarly suggests that a persistent consideration of interactants is to protect one another's public self-esteem, or 'face.' In doing whatever people are doing, they take into consideration the moral standing of themselves and their co-interactants that their doings project. In the ordinary course of the events, this consideration entails the protection of the positive moral standing of the self and of the others. The break off of this norm in *Ninde* or what Goffman calls abnormality is what makes the comic in *Ninde* as illustrated in the scene between Bihori and Helena in *Play10* when an intruder comes in during their quarrel about their pregnant daughter. We can develop Goffman's observation by noting that certain actions – typically actions that occur in response to other actions can be marked as unpreferred: that is, problematic in one way or another. It is an expression of resistance to the naturalized unnatural which in turn faces counter-resistance and the cycle goes on.

The most interesting frame to challenge the naturalised unnatural ideas about hegemonic masculinity in the selected narratives is the character Ngendanganya the madwoman in *Play1*. As a madwoman, she represents the very extreme periphery of the vulnerable groups, first as a woman and then as mad, yet she is also the symbol of the authors' visionary who can dare to raise her voice and say things that cannot be said by normal women. She uses her licence as a madwoman to bombard the patriarchal territory. She keeps on singing words *umugabo arya umugore imisi iramuheranye*. /“the days of a man who abuses his wife have come to an end.”

Everyone understands her case and one cannot help pitying the vulnerable Ngendanganya. This is indeed power with authority. As long as she speaks, she's but a madwoman, keeping the people amused. Ngendanganya is ironically and subversively powerful when running mad on streets. To take her to the trauma healing

centre for medication is subversion itself to her man. The fact that it is a group of other men who go and advise Ngendanganya's husband is also meaningful. It is a rhetorical element that tells the man Nkinahoruri and other men who are still behaving like him that it is high time they changed. The naturalised unnatural male tyrannical power and female vulnerability are challenged in this play.

To empower Ngendanganya for this magnificent mission of attacking and challenging the male ego, there is this connection with madness in this kind of character for her to do, to challenge the existing order constructed from the perspective of man, and to create new normality heedless of what people might say. As a madwoman, Ngendanganya is a credible character for this task of deconstructing long established patriarchal norms. There is this connection with insanity, this notion of psychiatric disorder in this kind of character for her to subvert the patriarchal dominance. She dares to do or to say things that women with good mental conditions cannot do or say. Ngendanganya makes a fool of men with sarcastic, subversive and blasphemous pronouncements about them. She obliterates the facade of masculinity that patriarchal order has created: she insults men for all to hear. Ngendanganya is now a thorn in the side of these patriarchs since they are unable to dominate her. She moves around, taking off her clothes, insulting men, threatening to bite them and spitting at them as we can hear from her words, from the words of the women in the market and from the two men on Ngendanganya's way.

In warfare terms, one could say that Ngendanganya is using the tactics of the weak to defeat the strategies of the strong, which is to deconstruct age-old oppressive habits. And as an insane woman, she does not need to ask for a permission to pronounce her

prophecy. In the performance, Nkinahoruri's wife Ngendanganya erupts in a subversive song that predicts the end time of male tyrants (read: brutal husbands):

Rab' imisi irabaheranye / Look! Your days have come to an end
Imborerwa irabaheranye / You drunkards, your days have come to an end
Raba imisi irabaheranye / Look! Your days have come to an end.
Uranyumva mugenzi / Listen to me my dear friend
Ugusambura si ukujandajanda / Breaking down one's family is not a synonym of relaxing
Umugabo arya umugore imisi iramuheranye. / The days of a man who abuses his wife have come to an end.

Ngendanganya prophetically announces that doom is pending for men who are still abusing their women (read: wives). 'Breaking down one's family is not a synonym of relaxing' because it makes not only the wife suffer but also the husband given that there are bonds between the two as exemplified through Ngendanganya and her husband Nkinahoruri. Without women, men are depicted as helpless. It implies that it is the women who prop up the men's ego and without women the male's masculinity is in danger. When Ngendanganya becomes mad, Nkinahoruri appears foolish before other men until he decides to collect money and take her to a trauma healing centre. This echoes Connell's (1987) argument that the family is one of the most complex product/institution of the society. The interior of the family is a scene of multilayered relationships folded over on each other like geological strata. In no other institution are relationships so extended in time, so intensive in contact, so dense in their interweaving of economics, emotion, power and resistance" (Connell, 1987, p.121).

The scene presents the madwoman erupting and announcing her 'prophecy' in the market place, a place that is symbolic of public, announcing the same message and hurling insults at men when she passes by two men, who could be possible victims of

this prophesy if they do not take it seriously. She publicly insults men that they are evildoers, killers, magnifying their eyes and their head, shrinking their teeth and spitting at them. She moves around and boldly declares her message to counter the male tyrannical power, to deconstruct egocentric masculinity. Through the words of the madwoman, the time of such kind of masculinity has come to an end. Both the women at the market place and the two men see in her more than just a madwoman and the two men are bothered by her insults. Driven mad by the husband's inhumanness, Ngendanganya nonetheless remains a threat to male chauvinism. She uses her licence as a madwoman well. 'Insanity' or 'madness' is deployed in *Play1* as a dramatic strategy to subvert the naturalised unnatural patriarchal hegemony. Male dominance over women which traditionally appears to be natural is challenged through the woman's insanity.

However, while the mad character Ngendanganya in *Play1* vilify all men by associating them with domestic violence, men as a group refuse to be held accountable for the behaviour of a small, aberrant minority. The two men insulted by the madwoman decide to go and persuade her husband Nkinahoruri to take her to a trauma healing centre. Using men's voices in such framing is critical for dissociating domestic violence with patriarchal system. At the end, Ngendanganya is seen again in a harmonious married life with her husband, when she has recovered back to her normal mental state. The subtle power and hope in *Ninde* lies in its framing of absolute power of masculinity as powerlessness once women and their allies begin to wake up.

The resistance to egocentric masculinity and change as a process is always at work in social institutions. In this process, 'revolutionary' women form an alliance with 'real

men' to challenge the exploitative face of masculinity still strongly sustained by men and the older generation of women. Women characters are represented as a challenge to the status quo. Although the performances may not provide conclusive answers to the gender problem, they reveal that the survival of any type of male identity is likely to depend on women's accommodative or subversive potential. In the various frames, there is deployment of satire to focus society's gaze upon outdated masculinity (ies).

In the various conflicts, men are featured as the ultimate losers. Through characterization of Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, Banzubaze in *Play3*, Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, Papa Fiston in *Play6*, Matayo in *Play7*, Muhindo in *Play8*, Yakobo in *Play9* and Bihori and Masatura in *Play10*, we learn that as modern man enslaves himself in traditional definitions of manhood, he ends up with a deteriorating marriage, poverty, loss of hope and eventually divorce. This serves as a lesson to the audience and encourages them for change.

Overall, challenges from women in the narratives under analysis force men to respond either defensively with anger, violence or withdrawal; or by welcoming the change in their relationship and reworking their sense of themselves as men within the new context.

3.6 Conclusion

The radio *Ninde* under study seems to be engaged in the project of deconstructing certain beliefs and myths about gender relations that tend to dominate the woman and other men who do not comply with hegemonic masculinity. This chapter has unpacked some of the framing devices that the radio *Ninde* uses in debunking the myth of patriarchal hegemony. The analysis of *Ninde* has allowed me to identify the causes of tensions and conflicts between men and women which most of the time

degenerate into violence. Violence is used as a trope and the frequent occurrence of the theme of domestic violence in *Ninde* testifies to the seriousness and scope of this evil in community. The frames of gender in the Kirundi radio drama *Ninde* are broad and complex like gender itself, but three general trends emerge.

First, *Ninde* demystifies the past glorified image of male through debunking myths of gender superiority and inferiority. In some plays, the man is presented as lazy, ridiculous, untrustworthy, dishonest, and brutal. This puts the woman, who is the man's counterpart, in a vulnerable position. However, the framing presents the privileged masculinity in traditional societies as losing the ground. It 'visualizes' what used to be dominant masculinity as outdated nowadays. *Ninde* plays increasingly question the evil face of masculinity by exposing traditions and practices that not only cause untold troubles to women and society at large but also diminish the humanity of its perpetrators. The physical violence or beating of the woman is presented as the man's very last ammunition from his toolkit for self-assertion of masculinity when the man feels that his masculinity is threatened or doubted.

Second, given the frequency of violence in the selected plays, it is clear that brutality in form of oppressions, marginalisation and other traumatic experiences are perpetrated against the Burundian women. Overall, violence is presented as gendered where men are perpetrators while women are the victims of violence. There are women characters depicted as villains as there are male characters who help the 'subaltern' (Spivak, 1995) to improve their conditions. This discursive strategy demonstrates the complex nature of gender issues. In that kind of frame there is negation of collectivity of oppression. Individual men oppress individual women and

this is something that can be blamed on individual men who oppress individual women. This implies that domestic violence is not associated with patriarchy but with individual men who must be treated as individuals.

The framing accomplishes two opposite things at the same time: gendering the problem as male while degendering the blame on men. This perspective undermines any attempt to situate domestic violence within a patriarchal explanation. *Ninde* narratives are essentially reformist and do not challenge the patriarchal structure of society itself. They only attack those patriarchal practices that are found unfair and unjustified. This framing demonstrates that a woman can change her feminine performance despite the patriarchal system by challenging its dominating and subordinating ideology. Through the performance, *Ninde* attempts to loosen the patriarchal hold. Women can live in a patriarchal society but operate in non-patriarchal ways. The social comment that this framing makes is far-reaching and can be true elsewhere.

Third, women are not framed as helpless and passive victims but as a resistant category. In that way, they are presented as people who have agency in determining their destiny. They violate the traditional principle which says that domestic matters are not for public consumption. The roots of patriarchal hegemony are disclosed, challenged and demystified in the public by not only the female victims but also what the narratives call '*Abashingantahe*,' that is, the 'real men' (read: men who are sensitive to the cries of the vulnerable). The performance offers the woman enormous opportunity to deconstruct the naturalised unnatural habits in marriage and parenthood.

The plays end with a question. Implicitly, it means it is time for self-examination and conscientisation among the listeners (audiences). The sensitivity of *Ninde* authors/actors in framing traditions and practices that affect gender is a sign of hope that change is gradually affecting cultural practices such as masculinity and femininity that once in history seemed eternal and immovable. It has been noted that the *Ninde* narratives subject to analysis deconstruct and undermine the configuration of patriarchy that favours the traditional masculine menu. Through male and female characters, radio *Ninde* explicitly demystifies patriarchal hegemony. Women threaten the binary and hierarchical gender framework through their resistance to patriarchal dominance. The framing mirrors and satirises hegemonic masculinity in transformation in favour of equitable gender relationship. The dramatic narratives draw a picture of changed men/husbands in the image of projected heterosexual relationships. The deconstruction of patriarchal hegemony and the empowerment of the woman affect gender identities as it is further developed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

MASCULINIZATION VS. FEMINIZATION IN *NINDE*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third objective of this study: to explore manifestations of prevalent ideologies that influence the framing of masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) in the sampled episodes. The chapter presents and discusses *Ninde*'s attempt to 'unthink' and (de)construct the traditional patriarchal definitions of man and woman. Specific focus is on the use of dialogue, that is, the exact spoken words of conversation taking place between characters in the drama in order to explore how the programmes represent gender and power manifestations in the family within the context of gender discourses. Excerpts of the narratives are examined to understand how *Ninde* frames and represents femininity (ies) and masculinity (ies) and '(un)do' stereotypes. The realities of who performs which roles belie gender ideology, which labels certain activities as male or female (White, 1997). Following this categorization, I focus on how the radio dramas attempt a (re)construction of masculinity and femininity through their presentation of male and female roles.

Does the language used in the frames connote affirmation of positive gender ideas or negative gender ideas? In Burundi, a norm of masculinity is assumed against which media depictions can be categorized as, for example, positive or negative if we refer for instance to the structure of the Burundian family. Singhal and Rogers (1999) argue that successful edutainment programmes have to be careful to marry utility and 'dulcet' (sweet, aesthetics) in order to remain relevant as effective tools. In the creative process there is a tension between content and form, between the 'what' and the 'how' (Ngara, 1990, p.16). The success of a frame partly depends on the

resolution of that tension. The dramatic presentation of how characters perform their masculinity(y)ies and femininity(y)ies are central in this discussion. The central argument in this chapter is that when masculine identity is predicated on an ambivalently constructed femininity, such masculinity is always under threat from women's tendency and ability to challenge oppressive forms of masculinity and adopt alternative forms more conducive to female wellbeing in general.

This chapter also shows how *Ninde* interrogates the ironies and contradictions that social construction of gender present and their inherent impacts within the discourses of gender. The chapter further discusses how *Ninde* fails in certain instances to challenge but instead endorse certain practices and language that negatively impact on gender sensitization. I begin the discussion by looking at how gender stereotypes are dramatized in the radio dramas and the role that 'deliberate' normalisation of such stereotypes and gender expectations play in sustaining unequal gender relations.

Butler (1990) perceives gender as a social construct that is constituted through performances. It is manifested in the ways that individuals style their bodies and carry themselves and also in the ways they speak and move. Implicitly, it can be deconstructed and reconstructed to fit new contexts and circumstances, contrary to sex which is fixed. Butler's theory of performativity helps us to understand how female and male characters perform their gender through their repetitive actions and how these actions in turn construct various forms of masculinity and femininity.

To make fun of relations between men and women also to prompt transformation of gender identities, some male and female characters do not perform gender in ways consistent with their gender-related cultural norms. That is where the ideologies behind framing come in. *Ninde* use extremes (Goffman's idea of abnormality) for

entertainment and pedagogy purposes. The overarching ideology that influences the framing of gender identities in the selected plays is negation of any form of determinism that is featured in the masculinization of women and feminization of men. The depiction of masculinized femininity and feminized masculinity offers a reader a chance to understand that masculinity and femininity are socially constructed and can be deconstructed and reconstructed to fit in new circumstances.

Following Goffman's and Butler's line of thought, I do not therefore examine masculinity and femininity as fixed, unchanging, and universal category in *Ninde* as essentialists' definitions have assumed, but I explore them from a more multilayered approach. The study therefore pays attention to the practices through which *Ninde*'s male and female characters perform their masculinity and femininity in different forms that are determined or disapproved of by social settings like the family setting. The analysis is informed by the notion of gender performativity as advanced by Butler, who considers gender as a social construct that can be deconstructed.

I examine the programme's subjectivities in terms of framing and presenting certain practices while being cognizant of the role that media plays in shaping people's ideologies through framing. As an edutainment programme, it is within this framework that the counter-narrative of character development from bad to good or contrast of a bad character with a good one is presented. It is through characterization therefore that the chapter explores the prevalent gender ideologies that influence the storyline of the plays.

Ninde is assessed here to find out if *Ninde* critiques or affirms the so called social norms some of which are discriminatory while acknowledging that art is a kind of ritual, a repetition of symbolic acts by which societies declare their identity and shape their future. The search for identity is one of the most pressing concerns of human beings. The pressure is even higher with the female quest for equality in a male-dominated world where self and social status is narrowly defined by culture-bound gender roles. So, gender identity is clearly as much an issue for men as it is for women. Because gender identities affect relationships between men and women especially in family, it is very clear that if women's empowerment is to be sustained, it must be complemented by a change for men (White, 1997, p.20). The self-definition of a woman affects the self-definition of a man. For women to gain some rights there are some privileges that men have to give up. For men, it is a threat to their status and pride. For women, the cost is manifest: they are described as angry, unsubmitive and given similar other labels. We use frame and gender performativity as a tool to read the contradictions with which *Ninde* engages itself while attempting to recreate a new heterosexual order.

4.2 Masculinization in *Ninde*

Using selected *Ninde* narratives, I investigate the various ways through which masculinity is performed. These narratives point to a dangerously unstable masculine construct that is contingent upon female action. They present many faces of masculinity. The security of male identity remains implicitly threatened by the change of circumstances. More specifically, the narratives dramatise the 'emasculating' impact of oppressive masculinity. Playing at establishing gender balance, the selected narratives strategically satirise male tyranny while simultaneously exalting a new masculinity which complies with egalitarian gender relations. In my reading of *Ninde*,

the major issues that emerge have to do with performance of masculinity and its implications within the discourse of gender and the framing of the path to balanced gender relations. Some scenes attempt to re-script the performance of masculinity in heterosexual relationships.

Ninde presents masculinity into ‘various dramaturgical’ identities. In the selected radio plays *Ninde* and implicitly in the present day Burundian society, notions of manhood undergirded by the feeling of worry of the feminine and the exclusion of gender interdependence are doomed to crumble and collapse.

4.2.1 Negative Masculinity

This section presents negative masculinity in the analyzed texts. Men like Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, *Mutoto wa Nyirigo* and Papa Fiston in *Play6*, Bihori and Masatura in *Play10*, are conceived as irresponsible men who have little regard for the wellbeing of their families. They stay idle and roam in public spaces and bars. There are possibilities that putting them down by their women’s speech is a challenge to their identity and becoming violent is a way of (re)defining their status as heads of family.

The dominant masculinity in these plays seems to be irresponsible masculinity as detailed in Chapter Three of this research. That dominant masculinity oppresses and demeans women and is as destructive to women as it is to egalitarian men. In fact, men who work side by side with women are acting at the risk of being judged according to such norm. The satirised men in *Ninde* keep roaming on street and hanging around in bars where they most of the time connect with good-time girls. When their women challenge and attempt to put down this irresponsible masculinity they face the violence of the man’s constant search for feminine subordination. They

tend to keep their challenging women into submission by treating them harshly or ruling them with a heavy hand, including beating them. In fact, where male power is challenged or threatened, violence results because his power disguises itself into violence whether in the public or private sphere.

A critical reading of the selected narratives could lead one to conclude that “[t]he glamorization of male violence is less a proof of men’s arrogant basking in their power than a sign of their perception of growing social weakness and instability” as MacKinnon puts it (2003, p.13). Disempowered men are likely to experience strong cultural pressure to reassert recognition of self as dominant through violence especially when challenged by a woman about their powerlessness or weakness. Thus, violence and other treacherous means are featured as an alternative form of masculinity.

As detailed in Chapter Three, characters such as Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, Mutoto wa Nyirigo and Papa Fiston in *Play6*, Matayo in *Play7*, Yakobo in *Play9*, and Bihori and Masatura in *Play10* are symbols of a masculinity that is losing its significance because it does not adapt and integrate with balanced and flexible perceptions of femininity in order to create new and more secure relationships. Instead of humbly acknowledging their failure, these men want to impose themselves by use of violence. To restore indomitable male power, these men re-assert their power either by swindling their women of their wealth (Such as Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5* and Yakobo in *Play9*) or by beating them (Such as the rest in the list above).

I read men's actions and use of force as being motivated by their desire to re-assert their challenged status. "Men who feel that their masculinities are contested develop counter masculine discourses to help them gain control over women (Morrell, 2001 cited in Sambai, 2014, p.117). This includes being physically aggressive and violent. After realizing that there is another alternative of expressing masculinity which is socially accepted, some of these transitional male characters change into good men.

Based on an understanding of the social and economic realities that outline expectations from men and women, performance of masculinity becomes a useful narrative through which I read the male swindling or violent behaviour as attempts to (re) define or maintain their identity as men. The violence of men against women and their beating of women are explained by the notions of hegemonic masculinity that dictate that a 'real man' ought to demand unconditional obedience of his wife, even through beating her. To cite an example, Bihori (in *Play10*) is portrayed as a 'useless' and 'irresponsible' man who has failed his traditional/conventional role of family provider and well-being guarantor, "who only comes and open widely his big lips asking for food." He is disempowered. This disempowerment is a challenge to his status as a man and violence becomes his option for (re)asserting himself to maintain his status, instead of humbly accepting the fact. Reactions to a sense of powerlessness may include violence against women. The husband feels entitled to vent his frustration by beating up his wife.

While attempting to 'undo' it, the traditional idea of weaving violence into a masculine regime of control and self-assertion that suppresses the female person and puts her in a subordinate position is neatly perpetrated in these narratives. In this context, violence is Nkinahoruri's or Bihori's expression of frustrations and anger at

their inability to prove their manliness in the conventional sense and an outburst of the internalized climate of war and violence that he feels when the woman fails to comply with his orders (respectively in *Play1* and *Play10*). On the other hand, violence may constitute a performative act of expressing strength as a masculine construct.

Another prominent element is the (mis)use of alcohol. The narratives present men (mis)using alcohol to 'do' masculinity, which is presented as a family trouble. Although there is no evidence that there is a single causative relationship between alcohol (mis)use and violence, a reading of the sampled *Ninde* narratives shows that patterns of drinking intersect with some patterns of violence. There seems to be a link between man, alcohol and expression of masculinity through violence. This should particularly raise concern to the government officials to consider the matter. Bars seem to be used as 'men's house' (Millett, 1977, p.50) to reinforce their masculinity. Alcohol has negative impact on the family development. Men waste time and use the money that could help the family in provision and impoverish the family and when they come back drunk they start causing troubles to the wives and children (Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, Papa Fiston in *Play6*, Muhindo in *Play8*, Bihori and Masatura in *Play10*). Critically speaking, other alternative safe 'men's house' should be set up in rural areas to restrict men's frequent use of alcohol in bars.

It is also interesting to see how the frames challenge traditional social construction of masculinity with a polygamous nature explained in the way male characters who get involved in love affairs with different women have a tragic end. Traditionally, the number of wives a man had enhanced his masculinity. It was a sign of power. However, in order to deconstruct that conception, framing presents men who engage in various love affairs such as Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, Papa Fiston in

Play6 and *Yakobo in Play9* always having a sad ending. While virility was exalted as a way of doing masculinity through having many wives, dominant forms of masculinity such as having multiple partners are ridiculed and deconstructed to give place to a new form of masculine identity that tames his virility in these days of HIV/AIDS. Taming virility is what characterises true manhood according to the excerpt below from *Play4*:

Handereya: *Ariko wewe [Ee?], uko uhora ukuranya impuzu, mm? [Mm!], uno musi wambara iyisa uku, ejo wambara iyisa gutya, hirya y'ejo iyisa gutya [Hinge nawe!], niko ugomba no kuja urakuranya abagore ga sha? / You man [Eeh?], the way you regularly change your clothes, mm? [Mm!], today you put on this colour, tomorrow another colour [come on!], the day after tomorrow another colour. Is it the same way you want to change women?*

Gihushi: *Wewe usanga vyarakunaniye kubakuranya [Yooo!], jewe nzobakuranya, kuko mfise uburyo bwo kubakuranya. / You must have failed to change them regularly [Yoooh!], as for me, I will change them because I have means for changing them.*

Handereya: *Ntavyo ndagushimiye. Ahubwo garuka! Garuka ube umuntu nk'abandi sha! N'ukuri! / I don't appreciate your plan. Come to your senses! Come to your senses and be a man like others really!*

Gihushi: *Erega n'ubundi ndi umuntu nk'abandi riho. Ahubwo nsumvya abandi kuba umuntu. / I am a man like others. I am even manlier than others.*

Handereya: *Uno musi ufise uyuU, hirya y'... ejo uzofita naka, uno musi (Aca yimwoza)... Mukama w'ikigongwe! / Today you have this woman, tomorrow you will have another one (He sucks the air)... Merciful God!*

Gihushi: *None sico gituma ndakubwiye ko ndi umuntu gusumvya abandi? / Isn't that the reason why I have told you that I am more man than others?*

Handereya: *Hewe ndakubwire, uriko wibaza ngo ugomba ku... ngo uriko urondera umunezero ariko uzosanga uhashiriye. / I tell you my friend, you think...to...that... you are seeking joy but you will find yourself in jeopardy.*

In fact, men with multiple partners are satirized as lacking moral consciousness in the name of performing their identities as men. Through satire, masculinities that celebrate multiple sexual partners and virility are framed as no longer serving as symbols and markers of manhood. This conception is deconstructed through the performance.

A reading of these narratives reveals that there is an attempt to discourage the common perception of linking excessive sex to masculinity and to appeal to men to control their sexuality and appetite. In fact, while a high value was placed on virility in the past to satisfy many women sexually and to have a lot of children, today's world is beset by the deadly virus of HIV/ AIDS, and an uncontrolled virility can be a cause of HIV/ AIDS infection. Now, manliness is no longer measured in terms of how many wives and children a male has. Through characterisation, the narratives show that manliness is measured in terms of one's ability to tame his virility and in how he is able to actively participate in the education of his children to secure their future. Critically speaking, this frame perpetrates the gender stereotype that commissions men's sexual recklessness and condemns the same among men.

It can be observed from some instances of the drama that in the face of a self-asserting woman or masculinized femininity, the male negative masculinity culminates into physical violence. The man becomes extremely abusive. Men perform acts of violence and other strategies of control and intimidation such as psychological, emotional, verbal and physical and the use of threats against women.

Men's fear of women's potential to subvert negative masculinity materialises in Helena in *Play10* when she stops her husband to sell 'her' beans and culminates in the madwoman Ngendanganya in *Play1*. As a mad character, Nkinahoruri's wife erupts in

a submissive song that simultaneously exposes and ridicules the phallogocentric power by using words to ‘wound’ men’s ego, before predicting the end of days for such evil face of masculinity. In fact, through the character of the madwoman *Ngendanganya* in *Play1* (a victim of trauma caused by her husband’s violence), it is solemnly declared that the “days for phallogocentric masculinity have come to an end”. In the narratives, women join hands with pro-feminist men to overthrow the phallogocentric and phallogocratic structures that it purports to endorse. The performances show that such masculinity has lost its relevance to the sex category of men. The frames of the narratives always present the egalitarian ideology triumphing over the phallogocentric masculinity.

Males’ heterosexuality associated with masculinity is seen as violent, aggressive and dominating. *Ninde* presents wine, women and tradition as the best enemies of the woman in her endeavour to fight for her equality with a man and for her well-being. Men are frequently shown in the drama as lacking in commitment in relationships and are shown as frequently cheating on their women. Critically, while the intention may be humour, all these characterizations depicting men-fathers as being socially incompetent and objects of derision completely lead to the erosion of the ideal of father figure. But aren’t there male victims of violence from women in these narratives? Because the discourse intends to raise public awareness to domestic violence with blame mostly against men, male victims are out of the picture.

4.2.2 Masculinized Femininity (Female Masculinity)

In gender studies, we are told that masculinity is performed through self-assertion, self-confidence, property ownership, independence and aggression. The traditional social construction of femininity could be argued to have been shaped by ideas of

male design (Millett, 1977, p.46). The image of women as it is known is “an image created by men and fashioned to suit their needs. These needs spring from the fear of the “otherness” of woman” (Ibid). Gender frames in *Ninde* challenge this conventional conception because they depict how women characters create image of men. In this section, I argue that along male characters, *Ninde* gives a voice to females as characters and accords them a pride of place and makes ample provision for their fulfillment and active participation in societal affairs, contrary to the idea that traditional oral literature has systematically silenced the African woman in order to disenfranchise her (Bukonya, 1994). *Ninde* frames empower the Burundian woman by enhancing and encouraging her oral skills.

The performative aspect contributes in the self-assertion of women. There are many instances of self-assertive women. For instance in *Play6*, while Jozerine’s mother fears that they will get into trouble when the father learns that Jozerine has refused the order of the father to get married, Jozerine dismisses it and tells the mother not to be bothered by the father’s reaction:

Jozerine: *None Papa twomugira gute? None mpevyeye umugabo ni ibindi?/ How would we handle my father? So, if I drop the plan to go to a man, is it a problem?*

Mother: *Bikira Mariya! Ha! So wawe aho azira, aratugaragura aho avyuvira./Virgin Mary! Ha! When your father comes back, he will beat us to death if he happens to get that information.*

Jozerine: *Mukama wanje ntaco atugira. None ko mbona jewe ubwanje ari je nifatiye ingingo? Kandi ko nayifashe iyo ngingo ko ntasubiramwo! / Oh my Lord, he won’t do us anything. Isn’t it me personally who has made the decision? And since I have made that decision, I mean it and I cannot revise it.*

Mother: *M’hu m’hu m’hu! / M’hu m’hu m’hu!*

Jozerine: *Basha jewe nafashe ingingo nayifashe simpindura. Yotugaragura, atotugaragura, basha muri jewe mfise intumbero yo kubandanya amashure nta kindi.* / Well, I have made a decision and I don't change my mind. Whether he beats us to death or not, the only objective I have is to continue my studies and nothing else.

Mother: *Jewe ntakubesha [Mm], So wawe aho atahira, ririyokora. Kandi uze guca wimenya umubwire igituma.* / I am not telling you lies [Mm], when your father comes home, he will fly into a rage. And try yourself to tell him the reason.

Jozerine: *Mbega mukama jewe nimenya nimenya ibiki? Ikivuga n'uko nzobandanya amashure. Kandi nta nikindi gituma mfise, igituma ni ico kubandanya amashure gusa.* / Oh my God, in what shall I try to explain myself? What is important to me is to pursue my studies. And I have no other reason; the reason is to continue with studies only. It is that and nothing else.

Jozerine is a typical non-conformist woman who asserts herself by challenging a patriarchal order. In refusing to drop out of school and go into a forced marriage, Jozerine displays some degree of power over an unjust social practice of forcing girls into non-consented and early marriage. The narrative that displays Jozerine's strength and desire to hold on her decision is consistent with the current debates that aim at empowering women. Women air their grievances or assert their rights with respect to husbands or male relatives. There is an apparently unexpected verbal behaviour of women who speak more assertively. It is because they are empowered. This scene reveals Jozerine as higher in status than her father. She asserts herself to the extent of not minding about the father's reaction.

Another instance where confrontation takes place between a self-asserting woman and her husband in the same *Play 6* is when Shantare or Mama Fiston shows contempt to her husband. She rudely responds to his call when he wants to ask her if there is food. Shantare is angry because she knows that the situation of poverty in which they are was caused by the wickedness of the husband. As a reminder, Papa Fiston had

disappointed Shantare by bringing in the home ‘another’ woman who ended by leaving their home after stealing all the goods from their shop. She left them impoverished. The way Shantare responds to her husband expresses some kind of revolt:

Papa Fiston: *Mbe kubera iki iyo umuntu aguhamagaye wikweeega ukamenga ugomba uhwere? / Why are you so slow to respond when someone calls you, as if you are about to die?*

Shantare: *None naza ndirukanga ngo umbarire iki? / So, why would you like me to rush? What do you want to tell me?*

Such display of insolence intends to subvert and to knock masculinity off-balance because Shantare is fed up with her husband’s complaints about their situation of poverty which he himself caused. She uses excitable words to pour her anger over him:

Shantare: *Waramenyereye ibiraka sha! Sindakubesha uza gupfa nabi! Basha uza kugwara urukushi sindi bukubeshe./ Well, you were used to part-time jobs! I am not lying to you, you are going to die badly! You are going to suffer from skin eruptions; I am not telling you lies.*

Papa Fiston: *Uragakushagurika! Ko utanguye kuntuka.../ May you get skin eruption(rashes)! Since you begin to insult me...*

Shantare: *Kushagurika nawe! / Get skin eruption, you too!*

From the excerpt above, we see that Shantare uses an “excitable speech” to pull her man down. The female character Shantare has no fear to challenge and blame her husband of his infidelity. As it can be seen in the following extract, Papa Fiston stammers as a sign of missing what to say because of shame. But his ego does not allow him to humbly acknowledge his misdeeds. The wife continues to humiliate him.

Papa Fiston: *Uraga...Genda uraga...Canke araka... Akarimi koko urakaryebagiza. Ngu...ngu...ngw’ibiki n’ibiki uza kunkora mu nkovu. Ntiyyatwaye*

aga...ga...agashano k'aga...k'aga...gako...kobora nka wewe./ May you... Go away you...or may she be ... You are very talkative. Talking...talking...talking about this and that, twisting the knife in my wound? Weren't my riches taken by a...a...an evil...gir...gir...gir...girlish like you.

Shantare: *Kari kazanye nde none? /*So who had brought her?

Papa Fiston: *(Aradidinganya akabura ivyo avuga) Shi...shi... (He misses words to say) Shi...shi...*

Shantare: *Kari kazanye nde? /*Who had brought her?

Papa Fiston: *Nawe...shi...shi...ugomba kunkora mu nkovu, u...u...unyibu...nyibutsa ivyo unyibutsa! /*You too ...shi...shi... you want to twist a knife in my wound by re...re...reminding... reminding me of whatever!

Shantare: *None aho nta...aho ntayigukoramwo none siwe wikomerekeje ntubizi? /* Well, why can't I twist a knife in your wound? Don't you know you are the one who wounded yourself?

Papa Fiston: *MVA HEJURU I...U...DARAGUZA UGENDA HARIYAA! /* LEAVE ME ALONE ...YOU...GET TO HELL OUT OF HERE!

Shantare or Mama Fiston and her husband Papa Fiston continue exchanging harsh words, which increases the anger of the husband until he ends up beating her. She decides to leave him alone and go back to her parents. In divorcing Papa Fiston, Shantare also displays some degree of power over her husband. This is the worst thing a woman can do to her husband. Otherwise if she chooses to remain, she must still be under his authority, his faults notwithstanding.

In *Play10*, there is another instance of female self-assertiveness. From the tradition, violence within marriage is always met with silence and regarded as a private affair in most African societies. Helena defies that 'order' in *Play10* by disclosing the object of their quarrel with her husband to an external person despite the fact that her husband would like her to keep it a secret. *Play10* challenges the traditional stereotypes that

dictate that a 'real' woman should remain silent, be passive and ignorant with regards to her rights, by giving voice and opportunities to Kamariza, Ndinzemenshi and Helena to defy this conception. Through her monologue, Kamariza brings out to the public the injustice against women that starts from their childhood:

Kamariza: *None ga yemwe! Ko amategeko yigisha kw' abana bose bangana bakiga amashure yaba umuhungu canke umukobwa, none ivyo bintu bizoshika ryari? (Aca yimyozza agaca aturikisha akarira)* Goodness! In theory the law says that all children are equal and that they should attend school together, be it a boy or a girl, so when will that become reality? *(She sucks the air and bursts into tears).*

Kamariza is already conscious that the treatment she is receiving because she is a girl is unjust and unfair. She is implicitly questioning the law that is there in theory but not in practice and calling for its full implementation.

On the other hand, Helena and Ndinzemenshi are empowered women who stand for their rights, who assert themselves before their aggressive husbands. This is seen in the way Ndinzemenshi reacts to her husband's provocative comments that she only gives birth to baby girls. She is active with regards to her rights and she is ready to disclose the hardships she has kept as a secret for long time. In the narrative, the character Ndinzemenshi becomes assertive. She performs masculinity. It is worth noting that the diction, sentence structure, mood, and tone contribute to the characterization of this woman. The tone of the voice works to frame her utterances as angry, and authoritative. In her reaction to her husband's provocation, Ndinzemenshi insinuates that it is the man who biologically carries the factor of the male sex but also that the wife who contributes a lot in giving birth today was born a girl yesterday. She decides no longer to keep domestic violence as a secret but to make it a public and social issue and to stand up for her rights. Ndinzemenshi is a symbol of women who are in the process of being empowered and liberated.

There is a similar instance of performance of female self-assertion in Helena's performance when opposing her husband's selling of her beans. The institutionalized patriarchal notion of a woman and the essentialists' perception of a woman regard women as weak and non-aggressive characters who in most cases appear to be inferior and timid in front of men (Connell, 1995). However, Helena-like characters defy that perception by performing the contrary of what is expected. This is seen in the manner in which Helena decides to oppose her husband when he is about to sell her beans to Mudandaza. She refuses to accept that what she has acquired by toil becomes the property of Bihori as always happened in the past.

Helena: *Anyicira kuri ibi biharage. Ipupupu.* / He is going to kill me over these beans. No no no!

Mudandaza: *Mupfaso, ndiko ndakubaza? Ntimwari mwarumvikanye?* / Madam, I am asking you. Hadn't there been any consent between him and you?

Helena: *I...Ntukura ahaA.* / Don't...Don't take them from here!

Mudandaza: *Ntimwari mwarumvikanye?/* Hadn't there been any consent between him and you?

Helena: *Ntukura ahaA. Ntiwikorere.* / Don't take them from here! Don't carry the sack.

Mudandaza: *Oya! Ntimwari mwarumvikanye?/* No, tell me! Hadn't you consented first?

Helena: *NTIWIKORERA.* / DON'T CARRY THEM AWAY!

Bihori: *Shaka ugumye./* Keep them as you want!

Helena: *Narahiye ntiwikorera.* / I have sworn that you can't carry my beans.

Bihori: *Shaka ugumye nomba uzoguma ubibunzako.* / Keep that with you! I don't know if you will always keep stuck to the stuff.

The dialogue above acts as a comic relief as well as helps advance the character of Helena. It is comic in the way that Helena continues opposing the deal instead of

answering Mudandaza's question. In that frame, Helena denies her husband to sell the beans. She instinctively resists staying in male bondage and this can serve as an example to other women in similar situations. Through the way she speaks and the tone of voice she uses, Helena is presented as a powerful woman who denies her husband the right to misuse what she has acquired by labour and toil. To counteract the strength of tradition, there is a development of a healthy self-image and a positive I-can-win attitude of women. The language of Helena as a symbol of empowered woman shows self-assertion. Helena's tone in denying her husband to sell her beans to the vendor confirms that the woman is more powerful than him. This is consistent with Butler's theory of performativity that avers that "performative acts are forms of authoritative speech: most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and a binding power" (Butler, 1993, p.225).

Through the character of the woman Helena, *Ninde* defies the conventional definition of masculinity and femininity that assumes men are always confident and competent. Helena-like women are able to adopt the "masculine" practice when it is necessary for confronting men in a dispute. In this scene, Helena is doing masculinity. By resigning before his resistant wife, Bihori becomes feminine. He shifts his performance from aggressive masculinity to femininity.

In the fifth scene of the same *Play10*, Bihori quarrels with his wife Helena over their daughter, blaming his wife for their daughter who is pregnant due to a rape, instead of blaming his fellow men who did the evil. Helena's speech, a symbol of women in the process of empowerment, 'castrates' her husband Bihori. Such behaviour is set against a cultural construct which says that domestic matters should not be brought to the public and that the woman must suffer in silence or use polite language, especially

when speaking to a man. The husband feels put down by Helena's performance. To restore his challenged status, Bihori resorts to violence against Helena and beats her up. Violence is here played out as an aspect that Bihori deploys to assert his status as a man and husband who has been denied what tradition entitles him to as a husband.

Overall, masculine aggression and female self-assertiveness go hand in hand in the framing. Jozerine, Helena and Ndinzemenshi and many other women in the narratives under analysis use a forceful style for self-assertion in a society where unassertiveness used to be a social norm of femininity. The defence of their honour and reputation is a cause worth dying for as exemplified in Helena in *Play 10* who is fearless even in presence of threat of death from her husband:

Helena: (...) *Mukama, bino biharage, ndabiryamakooo, ndabipfirekooo.* / Look! Look! Banana...you sell the banana before it matures and I don't know where you go with the money. You don't even buy little salt for me. And my beans... my Lord, these beans, I will stick to, I prefer to die if need be.

The excerpt presents Helena accusing his husband of being an irresponsible man who likes to misuse crops. Such a kind of audacity is a trait conventionally masculine. These women are masculinized. They perform masculinized femininity. Helena's attitude brings to light her masculinity as she humiliates her husband before the man who has come to buy the beans. Bihori and his friend Mudandaza feel embarrassed and the two leave the wife Helena alone as we can sense it through Bihori's words: *Hogi sha twigire asigare arabika/ Let's go and leave her behind to crow!*

In these performances, authority figures are criticized quite frankly in a way which would have been unthinkable in a straightforward Burundian context. Through the use of strong speech, the woman exercises power as she seeks to counter the man's power. Such injurious or hate speech takes place in satire. According to illocutionary

model, hate speech *constitutes* its addressee at the moment of its utterance; it does not describe an injury or produce one as a consequence; it is, in the very speaking of such speech, the performance of the injury itself, where the injury is understood (Butler, 1997, p.18) as social subordination. The men/ husbands to whom these women speak feel injured, ridiculed or pulled down and emasculated by this speech. This echoes White's (1997) opinion that "[m]asculinity seems to depend chronically on the estimation of others, to be highly vulnerable to attack by ridicule, shaming, subordination, or 'dishonourable' female action" (p.17).

Gendered ways of framing are, in this sense, resources for accomplishing the speaker's purpose. Women speak more assertively. For instance, Helena-like women speak in demanding, 'assertive' style (using imperatives and direct orders) *ntukura ahaa* / Don't take them from here (from *Play10*) while Ndinzemensi-like women speak in a 'reasoning style' (expressing empathy and requesting compliance) *None muri jewe na wewe ubu havyara nde?* / Who is responsible for creating babies between you and I? (*Play10*).

Another aspect that is important in discussing gender roles and expectations in heterosexual relationships has to do with property ownership. Traditionally a woman underwent "civil death" upon marriage. She lacked control over her earnings, was not permitted to choose her domicile, could not manage property legally on her own. Once in marriage, all that the wife acquired by her toil, service, or act during "coverture" became the legal property of the male according to Millett (1977). Within the context of gender, *Ninde* critiques the assumption that property ownership, especially owning a plot and house characterises manliness in hegemonic masculinity through the characters of three women namely Budodwa in *Play2*, Rozata in *Play5*

and Yoranda in *Play9*. These women own the houses where their families live. In modern reformed patriarchal societies, they have certain economic rights. Through these three women, the programme seeks to challenge the belief that it is only men who can own a home. From a performative perspective, owning a plot or a house is a trait of masculinity and thus makes them masculine females.

In *Play5* for instance, the woman Rozata is enacting masculinity during her speech in a family meeting in which her husband Rusimbi is also present. After she catches her husband Rusimbi cheating on her in a bar, Rozata takes a serious decision to officially kick her ‘husband’ Rusimbi out of the house:

Rozata: *Aha rero Mahuba [Mh] n’abandi bari hano ntiriwe ndadondagura amazina [Ego], uwo ngize umushingantahe mukuru ni wewe Mahuba [Ego cane, na none].Jewe nagomba mvuge ijambo [Mm], na mwebwe muryuhire [Egoo], guhera uno musi gushika ibihe bitazoshira [Mm], jewe Rusimbi ntakiri umugabo wanje./ As you see, Mr Mahuba, [Hm] and all others that I don’t need to name [yes], You are the one I trust as the principal gentleman [of course]. I would like to tell you something important [Mm] that you will have to complete, too [Mm]; from now and ever, Rusimbi is no longer my husband.*

Rusimbi: *Uranyirukanye ga mabuja? / My boss! Do you really chase me away?*

Rozata: *Nakwirukanye genda. / I no longer want you. Go away!*

Rusimbi: *Nanje simvaha. / I won’t leave.*

Rozata: *Hoji genda genda. Genda umenye iyo uja. Ndabivuga n’Uburundi bwumva./ Leave immediately! I do not mind where you go. I say it publicly: leave!*

In the excerpt above, we can see that Rozata performs masculinity through decision making and commanding, traits that are traditionally known as masculine. She takes the lead through a speech in a gathering of men where the latter are followers. By calling Rozata *mabuja* / ‘female boss’, he is putting himself in a subordinate position while putting her in high position in a group of men and this is very significant. She is higher in status in a space where men are present. In this group, she is even the

highest because she is higher than the man Mahuba, whom she nominates to be the representative of men present at that function. I argue that by portraying a female character as more masculine than the dominant man, the framing indicates that gender is socially constructed and has nothing to do with one's sex but one's abilities. *Ninde* exhibits gender equality and female visibility. Rozata proves that women are not different from men in terms of owning a property (house) or in terms of decision making and commanding. Through the act of chasing Rusimbi, the framing also seems to suggest credibility is an important trait in maintaining a man's masculinity while lack of it emasculates a man. It is the woman who legitimates his masculine status.

When caught in the process of doing wrong, Rusimbi (in *Play5*) loses the moral authority and the social power to 'govern' the home he shares with Rozata, his wife. This implies that economic independence is an index of masculinity. It is economic power that gives Rozata the possibility to alter her feminine role to a masculine one. Property ownership enables Rozata to subvert patriarchal gender relations and undermine traditional notions of femininity and masculinity that assumes men as masters and women as dependents. The frame presents Rozata as a masculine woman and the humiliated Rusimbi as emasculated. This scene validates Butler's view of gender arrangements as being 'unnatural'. A woman may be a 'masculine' female while a man may be a 'feminine' male, according to the proponents of performativity.

In *Play9*, Yoranda is affianced by a poor boy, who depends on her money to build a house on a plot that Yoranda herself has bought. In this setting she is the 'man' in the traditional sense in that she provides her young lover Yakobo (who later betrays her trust) with monetary and material support. When Yakobo comes to request money

from Yoranda to build, he exhibits inferiority complex while Yoranda has a positive self image. The tone of his voice carries fear and the speech has polite markers such as the use of the plural personal subject *mwoba* / if 'you' for a single person. Yoranda is confident with herself and assures him that his question has an answer. She is in the position of a master:

Yakobo: *Urabona umufundi...umufundi w'irya nzu, emwe aguma... aguma anyishuza cane. Harimwo ayo namuhaye amwe[Mh], muga ubu haracasigaye ibihumbi mirongo itanu nivyo nari nsigaye kumuha! Nivyo nari nje kukubaza ko mwoba muyafise. / You know what? The chief mason ... the chief mason of that house of ours always comes to me to ask for his due. There is some money I gave him [Mh], but I still need to give him fifty thousand Burundi Francs. I have just come to you to ask you if you have that money.*

Yoranda: *None? Ico si ikibazo uraza kumubwira y'uko uja kuyamuha ku mugoroba. None iyo ni ingorane? / So what? That is not really a question. Please tell him that you are going to give him the money this evening. Is that really a problem?*

Yakobo: *Eee! (Bose baca batwenga)/ Yeeees! (They both burst into laughter).*

Yoranda: *Ego nta kibazo kweri!* To tell you the truth that's not a problem!

In this scene, Yoranda is exercising power whereas Yakobo is powerless because there is reversal of roles. Traditionally, it is the man who was supposed to provide finances but in this episode, it is the woman who provides. In this setting, she is the 'man' in the sense that she provides her young lover with monetary and material support. The traditional male role of provider or 'masculine' privileges such as owning a house which come from polarized gender relations is in this case challenged so that women are seen as capable of displaying the masculine trait of being the provider or house owners where men are present.

In various scenes of the radio dramas, such roles of being the bread winner and the provider in the home conventionally assumed as masculine are actively taken up by

the women while most of the men are portrayed as lazy idlers who most of the time are engaged in drinking. This then seems to speak to the fact that women have equal capacity with men. At this point, genetics seems to count less than the socialisation in the making of 'a man.' Though obviously antagonistic, existence and essence constitute the two sides of the same coin. 'One has no precedence over the other and they corroborate the naked truth that masculinity and femininity have their essence in sex first and then in gender, the latter being minutely tailored in such a way that it perfectly fits he or she who holds the power or takes the initiative', to use Loum's words (Mugambi & Allan, 2010, p.273). That is why the Barundi call a successful person (even a woman) 'a man,' which reflects that essentially, the performance of hard tasks was only the duty of males.

Another important element in the construction of female masculinity is through the right to female expression. In *Play7*, there is an attempt to correct the traditional view that childlessness in a couple's marriage is always a woman's problem. The stereotypical belief that always associated barrenness with women is proven to be wrong through the character of Matayo. He is portrayed as having stayed with Karorina for a number of years without siring children. As the blame of childlessness falls on the wife according to traditional beliefs, the woman Karorina runs for treatment in all kinds of clinics but in vain, while the husband Matayo does not bother himself for checks of his reproductive health. As a solution, he decides to marry a single mother who has one child having in mind that she will produce more children for him. Matayo chases his first wife away and stays with the second wife. He stays with the latter for another long time without siring children. He decides to chase her away also and will end up bringing back Karorina his first wife.

Toward the end of the scene, Karorina gives a speech and publicly declares during a family gathering that it is Matayo who is impotent given the fact that he has been trying with several women but without getting a child. She takes this opportunity to lecture on him that “it happens to both women and men”, to ask him to be cool and to live peacefully with her. In this performance, the woman is a lecturer (in position of power), hence performing masculinity while the man is a student (in position of subject). Through her lecture, Karorina ‘defeminizes’ barrenness and says that it can also be a male health problem.

Traditionally, masculinity was closely linked to the economic status of a man. It conferred economic responsibilities upon him, one of the most important being to get a house of one’s own. This notion is defied in *Play2* and *Play5* and *Play9* where the families live in the women’s properties. In that regard private property ownership is ‘demasculinised’ because even women can own a property. It is important to note that the woman sometimes subverts the existing gender situation by changing the way she performs her gender, but she does not do it for the sake of subverting but for an end.

In the narratives, the traditional socialization of women as having no rights and always subordinated to men is deconstructed through the performance. The female figure which is stereotypically constructed as docile receptor of male aggression and energy is deconstructed and reconstructed in a new way. She displays an aspect that is traditionally considered masculine. By outlawing their language, men silenced women, robbing them of their ability to talk, hence of their humanity. The performance of female masculinity in *Ninde* challenges the cultural stereotype dictating that a “good woman” should remain silent and be passive. Through the

characterisation of Helena and that of her daughter, we are presented with a Helena who performs emphasized femininity. Through characterisation of Helena with her husband, we are pictured a Helena who is self-assertive, that is, who performs masculinity.

The dramatic form gives women the licence to criticise against lazy, unfaithful, oversexed husbands or chastise them. Traditionally, once a man commits himself to do something, he neither changes his mind nor draws back. Betrayal is considered to be an unmanly and irresponsible conduct. Likewise, when a man is reputed to be a liar or treacherous, he becomes unworthy of his neighbours' confidence, hence his marginalisation and the loss of his respectability. To command respect, a man should never tell lies. For instance in *Play9*, Yakobo loses confidence and respect because he is treacherous. While in state of insanity because of having been disappointed by Yakobo, the girl Yoranda calls him *igikoko* 'animal'. An animal is a being without reason, instinct-driven inner self and to call Yakobo an animal is to undermine him. He is even less than Yoranda herself because even though she is mentally disoriented, yet she is still a human being. In *Play5*, Rusimbi is thrown out of the house by his wife because he has been disappointing her. He loses respect to which he is entitled as a husband.

When Bihori (in *Play10*) wants to sell the beans that the wife has harvested, he expects to be treated as a husband and head of the household, who is the owner of everything in the household. But he meets the opposition of his wife Helena who denies him to sell beans she harvested in front of a man who has come to buy them. Helena exercises power over Bihori. The performance affirms that masculinities are unstable and susceptible to subversion because of their extraction from an outdated

femininity, now influenced by a spirit of female power. Bihori epitomizes tyrannical patriarchal system that entrenches intimidation and subordination of women. However, Helena's attempt to reject her husband's bad acts and to defend herself demonstrates a challenge to the rigid hegemonic masculinity presentations that entrench toxic masculinity. While masculinity is always paired to maleness, female masculinity is sometimes codified as a form of social rebellion by hetero-normative cultures.

4.2.3 Opportunistic Masculinity

Opportunistic masculinity is part of negative masculinity but I particularly single it out because it is a new gender issue that emerges with women's empowerment. I give more evidence from radio *Ninde* on how a man's masculinity can be determined by masculinized femininity. My analysis follows Butler's argument that repeated performance of specific gender traits serves to make what is unnatural appears natural and legitimate. Butler's idea is completed by related indigenous discourses which help to decode the narratives' imbedded notions of 'unnatural masculinity' provide contexts as well as theoretical grounding for this discussion.

That type of masculinity is reflected in the frames of characters such as Gihushi (*Play4*), Rusimbi (*Play5*) and Yakobo (*Play9*). In *Play4*, in his polygamous nature, Gihushi dates Sabokwigura not because he loves her but because he would like to profit from her wealth as the excerpt below shows:

Handereya: *Ehe ndakubwire rero sha mwana wa mama [Ee!], ugapfuma ugumya umwe wenyene hako uza urakuranya, ukuranya, ukuranya. Mbe ntuzi yuko uzosanga wikwegeye ibintu vyinshi? / Eeh, let me tell you my dear relative [Ee!], try to remain with only one woman instead of changing and changing and changing. Don't you know that you will end up bringing yourself a lot of problems from that behaviour?*

Gihushi: *Reka ndakubwire rero, uwo urazi ico namushimye? / Let me tell you something. Do you know what I liked in that one?*

Handereya: *Eee? / Eeh?*

Gihushi: *Afise ubutunzi azonzanira. Ibintu bitari bike nzoba ndabironse. / She has wealth that she will bring me. I will get so many stuff.*

In another scene of the same play, Gihushi is proud and boastful before his friend Muhendanyika and considers himself as ‘man’ because he has managed to ‘eat the wealth’ of his wife Sabokwigura after which he kicks her out.

Gihushi: *Sha oya nari ndamuriye! / My friend, I have really eaten her wealth!*

Muhendanyika: *War’umuriye? / You have eaten her wealth?*

Gihushi: *Eeegoo! / Yeeeeees!*

Muhendanyika: *Erega muga mayina nibwo buhizi. / But that is rather bravery.*

Gihushi: *Nibwo buhizi nyene. / That is bravery indeed.*

Muhendanyika: *Umugabo si uwurya utwiwe n’utw’abandi? [Eeee!] (Baca batwengera rimwe) / Isn’t a brave man the one who eats his stuff and that which belongs to other people? [Yeeeees!] (They laugh at the same time)*

Gihushi: *Umugabo ni uwurya utwiwe n’utw’abandi nyene. / Of course, a brave man is the one who eats his stuff and that which belongs to other people.*

By eating this woman’s wealth, Gihushi is performing masculinity because he is demonstrating bravery and intelligence in the face of the woman who sells everything she has to satisfy him. Sabokwigura who is a rich girl gives money to Gihushi, marries him, and provides clothing for the man and buy a lot of household stuff. After living together for some time, he is not interested in her and he kicks her out empty-handed. He marries a new girl that he brings to enjoy Sabokwigura’s wealth while Sabokwigura is kicked out. He believes he is ‘doing’ masculinity by that behaviour. However, he is cheated out of his wealth by the ‘other’ woman the same way he had done for Sabokwigura.

The archetype of this form of ‘bizarre’ masculinity is the character Rusimbi (*Play5*). In the narrative, Rusimbi is represented as an idle and spoiled boy who from feeding on garbage disposal manages to get a rich girl to marry from her own house. But in order to assert his masculinity, he chooses now to take the wife’s wealth to other women to whom he can exercise the conventionally masculine trait of provider.

Rusimbi: *Ndakubwire nanje urumva ngiye nkamubwira ikintu...mugabo rero sha ico nokubwira, ha! Ararufise.* / Let me tell you. If I propose her something ...but what you have to know is that she has much money.

Good-time girl: Ararufise? / Does she?

Rusimbi: *Ararufise. Ndamubwiye zana cinq mille ni fye [Ee], dix mille fye [Ee], vingt mille uko nyene.* / She has much money, I’m telling you. If I ask her to give me five thousand francs, she immediately does it [Eh]; ten thousand francs, she does it quickly[Eh]; twenty thousand francs, she does it quickly.

Good-time girl: *Natwe turayarya. (Baca batwenga) Hewe?/ We really eat it. (They burst into laugh)My dear!*

Rusimbi: *Basha./ Exactly.*

Good-time girl: *Oya n’ukuri ni vyiza.* / That’s good truly.

Rusimbi: *Mmm./ Mmm.*

Good-time girl: *Ni vyiza n’ukuri. Kandi jewe ndakwiyumvamwo, ndagukunda pe.* /That’s very interesting. I feel you are in my heart, and I really love you.

Rusimbi: *Harya nagomba ndakubwire [Mm], uno musi nagomba unsabe ikintu ubona [Ego], wipfuza [Egome]. None sinakubwiye iyo azova? Harya naho nzovuganti mpa ibi n’ibi n’ibi./I would like to tell you [Mm], if you like, ask me anything you want [Yes]. Haven’t I told you where I will get the money from? Whatever sum I will ask her, she will give it to me.*

Rusimbi is in a bar, taking beer with a good-time girl. He is boasting and priding and telling her to ask whatever she would like him to buy for her. The money they pay for

the beer has come from his wife Rozata. He expects also to get from the wife money to buy the gift he is promising to his concubine. In this piece of dialogue with 'the other woman', he is trying to redeem his masculinity 'lost' through his disempowerment. From gender performativity, he is doing masculinity by behaving that way, a masculinity that is harmful to him and to his partner Rozata.

An observation that we can make from this dialogue is that social economic changes affect women and men, and eventually their sexual behaviour. This leads me to argue that women's ability and capability to earn income creates a new awareness, autonomy and self-confidence while men's financial instability disempowers them and causes the damaging consequences for their behaviour and that of their partners. These disempowered men look for alternative ways to assert their masculinity. They enter into relationships, to which they are not committed, with rich girls in order to 'rob Mary and pay Martha.' The female empowerment necessarily affects the male status. When a man suspects a threat to his status and power, his power disguises itself and comes back in another form for compensation, most of the time through treacherous doings and fraud. Rusimbi who lives with his wife in her property takes his wife's money and goes to drink in bars with other women. From a gender performance perspective, Rusimbi's disempowerment or inability to breadwin for the family is an experience of impotence. Critically speaking, these scenes tend to stereotype men as opportunistic and never-to-be-trusted individuals, and they are examples of what Winter (2008) calls 'dangerous frames'.

Through tactics, the man refuses the framing of a woman as higher in status than he is. To a greater extent, the language used continues to promote gender biases. Actors display human weaknesses and vices for the purpose of social criticism. There is use

of extremes, contrasts, deviations, crises, instances of anomie and other ‘abnormalities’ in drama as bridges to teach people the normal behaviour. Characters’ deviations are ridiculed with the intention of preventing the audience from acting or even thinking in the same way. What is dangerous with this device ‘abnormality’ is that the audience may be seduced by the deviation and risk to act or think in the way they were intended to avoid.

4.2.4 *Ubushingantahe* or Progressive masculinity

Ninde dramatic language also presents to us another form of male identity that could be termed progressive masculinity. Progressive black masculinities are unique and innovative practices of the masculine self actively engaged in struggles to transform social structures of domination. These structures and relations of domination constrain, restrict, and suppress the full development of the human personality. Progressive masculinities are committed to liberating others and themselves from these constraints and therefore eschew relations of domination in their personal and public lives (Mutua, 2006, p.xi). Such a kind of masculinity is fundamental in the project of deconstructing the oppressive face of patriarchy and in establishing a new normality. In the various plays, this category of men appears whenever there is abuse or quarrel between a man and a woman as exemplified in the following excerpt from *Play10*:

Kamariza: (*Kamariza aca ashira urushi ku munwa*) *Tabara tabara Mushingantahe tabara!* / (*Kamariza screams out for her mother’s help*) Please gentleman, help help! Help my mother from being beaten by daddy.

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye ntimusubire!* / I swear on you, don’t fight again!

Kamariza: *Noneho Mawe baramunize!* / Goodness! My mother is strangled!

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye ntimusubire!* / I swear on you, don’t fight again!

Helena: (*Avuga nk'uwo bafashe mu kanigo*) *Urihenda sha! Urihenda sha!* / (She speaks as someone who is being choked) You are fooling yourself! You are fooling yourself!

Mudandaza: *Ndabarahiye...ndabarahiye ntimusubire*. I swear on you don't...I swear on you, don't fight again!

Helena: (*Avuga nk'uwo bafashe mu kanigo*) *Urihenda sha! Urihenda sha!* (*She speaks like somebody being strangled*) / You are fooling yourself! You are fooling yourself!

These men like Mudandaza in *Play10* join the block of 'revolutionary' women and give it support in the endeavour to deconstruct the naturalized unnatural ideas about power and sexuality. Such men are presented as facilitators or mediators between aggressive males and their self-assertive women in *Ninde* narratives. These men are a category of what is referred to by the Kirundi cultural concept '*abashingantahe*' (plural) or '*umushingantahe*' (singular) in the narratives subject to the study.

The concept '*umushingantahe*' is almost untranslatable into other languages although I have been referring to it as 'gentleman' or 'notable'. Literally, *umushingantahe* is someone who 'plants the stick of judgement' and all what it symbolises. 'Planting the stick of judgement' means pronouncing the judgement. The stick is a symbol of the phallus, thus a symbol of power which only males had the exclusive rights to in the past. In the cultural sense, the '*mushingantahe*' is an honest man, a person model in society, to whom everybody runs up to be listened to, a virtuous man, in whom the community has confidence. It is a state of being and not something learnt from somewhere. The *mushingantahe* is a responsible person of order, tranquillity, truth and peace in his milieu not in virtue of an allocated administrative power but by his very way of being. In the Burundian culture '*ubushingantahe*' is an ideal conception of masculinity which is in relation to the

man's mission in his milieu, that is, the man as "*mushingantahe*" in the sense of a responsible person in his neighbourhood and the whole country, a man noted for his honesty, integrity and noble character in his milieu (Ntabona, 1985). In simpler terms, '*ubushingantahe*' is humanity, honesty, integrity and noble character. This study equates progressive masculinity with the Kirundi cultural concept *ubushingantahe* and progressive men with *bashingantahe*.

In one instance of *Play3*, Banzubaze beats up his wife Riyera blaming her without proof that she is the one who infected her husband Banzubaze. Riyera is crying and screaming for help when a *mushingantahe* (progressive man) from the neighbourhood who heard Riyera's cries and screams shows up unexpectedly:

Banzubaze: (*Aca amukubita kandi Riyera nawe agaca ashira induru ku munwa*)
Have. Mbisa! Mbisa jewu ndamwi... ndamwice n'ugupfa napfuye. / (He beats her and
Riyera screams) Get away. Get away from me! Let me... let me kill her, I have no
 life anymore.

Riyera: *YOOOOO! ARANYISHEEEEE! ARANYISHE!* (*Haca harenguka umugabo*
w'umubanyi)/ YOOOOOH! HE KILLS ME! HE KILLS ME! (*A man from the*
neighbourhood shows up unexpectedly)

The mushingantahe: *Have rekeraho. We Banzubaze! Eshe! Bangwe bangwe.*
Eshe, bangwe bangwe! / Stop. Hey Banzubaze! You man! Stop stop. You man, Stop
stop!

Banzubaze: Oya! / No!

The mushingantahe: *Bangwe, bangwe! Bangwe! / Stop, stop! Stop!*

The masculinity of these men is linked to the man's mission in his milieu, that is, the man as "*mushingantahe*" in the sense of a responsible person in his neighbourhood. The *mushingantahe* is a mature, honest man and endowed with good sense and judgement and who has the mission to restore peace and justice.

Thanks to advice and to being role model of *bashingantahe* (embodiment of progressive masculinity), we see men changing performance of their masculinity from negative masculinity to social masculinity as the *Ninde* stories unfold, since they have to respond to the social pressure around them. This change affirms Connell's (1995) views that highlight the inevitability of changes in masculinity. For Connell, masculinity includes different systems that inevitably lead to internal contradictions and historical change. Connell argues that masculinity is a social pattern that must be viewed as a product of history as well as a producer of history.

For instance, we notice a change in masculine identities of Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, from an aggressive man to a loving husband:

Nkinahoruri: *Ubu rero bashingantahe [Ego], ndababwire [Ego], mbwira basi ikintu jwe nogira! / Now, bashingantahe [Yes], please let me say something [Yes], please tell what to do now!*

One of the two bashingantahe: *Ni ukumuvuza nyene. / It is to get her treated indeed*

Nkinahoruri: *Eka numve!!!/ Let me think about it!*

One of the two bashingantahe: *Ewe ni ukumuvuza! You man, it is to get her treated!*

Nkinahoruri: *Ego basi, ndavyumva. Ndavyumva! Ndumva ko na jwe nari naragize nabi kwama namukubise. Enda rero gerageza namwe muri ababanyi, mumfashe tumurondere iyo yagiye hanyuma rero data wanje ngerageze ndabe ingene nobigenza./ Okay, I understand it. I understand it! I understand that I did wrong by always beating my wife. Please, try as my neighbours to help me to look for where she went so that I can handle the situation.*

From the excerpt above, we see Nkinahoruri transiting from aggressive masculinity to sensitive and caring masculinity. He is ready to go and look for his wife who has gone mad because of being traumatized by him. Through his words and the tone of the voice, Nkinahoruri expresses sensibility to the precarious situation of his wife

Ngendanganya. We learn from the story that the husband takes the wife Ngendanganya to a trauma healing centre and she gets well after some time. When she comes back home from the centre, one can see Nkinahoruri with a completely changed identity through the conversation with his wife. He is a caring husband, who cooperates with the woman in the running of the home. Nkinahoruri's characterisation in *Play1* emphasizes that masculinity should be considered an adjustable and fluid concept, as opposed to the more static disposition of biology.

The *bashingantahe's* masculine performance suggests that males are fundamental actors in the change of the oppressive face of patriarchy for the society itself to change. The fundamental question would be: Is it only men who can be endowed with the qualities of *ubushingantahe*? That is a gender bias that is perpetrated through these narratives. It is not only men who can be the embodiment of *ubushingantahe* (progressive masculinity). Women can also be the embodiment of *ubushingantahe* because in the Burundian society, there are women with honesty, integrity and noble character.

The radio *Ninde* proves that it is possible for men to 'do' masculinity differently, that is to say, in ways that are not limiting or harmful to any of men and women. Nkinahoruri in *Play1* and Muhindo in *Play8* represent mutable notions of masculinity. Their change at the end of the performance implies that masculine identities which adapt and integrate with flexible perceptions of femininity will create new, more secure gender relationships.

4.3 Feminization in *Ninde*

Ninde narratives present an image of a self-assertive woman with a certain power in the face of a self-defensive man who feels threat to his status and pride, and who resorts to ‘fight’ her through various treacherous ways. The narratives also seem to assimilate men into the domestic or private world conventionally known as female. In *Ninde* performances, the binary dichotomy of gender identity is projected as a bargain in which the man is a loser to a certain extent because he is to be blamed for the gloomy past for women. While female masculinities imply power and domination, male femininities suggest feminization and stigma among the men who embody them. The readings are based on the traditional conceptualization and performance of masculinity and femininity to particularly underscore the understandings of gender solidarity/cooperation through men occupying or rather representing traditional female activities.

4.3.1 Emphasized Femininity

According to Connell (1987) emphasized femininity is a form of femininity that is defined around compliance of female subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men. This form of femininity is presented as playing the role of accomplice in keeping women in ‘slavery’ and impeding the transformation of gender relations (p.3). These women of an old generation rely on their lived experiences to set the standard of contemporary gender relations, seeming to ignore that society has changed.

Evidence that women are accomplices is in *Play10*. When the daughter Kamariza complains that she is overburdened while her brother is idle, the mother Helena says that since time immemorial, cooking, washing, and other household chores have

always been the duty of women. Part of it is reproduced below for the purpose of illustration:

Helena: *Kuva na kera [umukobwa] yari uwo kurima, akaba uwo guteka, akaba uwo kukubura, akaba uwo kuvoma. Nta mashure na kera y'umukobwa yigeze abaho sha! / From time immemorial [a girl] she was meant to till the land, to cook, to sweep and to fetch water. There have never been schools for a girl since a long time ago!*

Kamariza: *Nivyo? Ariko ga Mawe ivyo bintu wewe urabishigikiye? Mbega hazobura umusi bakurungikira n'ikete? Sinari kurigusomera nkakubwira nivyo bakwandikiyemwo? / Sure? How come you agree on that Mummy? Do you think a day won't come to get a letter? Wouldn't I read it for you and tell you what would have been written to you?*

Helena: *Aya mashure ndiko ndakwigisha ga mwananje, niyo uriko urakengera? Uriko urakengera amashure ndiko ndakwigisha? Ndaguteye inkuru, jewe na so wawe, twarize? (Kamariza aguma arira yimyozza)None ntidufatanye muuunda ga shahu na so wawe tutize amashure? Hanyuma nawe mwananje? / Are you despising the lessons I am teaching you? ...Are you despising the lessons I am teaching you? Let me tell you a story: did your father and I go to school? (Kamariza keeps crying and sucking the air as an expression of sadness) Don't we really live in mutual agreement and support although we didn't go to school? And then about you my dear daughter?...*

There is another instance of the influence of lived experience on change in the same *Play10*. The mother of Ndinzemenshi tells the latter to endure the husband's brutality arguing that it has always been the women's lot, and that the difficulties Ndinzemenshi is experiencing is something she shares with all other women.

Ndinzemenshi's mother: *Mmhh! Ya! Mbega uja he? Aho udatimba? None...urya niwe mugabo wawe. None aho uzoba ugiye uzoba ugiye kuronkayo uwundi mugabo? Mbega aho utavyemera, twese s'uko siko twabayeho? / Mmhh! Yah! Coming where? Why don't you keep a cool head? You know...That one is your husband. Will you be going to get a new husband where you are going? Why don't you resign yourself to your fate? Wasn't it the same for all of us?*

Ndinzemensi: *Ma?/ Mam?*

Ndinzemensi's mother: *Twabayeho ari uko nyene, umugabo tugombagurika, uri aho agukubise, urumva, uri aho akwirukanye mugabo waragenda ukagwa ugaruka, ukagaruka hano nyene kwa nya mugabo. None nawe ugira umukange akagere uje hehe? Ni harya nyene ni haryaA ni haryaA. / Even all of us experienced the same at our period, the husband could beat us. When we were repudiated, we would manage to come back to the same husband. So where do you pretend to go? That's your home, that's really your home, not elsewhere.*

Ndinzemensi: *Isuka ya jenyene ga Mawe nama...yajenyene nivyo ndimye sindabirye ga Mawe?/ Mum, always working alone in the fields...without any right to my crops?*

Ndinzemensi's mother: *Ndagutere inkuru? Jewe ndakurera uko nakuze. Niko jwe ndaguha indero. Ukuntu nabayeho, ukuntu nubatse na so wawe, kugera nkituma nkakuvyara, gushika nkakurungika mu gihugu, uko yandeze niko nanje ntegerezwa kukurera. Mwubahe ni umugabo mu rugo./ Can I tell you a story? I educate you the way I was brought up. That is the way I discipline you. The way I lived, the way I lived with your daddy, till the moment I gave birth to you, till the moment I handed you in marriage, I will discipline you the way I was disciplined. Submit to him, he is the man in the household.*

Ultimately, Ndinzemensi's mother is not only a handmaiden of traditional patriarchal structure, but also its custodian. Nevertheless, her complicity is challenged by her daughter, Ndinzemensi. This reminds us of Goffman's idea that people's lived experience of gender serves to normalize structures of power, dominance, and inequality (Goffman, 1977 in Winter: 457). That is why change is slow and gradual, according to Goffman. However, whereas socialization theories assume that individuals internalize the gendered norms that were salient when they were growing up, the doing gender model assumes that people respond to changing contemporary norms. To change gender relations do not mean to wait for another generation to be socialized differently (Deutsch, 2007, p.108).

Play9 also shows how women of the older generation are reluctant to change that the new generation are embarking on as illustrated below in a part of the conversation between Yoranda and her mother:

Yoranda: *Urumva he Ma, jewe nagomba ndakubwize ukuri amafaranga ikintu ndiko ndayakoresha. / You know what Mam, I would like to tell you the truth about what I am doing with my money.*

Yoranda's mother: *Vuga ndumva nza kwitabira ndyohewe! /Tell me! I will agree with you if I feel happy about it!*

Yoranda: *Jewe urabona hariho umuhungu twashimanye! Uwo muhungu vy'ukuri, twaravuganye, turavugana, turashimana arambwira ko ankunze nanje ndamwemerera ko ndamukunze, urumva rero izo ngurube nagurishije, ayo mafaranga ndiko ndayakoresha mu buryo bwo kwubakisha inzu naho ntari bwa bikubwire, burya imisi yose wahora ubona atariho ndi, harya naba ngiye kuraba abakozi ingene bariko barubaka. Nayaguzemwo ikibanza c'inzu, nongera ndayubakishamwo, kandi n'ubu sindaheza. / You know, there is young man who has dated me. To tell you the truth, we chatted and chatted and he finally told me that he loves me, and I have accepted to love him, too. So the money I got from the porks that I sold is used to build a house although I had not told it to you yet. All those days you did not see me around, it means I had gone to supervise how workers are building. With that money I bought a plot of land and built a house, and I have not finished yet.*

Yoranda's mother: *Mugabo ga mwana ndakubarire? / But may I tell you one thing my dear child?*

Yoranda: *Ubu mbere nimiriye kuzosubira kugurisha irya mpene irya nyene naho ifise amezi, kugira ngo nongereze inzu ihere kwubaka, hanyuma duce twibanira n'uwo musore /I am now planning to sell that goat over there even if it is in gestation, to complete the building so that we may get married with the young man in that house.*

Yoranda's mother: *Shaka ugenze ngaho ndakubarire! Iyubaka ry'ubu siryo twebwe twubatse. Ni wewe [Mh], ukenyera vyose [Mh], ukubaka inzu, ukamugurira mama ipatalo namba ari igositime, vyose bikaba wewe? / Stop there and let me tell you! The*

marriage of today is not like the marriage we had. Is it you who set to do everything [Mh], building a house, buying a pair of trousers or suit, doing everything instead?

Yoranda: *Oya nta kositime ndamugurira, mugabo...*/No, I have not bought a suit for him yet, but...

Yoranda's mother: *None ntiwumva kwariyo bitera bija? None umaze kwubaka inzu igisigaye ni igiki? Eh? Igisigaye ni igiki? Emwe! Ibiri ubu uwapfuye yarikinze, uko nyene? Uko nyene ga mwana? Mh mh mh mh mh!* /But don't you notice that it is tending toward that? If you have built a house, what else is remaining? Eh? What else is remaining? Goodness! What is happening today! The dead has taken shelter, I am telling you. Doing like that my dear child? Mh mh mh mh mh!

Emphasized femininity does not support the initiatives toward change of gender relations. Elderly women symbolised by Yoranda's mother (*Play9*) and Ndinzemshi's mother (*Play10*) are often time resistant to change and make themselves the custodian of tradition. They are the embodiment of emphasized femininity. They are opposed to a generation of women who aspire to change no matter what comes their way.

4.3.2 Feminized Masculinity (Male Femininity)

From gender studies, we are told that femininity is performed through nurturing, caring, docility, and doing domestic chores. In this section, I look at feminized masculinity and focus on Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* where we have men who have been effeminated because of the relationship with their wives. I look at the way they relate, and see the way the society looks at them because in a patriarchal society they are supposed to perform masculinity. They are feminine males because they are men who are ready to do roles and to assume responsibilities that are traditionally known as feminine. In the analysis, I compare with conventional masculinity to understand how Severino-like and Majambere-like men deviate from it

and I tease out the issues that emerge from the interpretation of the chosen texts. At the beginning of their performance of femininity, Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* are the laughing stock of other men. They are even stigmatized.

Play8 contrasts Severino with another man called Muhindo. Muhindo assaults his pregnant wife Njerina when she tells him that they should go to a clinic together and he does not want her to go to the clinic for checks, let alone to accompany her. By ordering her not to go, he is performing masculinity; he is demonstrating that he is in a superior position. He would not like even to hear of it. When she is washing herself to get ready for the clinic visit, he grabs the water that she was bathing and he throws it away. She tries to convince him to go but in vain. She beats her and repudiates her. In contrast, Severino and Makurata who live in their neighbourhood is an ideal couple on how to support the wife during pregnancy. The husband assists his wife in cultivating, fetching firewood, fetching water, accompanying her to the clinic, sharing responsibilities to ease the burden of her pregnant wife. However, Severino is, at the beginning, stigmatized by other men like Gasupari and Muhindo who stop their conversation at the coming of Severino. They insult him that he is not a 'man', that he is *umugore* 'woman' as the excerpt below shows:

Gasupari: *Nomera... nomera gutyo ngapfuma...nopfuma niyahura./* Being like...Being like that...I would rather commit suicide rather than being like that.

Muhindo: *Gasupa (Sa), hamwe nokubona n'umusi wa rimwe, ukora nka birya Severino akora, icupa ryanje ntiwosubira kurisomako./* Gasupa (Yes Sir), if I ever find you performing roles like those Severino performs, you will not drink from my bottle anymore.

Gaspard: *Sinshobora sinshobora sinshobora. Jewe?* I will never never never do it. Me?

Muhindo: *Ugaca usanga, aho ahonyoje ikirenge niho uwundi usanga ahonyoje ikirenge.* / And you find that where his wife puts her step is where he puts his step, too.

Gasupari: *Umve!* / Imagine !

Muhindo: *Umenga ni imbwa na sebuja.* They are like a dog and its master.

Gasupari: *Ukayoberwa ivyo akora ukabura. Ukayoberwa umugore... m'hu m'hu m'hu !! n'umugabo... bose ni... Uwari kuba umugabo yahindutse umugore.* You can't distinguish between his roles and the wife's. You can't distinguish the woman... *m'hu m'hu m'hu !!* from the man. The one who was expected to be a man has turned into a woman.

Men who do not behave according to the traditional standard of male identity are ridiculed and as seen in Severino's case in the previous excerpt, they are showered with the appellation 'women'. As seen in the excerpt above, Severino's performance puts him at risk of being stigmatized. Severino is actually degraded because according to Burundian tradition and customs (and so in the many African contexts), it is an insult to be called a 'woman'. According to Etter-Lewis (2010), "being branded with such appellation implies that a man is totally dominated, unfit to be considered male" (Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis in Mugambi and Allan, 2010, p.163). Severino's characterization gives strength to Morrell's (1998) assertion that "in addition to oppressing women, hegemonic masculinity silences or subordinates other masculinities, positioning these in relation to itself such that the values expressed by those masculinities are not those that have currency or legitimacy" (Cited in Mugambi & Allan, 2010, p.163). Critically speaking, this frame of degrading what is associated with women risks fanning that gender bias while attempting to challenge it. Clearly, this is not giving adequate worth to female roles and it continues to reinforce gender inequality.

While the appellation *umugore* ‘woman’ on a man implies an insult, the appellation *umugabo* ‘man’ implies acknowledgement or congratulations on notable performances of both women and men. These linguistic patterns embody biases of traditional society that survives even today. They reinforce implicitly the societal inequalities embedded in gender roles. The language itself robs women of the possibility of equality. It takes away their potential by denying that worthy acts can be performed by women. And for change to happen there must be men like Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* who accept the appellation of ‘woman’ to prove that female roles are also worthy. Later on, Muhindo is convinced to go to the clinic with his wife after he is persuaded by the *bashingantahe* to emulate Severino’s example. Severino who was stigmatized by other men for displaying female qualities now becomes the model for other men to follow. During a meeting of only men with their local chief, the latter urges them to help their women in the various domestic activities, and to support them especially when they are pregnant.

In *Play10*, Majambere who is known for his industriousness and cooperation with his wife is mocked and ridiculed by idle men who are wasting their time in public places playing cards and consuming alcohol. Part of the discussion is reproduced below for the purposes of presenting Majambere’s feminized masculinity subverting the traditional male masculinity:

Bihori: *URAMARAMAJE ABANDI BAGABO SHA! /YOU ARE PUTTING SHAME ON OTHER MEN!*

Majambere: *JA HIYO! UWUTAYAKOBETEJEMWO AYAKONDOKAMWO./ AWAY FROM ME! IF YOU DON’T STRIVE TO MOVE FORWARD, YOU WILL FIND YOURSELF DISCONNECTED FROM PROGRESS.*

Gito: *(Gito aca atwenga) Oya ura...uri akamaramaza! / (Gito bursts into laughter) No you...you are a shame!*

Bihori: *Basha niho ubura n'ivyo uvuga. Iyo upfuma urondera iyindi...iyo upfuma urondera n'iyindi nzira ucamwo hanyuma ukarengana.* /That's why you even lack words to express yourself. You'd better look for another...you'd better look for another path and continue your journey.

Majambere: *Wewe nakubariye. Nakuba...nakubariye...nakubariye.* / You guy! I have just told you. I...I have just told you...I have just told you.

Gipushi: *We ko wikoreye imibuto?/* Why are you carrying sweet potato cuttings?

Majambere: *None?/* So what?

Gipushi: *We warapfakayee? Canke? Nta mugore ugifise...ufise wewe? /* Have you become a widower? Or what? You no longer have a wife?...don't you have a wife?

Majambere: *N'ukuri ntamufise.* /To speak the truth, I have a wife.

Gito: *Ewe? /* Please?

Bihori: *Ngiye nabona... ngiye nabona ubugabo atari abagabo.* / This is my very first time to see... this is my very first time to see little men instead of men.

Gito: *Umvira! Gipushi?... /* Listen! Gipushi?...

Majambere: *Mwebwe mwishinga gukina akamari! Umvira! /* How come you spend all your time playing games of chance! Listen!

Gito: *E Gipushi? Umvira ndakubwire! /* Hey Gipushi? Listen to me so I tell you!

Majambere: *Aho muri ni ibijumbu muriko muratera?/* Are they sweet potato cuttings you are planting at that place where you are?

Gito: *Erega ubwo n'ubu... ubwo ni ubukunzi bw'inda. Wewe urazi... umugabo akunda inda ntuca umubona? /* That's a sign... that's a sign of gluttony. Do you know ... Can't you easily recognize a greedy man from that sign, you guys?

Gipushi: *Imibuto yikorera abagore wa kijuju we?/* You stupid man, sweet potato cuttings are carried by women.

Majambere: *Ee? Ikijuju? /* Eh? Stupid?

Gipushi: *Uri umuhimbiri w'abagabo mwishwanje.* / I swear on my niece, you are the meanest of all men!

Majambere: *Agasanga kwirigwa kw'irigara aribwo bugabo, ntabugabo mugira mwaradohotse kw'ibanga.* / If spending all your time meaninglessly out there in games is what you consider a sign of manhood, you are no longer men because you have missed out your mission as men.

Whereas he is performing feminized masculinity, the character Majambere undermines his interlocutors' masculinity because it is neither useful to the performers nor to their partners. It is interesting to discover in the framing that Majambere's feminized masculinity is the envisioned new masculinity that could be called social/pragmatic masculinity. Majambere is still a man but different from men like Bihori, Gipushi, Gito and Masatura in the same play. The same men who mocked him that he is 'less man' are the ones who end up owing him respect as "real man" because he can sufficiently feed himself, his family and even foreigners (as exemplified by his lending money to Masatura). In traditional context, 'man' is synonymous with a rich person. Man is a concentration of a certain economic strength and material abundance. Comfort is traditionally a masculine construct. And Majambere gets to it thanks to his cooperation with his wife. This means that to be masculine in a nation where women are inclusive largely means to be flexible and accommodative of feminine performances. This implies that in the contemporary society, it is important to allow more flexible gender boundaries than would be expected in a traditional setting.

From Severino's (*Play8*) and Majambere's (*Play10*) characterizations, I can argue that realizing other forms of masculinity such as feminized masculinity is challenging because the fundamental characteristics exhibited by traditional masculinity resist

change. The conventional masculinity remains the most influential and the standard against which other forms of masculinity (ies) are assessed and judged. The construction of female or male identity always requires the approving gaze of other community members to validate it in every culture. The women and men in the drama *Ninde* who defy the binary categorization of masculinity as central to maleness and femininity as central to femaleness are acting at their 'risk.' At the beginning, they are not understood by their fellows. But as the story unfolds, they end up becoming the model for other men to emulate. That is how social change comes in.

Refusal to visit the clinic by the man is also part of performing masculinity. *Play3* through the character Banzubaze and *Play8* through the character Muhindo attempt to correct the view that the clinic is a place for women only, especially pregnant women. That is done with the objective of encouraging men to play active role with regard to their participation in the health matters of their unborn children and during the early years after they are born. In *Play3*, Riyera first attends the clinic by herself and is found HIV positive. The doctor suggests attending next visit with her husband Banzubaze so that they can both be advised on how to get a healthy child. Rozata explains to the Doctor in detail how the husband has refused to go with her.

Based on an understanding of the social realities that outline expectations from men and women, performance of masculinity becomes a useful narrative through which I read Banzubaze's (*Play3*) and Muhindo's (*Play8*) behaviours in *Ninde* of denying to attend clinics as an attempt to (re) define or maintain their identity as men. Defined on the basis of superiority over femininity, the performance of masculinity is in Banzubaze's case (in *Play3*) and Muhindo's case (in *Play8*) first of all framed as being central to the imaging of their self and status as the male head of the family and

that consenting to a HIV test is detrimental to their identity as men. They consider the routine clinic checks, especially the antenatal as feminine matters. In *Play3*, being the man in the relationship and in this case a man who must not bow down to a woman's demands, Banzubaze (*Play3*) refuses to go for a HIV test and also strongly forbids his wife to go for it. She is seriously beaten when she comes back from the clinic not only because she has tested positive but also because she has broken the order from her husband of not to go. Banzubaze's resistance in *Play3* to taking HIV test is explained by the dominant notions of hegemonic masculinity that limit 'real men' from acknowledging health risks and accessing health care (Sambai, 2014).

Through these scenes *Ninde* sharply critiques the traditional conception of masculinity for being a barrier that inhibits men from accessing health care services like women and present it as an old-fashioned and risky face of masculinity. At the same time, the programme attempts to challenge the commonly known position that women are the best caregivers by exploring possibilities of male participation in reproductive health care, especially in the framework of prevention against HIV/AIDS for new-borns and male participation in domestic activities.

In offering a critique on evil forms of masculinity within gender discourse, *Ninde* either uses character development or deploy juxtaposition to present the contradictions of masculinity based on the implications that certain male behaviours that used to be sanctioned as appropriate symbols of masculinity by tradition are no longer relevant. For instance, with pieces of advice from other men, Riyera's husband Banzubaze is finally persuaded to attend the clinic. He changes his performance from conventional masculinity to feminized masculinity (or male femininity).

Although gender frames in *Ninde* may not provide conclusive answers to the crisis of masculinity (or rather masculinity in transformation) in Burundi in particular and in Africa in general, they reveal that the survival of any form of masculinities is likely to depend on women's accommodative or subversive potential. The trademark of *Ninde* frames is the successful deployment of satire to focus society's gaze upon faces of masculinity perpetually in transformation. All in all, the suffocating masculinist ideology that *Ninde* critiques has women as well as men in its stranglehold, which gives more justification for getting rid of it and to replace it with an alternative masculinity that is more accommodating. In short, there are anti-feminist males who attempt to forcefully maintain the status quo. On the other hand, there are pro-feminist males more accommodating to females.

The narratives' satirising and mirroring brutal masculinity serves in the framing of the necessity of egalitarian gender relations. They critique the overbearing power of dominant masculinity, especially in the family. The frames reveal that the survival of any form of masculinity is likely to depend on women's and their allies' accommodative or subversive potential. The narratives detail the course by which a 'new' conventional masculinity which is sensitive to the female interests is formulated and propagated within masculine constructs. It is a masculinity based on male-female egalitarian gender relations, for instance symbolised in Severino's relationship with his wife Makurata in *Play8* and in Majambere's relationship with his wife in *Play10*. Their caring attitude triumphs over the insensitive, irresponsible, domineering, aggressive and presumptuous masculinity. Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* also represent mutable notions of hegemonic masculinity. Their triumph at the end of the performance implies that masculine identities that adapt and

integrate with balanced, flexible perceptions of femininity will create new, more secure gender relationships. The ‘new masculinity’ is represented as an anatomical male whose social role can slide between conventionally feminine and masculine roles. The narratives’ intention seems to ‘bring’ men into the domestic or private world.

Play8 through Severinos and *Play10* through Majamberes interrogate and disturb the ‘natural’ social order in a family regarding gender roles and expectations of an ‘ideal’ husband. Severino and Majambere are considered as effeminate since they are involved in feminine roles and this is one of the masculine traits that triumph at the end. This face of masculinity is culturally exalted more than others. These narratives completely invert the traditional masculine plot to reveal an unstable male identity.

4.4 Females’ Negative Masculinity: A Threat to the Men’s and Women’s World

Ninde characterisation of females reveals that women can perform traditional harmful versions of masculinity, just as men, and in doing so, they affect men’s masculinity. This is evidenced in *Play1* and *Play2* through the dialogues respectively between Nkinahoruri and his daughter and between Muhindo and his two daughters who appear to be violating the morals of an ideal patriarchal society. These girls display arrogance and lack of respect before their father.

A very important aspect of male power enshrined within the social structures in Burundian customs as mentioned in Chapter One is the understanding that the man is the father and therefore the ‘owner’ of the children and the ultimate source of legitimacy for them in a patriarchal society. The argument is that the making and

remaking of opportunistic men, irresponsible men give a bad image of the man and creates the erosion of the father's authority although there is no evidence that there is a single causative relationship between male disempowerment and the loss of the father's authority.

Conventionally, material comfort and moral strength are one of the masculine constructs according to tradition. The man is the head of family and is the supreme authority for whom all other members of the family have great respect. He is assisted by his wife. As a father he is the pride of his children. By deconstructing the hegemonic masculinity of the male as the provider and protector of the family, the narratives remake disempowered men who are stereotyped with irresponsibility and untrustworthiness, as reflected in the female character's name *Sabokwigural* 'They [read: men] do not deserve to self sacrifice for.'

As it reflects in *Ninde* performance, increasing women's roles and responsibilities while decreasing men's roles and sometimes making and remaking them useless and irresponsible affects men's social value, identity and self-esteem. It prevents men from fulfilling their male roles as heads of households and breadwinners. Now these men are not only dominated but they have lost authority. It is very strange in the context of Burundi to hear not only a child but a girl child address his father like Majambere saying: *None k'uducereje?* / Why do you delay us? (in *Play10*) when he stops to discuss with Bihori on their way to school. It is also strange to hear the way Nkinahoruri (in *Play1*) argues with his daughter in a very long discussion when the daughter is kicked out of school because she has not paid school fees, and the father is not willing to give her the money. He spends all his money in bars with a strange

woman, and by the time his daughter reaches home, he is counting the money that they are going to spend with this ‘other’ woman. Below is a part of the long discussion between Nkinahoruri and his daughter:

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Nshaka umpe ibikoresho, umpe impuzu nziza nambara za uniforme, umpe n’amafaranga y’ishure.* / I want that you give me school materials, good school uniform and school fees.

Nkinahoruri: *Jewe?/Me?*

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Ee!/Yeah!*

Nkinahoruri: *Jewe Nkinahoruri, jewe ndaguhe?/ Me Nkinahoruri, giving you?*

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Emwe! Wewe nyene! None ngire gute? Nawe uranyeruka uwundi abimpa.* /Yes! You of course! What do you want me to do? You are going to show me who else will give them to me.

Nkinahoruri: *Ubu rero jewe ndakubwiye, genda ayaguhe!/ I am telling you, go and get them from your mother.*

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Ewe wakugenda we! Nyihera...Genda unyironderere ibikoresho gusa vy’ishure jewe nigire kw’ishure nayo ivyo uriko uravuga vyovywo ntavyo numva! /Me going! Give me...Go and get school stuff for me so that I can go back to school. I don’t understand the other things you are saying!*

Nkinahoruri: *Jewe ndakubwiye nti mva mu maso!/ I have told you ‘quit my sight’!*

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Ndakuve mu maso nje he?/ Quitting your sight to go where?*

Nkinahoruri: *Kazibe! / Shut up!*

Nkinahoruri’s daughter: *Nyamba ari ukuziba nyene! Jewe nyi... jewe nyihere ibi...ibikoresho gusa nigire kw’ishure.* / Me shutting up! Give me... give me school materials so that I may go back to school.

Nkinahoruri: *(Aca yimyoza) Jewe ndakubwiye nti ntusubire kuntera ishavu! Kandi ugasubira kuntera ishavu jewe ndazi...ndakwerekwa ingene bigenda./ (He sucks the air) I have told you not to provoke my anger! If you do it again...I will show you what will happen.*

Nkinahoruri's daughter: *Ndagutera ishavu ry'iki? None ndiko ndagusaba ivyo bantumye kw'ishure mba ndiko ndagutera ishavu?* / In what way am I provoking your anger? Am I provoking your anger if I ask you what the school has asked me to bring?

Nkinahoruri: *(Abanza guhora) Ndakubwiye nti mva mu maso!* / (Silence) I have ordered you to quit my sight!

Nkinahoruri's daughter: *Ndakuva mu maso kubera iki?* / Why quitting your sight?

Nkinahoruri: *Jewe nije uriko urafyinatako?* / Is it me you are playing with?

Nkinahoruri's daughter: *Ivyo ndiko ndavuga ntuvyumva?* / Aren't you getting what I'm saying?

Nkinahoruri: *Mva imbere (Aca amukubita)/* Quit my sight! *(He slaps her)*

Nkinahoruri's daughter: *Ivyo ndiko ndakubwira ntuvyumva? (Abivuga arira)/*Are you not getting what I am telling you? / *(She speaks as she cries)*

There is no sign of respect to the father in the language Nkinahoruri's daughter uses to address her father. The persistence of this daughter in the face of a father who is not willing to fulfill his duty is unbelievable but it shows to what extent the father has lost authority. He orders the girl to shut up, she does not. He commands her to quit his sight; she mocks him and does not go. Instead of leaving him alone, she puts into doubt the father's hearing and understanding ability. It is an implicit way to tell the father: 'Are you deaf not to hear the request I am making or stupid not to understand the emergency of the case?' From performative point of view, the girl exercises a counter-power before her father; hence negative masculinity given that the father figure is sacred in a patriarchal social order. In figurative and literal sense, Nkinahoruri's position as head of the household and a figure of authority has been thwarted, leaving him anti-model.

The most striking scene is when Mibare's two daughters (in *Play2*) kick him out of the house after the death of their mother or Mibare's wife Budodwa. To recall the story, Mibare sold all his inherited land with the complicity of his wife who had told him that she has a big and fertile land in her native family. The tone and the mood that Mibare's daughters use when they are commanding him to leave the house are incredible when one remembers that it is a daughters-father relationship. The scene happens when the father comes back at evening from a drinking bar and a part of it is reproduced below for the purpose of showing at what extent there is loss of authority in Mibare as a father and through him fathers in this performance:

Gakobwa: *Umve rero dawe ndakubwire [Ee]. Kandi uvyumve. Ntiwirirwe uragorana vyinshi [Ee], genda urye kwa so! / Listen to me Dad so that I can tell you [Eeh]. And I want you to understand it well. Don't disturb us too much [Eeh], go and eat at your father's home.*

Gakobwa's sister: *Ego di! /Oh yes dear!*

Gakobwa: *Genda urye kwa so. Ntiyatetse? / Go and eat at your father's home. Hasn't he cooked?*

Gakobwa's sister: *Twebe ntitwanka y'uko utari dawe, utari umuvyeyi kane, utari umuvyeyi gatanu. Mugabo tukubwiye tuti, kandi ni itegeko: Kwa so!...kwa so... kwa so!Ugende! / We are not denying your paternity. You are our real father. But we are telling you one thing and it is non-negotiable: Straight to your father!..Straight to your father... straight to your father! Go away!*

Mibare: *Hari ahandi kwa Dawe mfise nyene atari ngaha? /Do I have a father's home elsewhere but here?*

Gakobwa's sister: *Aha ni kwa mawe urabizi... urabizi! / This is our mother's home and you know it...you know it*

Mibare: *Oya jewe sindabemerera nguma ngaha! / No I don't agree with you. I remain here!*

Gakobwa's sister: *N'amakungu arabizi. / Even the entire community knows it.*

Gakobwa: *UMVE RERO! TUVIREHO! TUVIREHO GENDA!// LISTEN NOW!
LEAVE OUR PLACE! LEAVE OUR PLACE AND GO AWAY!*

Mibare: *None ga yemwe mugomba nje he? / So where do you want me to go?*

In this scene the two daughters insist that the father must leave. They are performing aggressive masculinity. This is revealed in the dialogue through the words they use, the tone of the voice and the sounds. They threaten to kill him and bring out a hoe to be used when he delays to leave. It is a strong ‘wound’ for the father. The scene is as revolting as it is incredible but it serves the purpose. The message is given. Once the man is disempowered, he loses authority and the entire family structure is shaken. Through this performance, an unnatural ‘doing’ for these girls is naturalized. They dominate their father through this speech, according to the theorization of Butler (1997, p.18) that “speech does not merely *reflect* a relation of social domination; speech *enacts* domination, becoming the vehicle through which that social structure is reinstated” (Butler’s emphasis).

Weapons are the embodiment of violent models of masculinity, which, in turn, have broader societal ramifications. The hoe that Mibare’s two daughters purport to use to ‘dig’ their father when he delays to comply with their order to leave the house has a phallic association signifying the dramatization of power by the two daughters and a symbol of violence that enhances their masculinity. The hoe terrifies Mibare in the performance and makes him run away for his safety. He feels inferior and incapable before them and decides to leave the home for nowhere. The hoe thus embodies power and becomes significant in the construction of these two daughters’ masculinity, which masculinity is negative and disruptive. Their characterisation inverts the traditional definition of a woman and the behaviour expected of her by the patriarchal society but pushes it to an extreme reaction.

Despite the fact that there are various forms of femininity, female masculinity influences the shifting definitions of hegemonic masculinity and gender relations. It can be seen that within *Ninde* dramatic landscape, masculine identities are precariously cast against ambivalent and shifting feminine identities. There are evil things that have been practised in African traditional societies and they are challenged. This does not however imply that all aspects of African culture are evil. There are good things that should be preserved, and respect is one of them. It is my contention that the framing should emphasize the place of respect in human relationships. As a patriarchal society, children should be obedient and respectful to their father.

From Butler's idea of performativity, it can be argued that the normal life can be mistaken for the life in fiction and it becomes dangerous. The crisis of fatherhood is ultimately a cultural crisis and a sharp decline in the traditional sense of communal responsibility. Critically, it follows that the framing has to consider certain values of the society and not create confusion that endangers the institution of fatherhood. The traditional view of masculinity, with its focus on power, aggression, economic security, and "maleness", and the emerging new view of a disempowered fatherhood is a source of struggle for fathers. Because fathers are presented disempowered in a large number of these dramas, the audience especially the youth are given only a narrow if not a bad set of images and ideas from which they can construct an understanding of the cultural expectations of fatherhood and what it means to be a father.

I argue that the issue of the decline of fatherhood and the problem of the male identity in transformation are inextricably intertwined. Overwhelmingly, the portrayal

of men and the male identity in the radio drama *Ninde* is mostly negative. For comic effect, there is a tendency to magnify bad models and to shrink good models. This is likely to have an impact to normalize the abnormal in the mind of listeners. Men are framed as evil. To a greater extent, men are extensively demonized, marginalized and objectified, in a way reminiscent of what happened to women in the past. Through the use of satire as a framing strategy, they are the butt of jokes in those narratives.

Critically speaking, continuous negative portrayal of men in the media, along with the feminization of men and loss of father authority in society, will cause confusion and frustration in younger generation males, as they do not have a specific role model and are less able to define their role in society. Even presently, it cultivates aggressiveness in younger generation both females and males.

As a patriarchal society in which masculinity is held in the highest esteem and a corresponding fatherhood authority, it implies that challenging male dominance puts the father authority in jeopardy. The utterances used during the discussion between Mibare and his daughters enjoin the subject to reoccupy a subordinate social position. According to Butler, (1997), “[s]uch speech reinvokes and reinscribes a structural relation of domination, and constitutes the linguistic occasion for the reconstitution of that structural domination” (p.18). In the narrative, the father is from dominant to being dominated, from authority to subordinate before his daughters. From once being seen as successful breadwinners, heads of families and being respected leaders, the satirization of men’s weaknesses and the turn of the man into jokes tarnish the ideal of the father figure and his authority.

To a great extent, these frames of masculine and feminine constructs make society see men as undesirable beings. They are presented as troublemakers to women, untrustworthy and not worthy to self sacrifice for ('Sabokwigura'). These ideas are symbolized in women's names such as *Ndinzemenshi* which literally means 'I endure a lot of hardships', *Ngendanganya* which literally means 'I feel anxiety as I walk' and *Sabokwigura* which literally means in this context 'they [men] are not worthy to self sacrifice for'. Critically speaking, this contributes to tarnish the father figure.

From a critical reading of these frames, I argue that society is facing an erosion of the ideal of father figure. The position of the man as head of (the household) family and a figure of authority is thwarted, leaving him in a space of indistinct boundaries. This study acknowledges domestic violence as a resistance strategy put up by men who are losing power at the micro level. Resistance creates new social problems such as the masculinisation of violence, and the decline of father authority and the erosion of the father figure.

Females' negative masculinity is not only a threat to men's world as seen in the previous lines but also to the women's world. All women are not united for the cause of the woman's liberation from certain unfair social constraints. Women are victimisers of other women and are partially responsible for their marital unhappiness. There are women that I would term 'parasites' of gender relations, represented by Geraridine in *Play8*. The fact that 'woman's' enemies are both external and internal complicates the fight even more. This category of women is made of young women who seem to be so naive and interfere in the affairs between husband and wife by accepting to be 'co-wife' or good-time girls and thus sap the happiness of other women; hence becoming source of other women's unhappiness particularly in the

family. We have many examples of those women in the narratives. They meet with men in bars and the men come home with them when they are drunk most of the time. In *Play6*, Papa Fiston comes home with a woman and this upsets his legal wife Shantare or Mama Fiston. Below is an excerpt from *Play6* to illustrate my argument:

Maman Fiston: *Papa Fiston?... Ivyo ni ibiki hano mu nzu yanje? / Papa Fiston?... What is going on here in my house?*

Papa Fiston: *Wewe ni ibiki? / What is the matter with you?*

Maman Fiston: *(Aca amusubiramwo ikimenyetso ko agaye ico kibazo amubajije) Wewe ni ibiki!?? Mbega aka gakobwa kaje gukora iki hano muri ino nzu? (She repeats what her husband says, a sign of despising the question he has asked her and mocking him) What is your problem? What has this girlish¹⁹ come to do in this house?*

Papa Fiston's Concubine: *Jewe si ndi agakobwa. Ndi umwigeme! Me, I am not a girlish. I am a young lady!*

Papa Fiston: *Agaki? / What?*

Maman Fiston: *Uri agakobwa wewe kuko nta mutima ugira (Inyuma haca humvikana umwana ariko arahoha). Sinzi ko ushobora kuza kwicara mu nzu irimwo uwundi mukenyezi yemewe n'amategeko. / You are a girlish because you are heartless (There was a noise made by a babbling baby). I can't understand how you come and settle yourself comfortably in a house in which there is a legally married woman.*

Papa Fiston: *Ahubwo niwe ata mu... niwe ata mutima ufise. Urabona ingene usa? Ubona musa? / It is rather you who is... it is you who is heartless. Do you see how you look like? Do you look like her?*

Maman Fiston: *Eh? Eh?*

Papa Fiston's Concubine: *Ndayicaramwo nyene. / Of course I settle myself comfortably in the house.*

Through her intervention, the concubine is self-assertive in her answer. She is performing negative masculinity. The complicity of such women in other women's

¹⁹ The word girlish has a pejorative meaning in this context where it is used as an expression of disapproval of the girl addressed to mean that she is less than a girl.

troubles is castigated by the woman Karorina in *Play7* through her reaction to the contemptuous attitude expressed by her co-wife Jeraridine when they are quarreling at home: *Umugwayi ni wewe wa gisuma we! Hari umukobwa afise umutima aja kwinjirana uwundi mugore? Ipyu! Ipyu ndakuvumye! / It is you who is foolish, you robber! Is there a girl having heart who would go and settle herself comfortably in a house where there is a legally married woman? Ipyu! (She spits at her) Ipyu I curse you!*

In fact, to recall the story, Karorina and her husband Matayo are presented as living happily at the beginning of the story until Jeraridine comes in and starts to divert Matayo's attention from the first wife Karorina to herself. She also despises Karorina and treats her as her servant, an act which angers Karorina. The dialogue between Karorina and her co-wife Jeraridine reflects that Geraridine is performing female's negative masculinity. That becomes a thorn in the flesh of Karorina because she no longer enjoys her rights as a legal wife.

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed masculinization and feminization as manifestations of prevalent ideologies influencing the framing of masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) in *Ninde*. This chapter has explored the masculinization of women and the feminization of men. It has been demonstrated how *Ninde* brings out a (re) definition of who is 'a man' and who is 'a woman' in the framing of masculinity and femininity as the most significant and pervasive realm of human interaction: the negotiation of interpersonal relations and personal identity between men and women within the context of heterosexuality. Gender is built into the very structure of the organization of the family unit (and, thereby, the community) with complementarity, with the

possibility of role-switching as the guiding principle. In the radio dramas examined here, the family is presented as an arena where there is a constant struggle between power and solidarity. It is productively harnessed for the organisation of a humane society.

Gender performance in the selected radio drama *Ninde* shows multiple and sometimes contradictory faces of femininity and masculinity with some more dominant and/or harmful than others. Through these non-specific and sometimes ambiguous gender identities, *Ninde* seems to deconstruct the conception of conventional masculinity and femininity and to reconstruct these gender identities in a more pragmatic way. Characters' performances affirm that masculinity and femininity are not fixed categories and are not solely located respectively in male bodies and female bodies as had been previously thought of by essentialists. There is no purity in being male or female: men and women each have a bit of the other sex in themselves (Mugambi and Allan, 2010, p.110). It demonstrates that there are not any and all fixations with a distinct bifurcation between masculinity and femininity, anima and animus.

Ninde dramatic form expresses an 'accumulated domestic ideology', which privileges certain types of behaviour and, through satirical condemnation, marginalises others. It questions the politics of male. In a satirical frame, the narratives attack men's behaviour in contemporary society. *Ninde* attempts to deconstruct evil faces of masculinity and to reconstruct new ones which comply with femininity. In terms of performance, some images of women show now dominance. On the other hand, the destructive masculinity continues to reproduce itself in spite of resistance to it.

From this analysis *Ninde* seems to envision radical change, challenging the society to replace old and bad practices. It elevates the construction of masculinity to another

level by considering what comes after egocentric masculinity has exhausted itself, namely the redemptive potentials of womanhood in egalitarian gender relations. The language advocates for the view of the best of both worlds, that is, the advantages of modernisation without losing the roots of culture [with regard to families] as ideologically the ideal.

Another important observation from the analysis is that female resistance to male brutality and male disempowerment create new social problems such as the loss of the father's authority. Given the relativity of framing strategies, the language used connotes affirmation of both positive gender ideas and negative gender ideas. While the narratives evidence the contribution that popular culture artists bring to current gender discourses within the postcolonial contexts, they also evidence the falling apart of a whole gender model without clear model for alternative; which is likely to create confusion in the society. In fact, the satirical presentation of men as lazy, chauvinistic, irresponsible, stupid buffoons, or aggressive evil tyrants or insensitive and oversexed put the fatherhood institution in jeopardy and through this it is a whole order that is endangered. We have noticed that, in the process of (re)constructing new forms of masculinity, radio *Ninde* destabilizes the traditional patriarchal structure that has had a profound impact on the imagination of masculinity in a traditional setting so as to cope with contemporary notions of masculinity. In so doing, new forms of masculinity emerge but bring with them some confusion in society. We have also seen that female masculinity influences the construction of male masculinity while progressive men act as catalyst in gender transformation for balanced relationship.

To a great extent, the framing of the male characters deconstructs the normalized thinking of the patriarchal male figure that is rooted in essentialist assumptions that a

man is aggressive, a decision maker, a provider and whose authority cannot be questioned by a woman. We have noted that individuals construct new identities such as masculinized femininity (female masculinity) and feminized masculinity (male femininity) which are outside patriarchal codes of conduct to prompt change. What is significant in the analysis of these radio dramas is not so much that a solution is found to the old question about gender relations, but that it is highlighted for debate. *Ninde* conceptualises a theory of difference presupposing 'dynamic and flexible dualisms' or gender-switching within the context of heterosexuality. It envisions a societal transformation through a pragmatic gender as explicated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

*IVYARI IMAGERA VYARAGERUYE*²⁰: GENDER DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE BUILDING OF THE MODERN FAMILY AND NATION IN *NINDE*

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the fourth objective of this study which was to specify the projected vision of gender and power relations in the selected *Ninde* and how *Ninde* authors actualize that vision using the possibilities of the dramatic form. This chapter thus demonstrates how all the ten narratives discussed in the study end in a similar fashion. What do the particular *Ninde* narratives suggest as resolutions to the gender puzzle?

This chapter is a progression of the discourse articulated in the previous three chapters. In other words, it is a continuation of the ideas developed previously. These ideas are the woman's subjection, resistance and identities. The chapter captures the vision of *Ninde* from the subjection of the woman, through the battle for self-assertion to the sense of gender consciousness within the modern family. In fact, the chapter presents the denouement²¹ of *Ninde* narratives while being itself the denouement of the thesis. I am using denouement as a discourse to present the different understandings of the proverb in the title of this chapter and how it reflects the home as a site to debate gender and reshape relations. In this chapter, I look at how the

²⁰Circumstances have changed, or Things are no longer the same way they were in the past.

²¹ In this thesis, denouement has a double meaning: in the chosen texts and in the thesis. On the one hand, it refers to final parts of *Ninde* narratives when plays come to a closure and where resolution is presented, and on the other hand, it refers to chapter five of this thesis as a developmental progression which presents the vision of *Ninde* narratives.

proverb is more prominent or more pronounced in the understanding of the modern family relations. My intention is to show how this idea of denouement can be useful in understanding the issues of gender in the modern family and Burundian nation. As already mentioned in chapter three, I use the family in this context as a microcosm of the Burundian nation in general. Family becomes a synecdoche here, that is, the part signifying the whole.

The overarching vision of *Ninde* in terms of gender is clearly framed in the proverb *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye* (Circumstances have changed). This proverb is used to back up the moral lesson in *Play10*. It is also used by Makurata in *Play8* to establish the authority of her statement during a conversation with her husband. What image does it bring to the mind of the audience? The proverb proclaims the inevitability of change. Circumstances have changed and so we need to evolve with time and properly deal with the artificial gender boundaries erected by tradition if we aspire to sustainable progress.

I theorize the proverb *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye* and use it as a tool for my analysis of the vision of the episodes and this is the denouement. I use it as a mode of reading the texts. The aforementioned proverb defies the idea of fixity. It suggests that things/circumstances can indeed change. For instance, relationships, circumstances and feelings change within the plots of the radio drama *Ninde*. At the end of it all, the episodes seem to deconstruct received notions of gender relationships and in the process proclaim a different way of relating. The plays present characters who act in a certain manner and when the plays come to a closure/denouement, we are shown how these characters resolve the problems that confront them.

In addition to Goffman's idea of framing and Butler's concept of performativity which I have already discussed, I use the idea of gender democratization as envisioned in the proverb and also in the ideas of Connell (2009) to help me in reading how radio *Ninde* 'visualizes' the new gender ideology after patriarchal hegemony is deconstructed. Therefore, the study observes that the sampled narratives project a democratic vision of gender relations. The plays present characters who act in a certain line and when it comes to the end of the plays, we are shown how the drama wants the problem to be solved. The proverb in the chapter title captures the framing to convey the messages that have been raised in the investigated episodes. It encapsulates the studied episodes' vision. These episodes are simultaneously expansions or a magnification of the proverb and the proverb becomes a summary of them constituting a moral lesson. In other words, the narratives are the unfolded form of the proverb while the proverb is a folded form of the narratives. I deploy the proverb as a defining vision/ denouement of the episodes given that it proclaims instability, fluidity.

In this chapter, I unpack the proverb to demonstrate how in radio *Ninde* "things are no longer the same way they were in the past" with regard to gender relations. The denouement of the chosen texts projects a democratic vision of gender relations by demonstrating how women and men (re)construct their gender, even across the boundary between the strictly gender binary. In this study, gender democratization means that men and women have free and equal rights to perform various forms of masculinity and femininity without limitation of one's sex. The frames set the same standards of judgments for both men and women in their performances of masculinity and femininity. The idea of democratization of gender hints at the ideal of gender

equity and the voicing of everyone in society, including the women, some of who had hitherto been devoiced.

Ninde tries to defy the stereotype of traditional male tyranny model, and presents an alternative approach to interpret men and women relations. This alternative approach broadens our understanding of the gender imagination in *Ninde*. It foregrounds what it means to be masculine and feminine and projects power relations within the modern family context. The narratives question the perception of conventional masculinity and the patriarchal dominance through the portrayal of male and female characters in a modern setting.

In this chapter, I examine how the framing allows actualizing masculinity and femininity as flexible and subject to constant alterations through characterization, voice and sounds. Through characterization, the drama enables us to interpret and understand the complexity of gender relations. One can be masculine at one point, and not in another instance or one can be feminine in one circumstance and not in another one.

The proverb in the chapter title proclaims that conventional definitions of gender can be shaken for the contemporary society because circumstances have changed. It presents the particular vision these particular narratives have and now I pick upon some examples from the episodes to illustrate this change/transformation.

5.2 Men, Women and Gender Politics at Home in *Ninde*

We have observed how *Ninde* interrogates and challenges the conventional patriarchal hegemony and gender relations and now we look at how it suggests a new way of imagining gender relations in a contemporary world, through a recreation of

masculinity and femininity. This section presents the various strands of masculinity and femininity within dramatic discourse, rather than simply identifying patriarchal stereotypes. According to Downing “there is danger of over-simplifying, of taking masculinity as a generic metaphor for socially diffused power on a roughly Foucauldian sense and femininity as a metaphor for weakness, or likewise, simply identifying masculinity with violence” (in Mugambi and Allan, 2010, p.116).

Ninde deconstructs and undermines the configuration of masculinity and femininity that puts closed boundaries between masculine and feminine definitions and perceptions. Considering the extent to which the societal construction of femininity and masculinity affect the politics of gender, the dramatic presentation of how characters perform their masculinities and femininities in *Ninde* are central in this part of the discussion. The radio dramas represent power play between masculinity and femininity. Politics of power and dominance is seen through language use and through the way the speech is given to males and females.

What do these narratives tell us about what it means to be a man, or perhaps more accurately, to be ‘manly’ in the contemporary Burundian society? Masculinity is best understood in relation to femininity, its implied counterpart. Both are concerned with power relations that influence the share of labour between the sexes and the social construction of sexuality (Dominica Dipio in Mugambi & Allan, 2010). Female empowerment that has been the concern of feminists the last years affects necessarily the construction of masculinity (ies) in the present day(s). It seems that the construction of the ‘new man’ follows feminism, whose aim is to combat the oppression of women. In order to do it, feminism has analysed the domination of women by men within patriarchy. MacKinnon (2003) is clear about it: “[w]ithout

feminism, it is unlikely that there would have been ‘men’s movements’ or an academic discipline called ‘men’s studies’” (Ibid, 17). As a matter of fact, the change in the status of women necessarily affects the status of men. In other words, a redefinition of the female personhood entails necessarily a redefinition of masculinity. As heterosexuality acts as a binding agent of the two categories, the empowerment of women necessarily impacts on the (re)construction of men.

The selected *Ninde* emphasize the agency of women in the construction of masculinity. This implies that to be masculine in a nation where women are inclusive largely means to be flexible and accommodative of feminine performances. The narratives seem to reform gender relations and construct ideal men for the contemporary period. Through female and male characters, radio *Ninde* demonstrates that gender roles can be reversed or shared and that masculinity and femininity are positions that can be occupied by both males and females.

As earlier mentioned, I have used a performance approach to analyse the relationship between language and gender in *Ninde* narratives. Sex is deep at the heart of the gender problem. Male power traditionally known as male assertion of dominance over a weak, compliant or rather unintelligent female now faces up to the counter-power of an empowered female with self-assertion and self-positive image. According to Millett (1977, p.7), when the man is exalted further, the female is degraded lower. Conversely, when the female is elevated, the man must necessarily lie down to create space for the female, as has been demonstrated in the frame of aggressive masculinity and self-assertive femininity in Chapters three and four.

Patriarchy’s chief institution is the family. It is both a mirror of connection with the larger society; a patriarchal unit within a patriarchal whole. Sexual politics is the

power play between two different sexes, the men and the women. Millett (1977, p.23) defines the term “politics” as the “power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another.” According to Millett (1977), ‘sexual politics’ is the power that men have over women emanating from the penis. For the same author, “[t]he penis is the badge of the male superior status in both preliterate and civilized patriarchies and it is given the most crucial significance, the subject of both endless boasting and endless anxiety” (p.47). Kate’s view reproduces Freud’s dictum that ‘anatomy is destiny.’ However, from the chosen texts, it is evident that there are very few roles and responsibilities that require a penis or a vagina and those are not negotiated. All other roles and responsibilities are freely and equally made accessible to both men and women.

Traditionally, the collocation “women” and “power” had the capacity to confuse less than one because the proponents of sexual politics could ask “whether she has got that ‘superior weapon’ for her to acquire power”. But doesn’t she have other sources of power? Seeing that she cannot acquire the so called “weapon” that confers power on men according to the proponents of biological determinism (Sigmund Freud), what ‘product’ does she have to bargain power with men? A reading of *Ninde* narratives prove that women do not need to be the same as men in order to be equal to men but that women can be men’s equals, provided society values the “feminine” as it does for the “masculine.” This is because society in general and family in particular needs the two traits to survive. By analogy, ‘gender politics’ is thus the power that men have over women or women have over men.

The reading of *Ninde* shows how men depend on their wives. I argue that the Burundian woman has counter-power that can yield interesting results if channelled

appropriately. The place of the woman in the household makes that respect to her be a must. She is portrayed as having a counter-power to exercise, first as a mother and an educator of the younger, second as a cultural agent, third as a contributor to the well-being of the family thanks to her industriousness, and lastly as the driving force behind family economy; and a man cannot set up a home alone without her.

One aspect of performativity theory useful and insightful in analysing the gender politics in the selected *Ninde* is the casting of gender as performative. Judith Butler reasons that:

...gender proves to be performative—that is, constituting the identity it purported to be. In this sense, gender is always doing...There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results (Butler, 1999, p.33)

Nevertheless, because of the cyclic nature of the process, my argument is that it is difficult to definitely say which comes first between gender identity and the performance of it, but the argument that gender is performative is quite believable. From Butler’s point of view, it is the performance of a certain gender trait that leads to gender identity. However, identity is sometimes constituted in performance drawing from tradition. Generally, human beings tend to assimilate or learn gender positioning by repeated acts right from childhood. And because men and women are restricted by culture in their exercise, I opine that gender performativity has limits beyond which it cannot perform. It stands between two opposing extremes – ‘absolute randomness or chaos’ on one hand and ‘complete absence of flexibility and inability to attain freedom’ on the other hand. Between these two extremes is a theory that advocates ‘freedom with order’ (Ngara, 1990, p.18). Indeed, human freedom has limits. The freedom to perform gender must respect order and the interests of the

community are put before individual interests. What is good comes before what is right. This is consistent with the position of Goffman (1974, p.13) that he personally holds society to be the first in every way and any individual's current involvements to be second. The needs, the interests and the values of the society determine the fabrication of masculinity and femininity, and society's interests take precedence over individual's freedom because men and women are not free radicals.

Some people anxious to respond to the world around them, trim and twist, or simply put into doubt the whole tradition in their search for relevance and build on the sand. Others anxious above all to be faithful to the tradition without compromise ignore the challenges of the modern world and want to live in the past. The denouement of *Ninde* narratives advocates for a symbiosis from the two perspectives. Men and women have to submit to tradition within realities of today, that is, to combine loyalty to the past with sensibility to the present, that is, a symbiosis of tradition and innovation to remain recognizable to them.

The study concludes that *Ninde* pragmatism has important resources to offer on the particular topic of gender formation and transformation. Human beings can only find freedom in and through some sort of structure. As Dewey rightly puts it, "[t]o view institutions as enemies of freedom, and all conventions as slaveries, is to deny the only means by which positive freedom in action can be secured" (Dewey cited in Sullivan, 2000, p.29).

An examination of the selected radio dramas attest to the fact that *Ninde* performances do not only reflect or portray the existing 'compulsory' heterosexuality and binary

gender attributes reinforced by hegemonic discourse in society, but act as a site for the performance and (re)adaptation of those gender conceptions. This resonates with Butler's theorization as it is reflected in her argument:

The institution of a compulsory and naturalized heterosexuality requires and regulates gender as a binary relation in which the masculine term is differentiated from a feminine term, and this differentiation is accomplished through the practices of heterosexual desire. The act of differentiating the two oppositional moments of the binary results in a consolidation of each term, the respective internal coherence of sex, gender, and desire. The strategic displacement of that binary relation and the metaphysics of substance on which it relies presuppose that the categories of female and male, woman and man, are similarly produced within the binary frame. (Butler, 1999, pp.30-31)

To be told that Bihori (*Play10*) does not even buy salt for his wife is to project his failure as a man; and it is an insult to his culturally designated manhood. No man wants to be criticised for not being man enough, and throughout his life, he strains to perform the gender attributes assigned by hegemonic discourse to the masculine term. The same projection of failure as a man applies to Rusimbi in *Play5* where he is heard plotting to disappoint his wife by selling her land where their homestead is located, planning to sell it and leave for other women with the money. After catching him, the wife Rozata exercises power and kicks him out of the house during a family gathering summoned for that purpose.

Through an excitable or sharp cutting speech, women 'unman'/'castrate' their husbands, sometimes publicly, by insulting them that they are useless, mean or stupid because of their irresponsibility with regards to family; by publicly denouncing their frailties. In fact, men who are not useful to their family are ridiculed in the narratives. The performance does not stop at ridiculing 'irresponsible masculinity' but projects alternative ways of being a man in accordance with the expectations and the requirements of the moment.

The *Ninde* texts that I have analysed do not perceive gender relations as rigid, stable and unchanging but as a fluid space constantly under construction and reconstruction. This echoes Butler's (1999) view that "[g]ender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*" (Butler's emphasis; Butler, 1999, p.179). Radio *Ninde* is consistent with Butler's opinion of destabilizing the traditional conventional notion of power in a traditional family setting whereby power is linked to men only.

To avoid confusion in society and for uniformity at the family level, tradition had a conventional division of labour following the sex line and power and authority were conferred to the husband. But *Ninde* narratives show that when he fails, the woman does not keep arms crossed. She takes the lead, contrary to biological determinism proponents. The constructed and performative dimension of gender is not precisely *an example* of subversion (Butler's emphasis). It would be a mistake to take it as the paradigm of subversive action. Gender performativity is like "a man dressed as a woman or a woman dressed as a man; then one takes the first term of each of those perceptions as the "reality" of gender: the gender that is introduced through the simile lacks "reality," and is taken to constitute an illusory appearance" (Butler, 1999, p. xxii). My argument is that what Butler calls 'illusory appearance' would rather be called 'secondary identity' because in gender performative, a woman 'dressed' as a man performs a role conventionally masculine as a female, while a man 'dressed' as a woman will perform a role conventionally known as feminine as a male, hence female masculinity and male femininity. Performing the role does not shift the biological identity/sex of the doer.

Hence it is not strange to have hybrid gender identities in the framing of *Ninde* such as feminized masculinity (feminized men/male femininity) such as Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* and masculinised femininity (masculinised women /female masculinity) such as Rozata in *Play5* and Helena in *Play10* in the contemporary days. This resonates with Connell's (2005) view that women too can possess and demonstrate the features of masculinity, as men can demonstrate features of femininity. Masculinity and femininity are, thus, not a natural state but socially constructed, fluid, collective gender identities. For Connell, gender is not a fixed character type. It occupies its position in given patterns of gender relations – a position that is always contestable. Connell argues that those so-called 'masculine' and 'feminine' qualities are human qualities and not specific to either men or women. Majambere who was ridiculed for performing femininity ends up being recognized as 'real man' in *Play10* as the following excerpt shows because he is able to lend money to Masatura:

Masatura: *Bwa bundi n'umuntu w'umugabo basha./* My goodness, he is a real man indeed!

Ndinzemensi: *Ibi ni bitanu...bitanu...cumi...Ehee!//* This is five...five...ten...Wow!

Masatura: *N'ukuri ngiye kumwubaha. Ewe naraju...narajujuse jewe ntajanye abana mw'ishure.Uuu!//* Frankly speaking, I am going to owe him special respect. I was a fool...I was foolish not to take my children to school. Uuuh!

Majambere is able to perform roles conventionally known as feminine but also he is masculine because he is self-sufficient. The frame reflects a realisation of new identities that are performed. This concurs with Butler's (1999) view that since gender is performative it is possible to change the way we perform our gender – which offers a possibility for re-signification of some of the normative heterosexual

notions of gender. She argues that “[i]f the regulatory fictions of sex and gender are themselves multiple contested sites of meaning, then the very multiplicity of their construction holds out the possibility of a disruption of their univocal posturing” (Butler, 1999, p.43).

While sticking with the heterosexual notion, the sampled texts attempt to ‘undo’ and ‘redo’ the assignment of domestic roles with flexibility that permits the free movement across gender lines. They attempt to open gender boundaries in domestic roles. By insisting on helping each other between male/female or gender binary roles that are essential for the survival and continued existence of the family (and ultimately society), heterosexual complementarity is reinforced and performed in *Ninde* and everyday life practices. Through *Ninde* performance, the voice speaking as and for women seems to attain a sort of collective subversion and resistance to certain dominant patriarchal notions, running away, sometimes, from their culturally prescribed gender identity, but this within a patriarchal order.

Some feminists who ascribe to the performativity theory, like Monique Wittig (1981), have called for the subversion of the normative notion of gender. But why should we re-script all gender norms? Why denaturalize sex? A critical study of *Ninde* would seem to agree with the subversion of unnatural ideas about power and sexuality that seem to be natural but that are bad, while maintaining unnatural naturalized constructs that are not bad in the performance of gender. Bengé (2012, p.126) raises a fundamental question in that regard. He asks: “As social beings who have to co-exist in a social situation, do we have to subvert the culturally assigned gender attributes and roles for the sake of it?” Gender performance is one of the means through which the social order and organization in Burundian society is ensured. *Ninde* performance

serves as one of the vital tools for ideological propagation and, by extension, a means for social organisation. Apart from entertainment, *Ninde* performance is also didactic. It can partly be viewed as a form of social intervention in gender-related disputes. Critically, its content must be well scrutinised. As a drama produced for the state broadcast, *Ninde* seems to be used to steer the gender order in the direction the state wants. So in *Ninde* the liberation of women does not mean rejection of men and repudiation of a woman's role in the family.

Also in *Ninde*, sexual revolution struggles not toward the abolition of sex role and the complete economic independence of women but toward sexual equity through a single standard of morality. In the symbols of Severino (*Play8*) and Majambere (*Play10*), the home and family are women's and men's joint responsibility since the survival of the family depends on replacing competitive strategies with cooperative initiatives. This complies also with Butler's theorization:

If it is possible to speak of a "man" with a masculine attribute and to understand that attribute as a happy but accidental feature of that man, then it is also possible to speak of a "man" with a feminine attribute, whatever that is, but still to maintain the integrity of the gender. (Butler, 1999, p.32)

From Butler's understanding, a man can have a masculine attribute or a feminine attribute. The following is an illustration from *Play8* where we are presented with an example of the 'new man' through the character of Severino with his wife Makurata:

Makurata: *Erega abantu benshi nyene ntibabitahura kuko bitahurwa na bake [Eee]. Kuko kuva kera urabona bishiramwo y'uko ataho umu... ryabonetse ko umugabo aherekeza umukenyezi kwa muganga. /Many people do not understand that. It is only few people who understand [Eeeh]. Since time immemorial, they know that...it has never happened that a man escort his wife to the clinic.*

Severino: *Aha! Ivyari imagera.../ Aha! Circumstances...*

Makurata: *Ntibamenye kw'ivyari imagera vyageruye / They are not aware that circumstances have changed.*

Severino: *Vyageruye imyaka! Ntibarabitahura./ They[circumstances] changed long time ago. They have not understood it yet.*

Makurata: *Oya mbere abagabo bari bakwiye kujijuka [Mm], n'ukuri nasanze umugabo yitaho umufasoni wiwe yibungenze, usanga ari vyiza gose kuko usanga umufasoni afise amagara meza. / Men should be convinced [Mm], verily I found that a man who takes care of his wife when she is pregnant, you find that it is wonderful because you find that the woman has good health.*

Severino: *Niwe mugabo. / That is the real man, indeed.*

By intervening, Makurata is also highlighting the change that the narrative envisions. In their conversation, Severino and Makurata recall the unstable nature of things. The integration of the man in roles or matters traditionally known as feminine becomes one of the ways to pull up the feminine attribute.

Women in the *Ninde* narratives under study such as Ngendanganya in *Play1*, Rozata in *Play5*, Karorina in *Play7*, Njerina in *Play8* and Helena and Ndinzemenshi in *Play10* are not spiteful but seek to deal with the challenges that come their way. They are women who seek to uphold their rights without breaking down positive elements from the tradition. The narrative frames do not advocate either for an inversion or a subversion of gender roles for its own sake, but they are in the favour of challenge, alteration, and reconstruction of those that endanger women or are detrimental to women or society as a whole. The plays invite the listeners to challenge the embedded traditional masculinist and femininist assumptions that do not fit the epoch, such as overloading the woman while the husband is roaming in public places out there not only without providing any thing to the family but also wasting the wealth of the family in these places (in most of these narratives, men are likely to spend all their

means and time in bars). Women have needs of their husband's cooperation, companionship and understanding as it is evidenced through the dialogue excerpt below between Ndinzemenshi and her husband Masatura in *Play10*:

Ndinzemenshi: *Ahubwo reka ndakubwire n'ukuri, izo nzoga n'uzigabanye, uze uramfasha, ugume ngaha uze uramfasha n'ukuri numva umugongo wacitse.* / Let me tell you the truth: please drink less alcohol, give me a hand, stay here at home to give me a hand, I have got a terrible backache.

Masatura: *(Aca amusubira mu kanwa, ikimenyetso c'uko agaye ivyo avuze) Izo nzoga n'uzigabanye, ugume ngaha uze uramfasha... Uracika ntiwacika na gwose.* / *(He repeats her words as a sign of mockery) Drink less alcohol, give me a hand... may your back get from worse to worst.*

Ndinzemenshi: *Yooo!(Aca yimyozza)/ Yoooh!(She sucks the air)*

From the excerpt above, the woman is claiming a hand of help from her husband and not a reversal of roles. There are symbols of men (Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10*) undertaking domestic work to lighten the burden of the woman for other men to emulate.

Similarly, Rozata in *Play5* does not reject the man Rusimbi in marriage, but she rejects what Rusimbi is in their marriage. Rozata's marriage ends not because she does not want to become a wife (which she plays well when she serves delicious food to her husband) but because she feels that she does not have human relationship with her husband Rusimbi who cheats on her and who plans to 'eat' her plot of land. This is evidence that genders are performative because they can be interchanged the same way people put on a garment for a time and put it back to its place at another time (Butler, 1993).

As noted earlier in this section, *Ninde* performances enhance the performative nature of gender. Severino-like men try to move to a more respectful and gender-equal practice in their lives. All are married, with children. They are able to renegotiate the gender division of labour in their households, and adopt nonviolence. But they find it difficult to shift the meaning of masculinity away from being a head of household; in this gender regime, the authority dimension seems hardest to shift. And through Severino and his wife in *Play8*, the drama enables us to see hegemonic patriarchal males' prejudice resurfacing particularly with regard to women. In Severino's patriarchal thinking, women are physically weak – he thinks men are always superior and powerful and only able to perform worthy acts. We sense this in the way he insists on the fact that he is 'a man.'

Some issues that emerge from *Play10* include renouncement of all claims to speak of the 'superiority' of one sex over another, as if it could be compared in similar things. As Millett (1977) rightly puts it, "each has what the other has not; each completes the other. They are in nothing alike, and the happiness and perfection of both depends on each asking and receiving from the other what the other only can give" (p.93). They need each other. A human being is a social being (with emotional and spiritual needs) and more than just a biological substance. Jaggar argues(1983) in favour of the idea of mutual need that "human biology and psychology dictate a set of basic human needs, and societies that treat these basic human needs as optional cannot expect to survive, let alone to thrive" (cited in Tong, 2009, p.39). Human beings are social beings that have to co-exist with others in a community; and to ensure harmony and order in this co-existence some regulatory frame is inevitable (be it philosophical or religious) – and often gender has been factored into the regulatory social framework (for better or for worse) (Benge, 2012). Though some gender practices/ performances

are debilitating to the subject, (these are challenged in *Ninde* narratives whether they are feminine or masculine), others are essential for the harmonious and continued existence of society. I argue that society cannot live without culture for its social organisation though certain elements of culture may be enemies to individual liberties. And yet culture is itself dynamic and not static. On the one hand, as culture changes, so do people's masculine and feminine constructs. On the other hand, people perform new forms of masculinity and femininity to influence cultural change. It is cyclic.

I follow Butler's conception of gender as a social construct that can be re-signified. Butler's notion of performativity has to do with the 'small', seemingly insignificant acts of everyday life – how we sit, or even how we carry our bodies. I have been particularly interested in the way social practices and social structures of which gender is part are discursively shaped and enacted in the chosen 'texts'. *Ninde* is an artistic oral performance among Burundians which constitutes an overt form of gender performativity, an aesthetic arena where everyday gender performance is re-enacted and either re-affirmed, altered or challenged. On the other hand (although still borrowing heavily from Butler's notion) my ideas of performativity focus much on prominent and salient information visible in *Ninde* performances, which is an important social tool in influencing gender performance in Burundian society and this one in the integration of males in the domestic sphere, a sphere that is traditionally known to be a feminine private space associated with less power. In the traditional beliefs and perceptions, the concepts of power and authority were separated from the woman's universe and from all what is associated with the woman or feminine, and *Ninde* narratives attempt to correct this imbalance.

In the ten radio dramas analysed in this study, the family unit and home conventionally known as private and female space are presented as very important sites and spaces where different faces of masculinity are performed, and the home is seen as the archetype in terms of interrogating ordinary domestic life while at the same time reflecting upon broader issues within society. Power becomes masculine or feminine depending on circumstances. However, as a state broadcast, the freedom or liberty to perform masculinity or femininity in *Ninde* is democratized but regulated. The state's role in the change is crucial to steer society and to provide the social values and norms. Human rights are not unlimited rights as if people were free to be and to do absolutely anything they like. Their rights are limited to what is compatible with being a social human being (Goffman, 1974).

The man enacting some aspects of conventional femininity has to carefully negotiate a uniquely masculine way of implementing his roles, accomplishing gender and headship credibility simultaneously. There are symbols of such men like Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10*. Similarly, the woman enacting roles of conventional masculinity, such as owning a plot or house, negotiates a uniquely feminine way of performing her role and therefore accomplishes gender and wifely credibility simultaneously. The following excerpt from the conversation between the woman Rozata and her husband Rusimbi from *Play5* is an example among many others:

Rusimbi: *Wahora ubitegura, uno musu hoho washizemwo n'akabirya.* /You were used to preparing delicious food, but today you have made it even extra delicious.

Rozata: (*Aca atwenga*). *Erega [Mm?], burya jewe ndi inkumi... nari inkumi yari yaritoonze yari yarahoze, basha. Jewe vy'ukuri...* (*She bursts into laugh*). / You know what? [Mm?], when I was still single ... I was a girl who had very well matured and cooled down. In fact, I ...

Rusimbi: *Apana ben'utwo dushushe.* /Not like those hot girls.

Rozata: *Basha, jewe nari naravuze y'uko ata mugabo nzojako [Mm?], mpaka ansange ahaA mw'itongo ry'iwacu [Mm!]. None rero ko nagutomboye, naho nari umukobwa akuze ukemera ukaza [Mm], basha nzotegur'udufungurwa nyene urya ugashima. Mmm! / I had sworn to never leave my parents' land for marriage and that the one who would like to marry me had to join me here in our own land [Mm!]. Now that I have been lucky to get you as my husband although I was a girl of a certain age and that you have accepted to come to marry me from here, I'll always prepare you a delicious meal. Mmm!*

Rusimbi: *Basha ndagushimiye gwose. / I thank you very much.*

Rozata: *Abakobwa benshi barantwenga ngo singiye kwubaka. None aha sinubatse? (Baca batwenga) / Many girls mocked me because of my decision of not leaving for marriage. Ain't I married now? (They both burst into laugh)*

Rusimbi: *Erega kwubaka s'ukurinda kuva...? / Yes. In fact to get married does not mean to leave ...*

Rozata: *Bibaza kwari ukurinda kujabuka imyonga. / They think that it is compulsory for a girl to leave her parents' land and move.*

Rozata is a woman who owns the plot and the house where the family lives but she is the one who cooks for her husband. The female character Rozata marries from her own plot and house, what is normally assumed to be predominantly masculine. But she cooks well and serves her husband Rusimbi. The power relation between men and women is such that even our empowered Rozata must still accept certain patriarchal arrangements as “unmovable.” It gives a lot of satisfaction to Rusimbi to hear that she will always cook delicious food for him. But while Rozata is willing to submit to some traditional power arrangements, her empowerment firmly indicates that she will not accept the entire male-favouring menu in the traditional marital arrangement. After she catches her husband Rusimbi cheating on her in a bar, she organizes a family meeting during which she makes the speech to inform relatives and neighbours that she officially kicks her ‘husband’ Rusimbi out of the house.

In the characterization of Rozata, the drama highlights the independence of a woman in a patriarchal society and the instability of gender. Rozata appears to be an independent woman before entering into marriage life and keeps her independence after marrying Rusimbi. As a single and independent woman, Rozata proves that women are not different from men in terms of owning property (house) and she keeps this independence even when she decides to live under a man's custody. We witness Rozata cherishing her husband Rusimbi but when she discovers that he is dishonest, she threatens and punishes him. She exercises a certain power and authority over Rusimbi. She occupies a position traditionally known to be masculine.

From Rozata's characterization, it can be concluded that the body is a neutral surface onto which masculine or feminine constructs are ascribed. This follows Butler's (1993) notion of gender where she regards the body as a mere object that can be transformed into feminine attribute or masculine attribute in the presence of societal discourses. The process of acting out these discourses and repeating them is what enforces their naturalness in real life.

The framing of the female character Rozata in *Play5* and the male character Majambere in *Play10* demonstrates that the contemporary challenges of the society have given women and men a new status and recognition, because they have to perform gender roles according to the circumstances. Women have to be arrogant and aggressive when the situation forces them to and retain their femininity when it is necessary to do so. This applies to men as well. They have to be gentle and soft when the circumstance requires it and retain their masculinity when needed. This portrayal affirms how gender roles have become more flexible. "As a shifting and contextual

phenomenon, gender does not denote a substantive being, but a relative point of convergence among culturally and historically specific sets of relations” as Butler rightly puts it (Butler, 1999, p.15).

The fight Rozata puts up is interesting and is largely attributable to the fact that she is significantly empowered. Through Rozata’s symbolic act, egocentric masculinity is ridiculed and challenged. “For every dominant ideology, there must be a resistant ideology that consistently works against the mainstream in search of a better and just society” (Kabira, 1994, p. 83). In this scene Rozata exercises power. The character of Rozata would seem less credible in Burundian context: but she serves the purpose. It is a loud manifesto that once a woman is materially empowered, she can bargain power with a man. Through female characters such as Budodwa in *Play2* and Rozata in *Play5*, we realize that having income and exercising control over their economic lives are means by which women can empower themselves. Characters such as Rozata in *Play5* or Helena and Ndinzemenshi in *Play10* become strong women who stand for their rights.

In *Ninde* performances, the binary dichotomy of gender identity is not projected as a bargain in which the woman is a perennial loser. It is productively harnessed for the organisation of a humane society. For instance, in order to challenge male violence in a couple’s life, the discomfort caused by male aggressiveness is highlighted against the joy of being a cooperative male as expressed through progress and fullness of life that spouses enjoy in some sequences of the narratives such as the Severinos in *Play8* and the Majamberes in *Play10*, something that abusive men cannot experience because of their negative behaviour. In *Play8* and *Play10*, there is harmony in the marriage between Majambere and his wife on the one hand and Severino and his wife

Makurata on the other hand. Harmony is maintained because both partners know their responsibilities towards each other and fulfill them correctly. The new attributes that are projected in the construction of gender relations in family are reciprocity, equality of worth, freedom for performing any roles which are not sex-linked, and mutual submission and respect between men and women within a spirit of partnership and not competition.

I have been reading these plays as part of the mechanism that society uses to deconstruct and reconstruct the notions of masculinity and femininity and to make statements about new power relationship between men and women. The overall message of these plays is that a 'real man' ought not to demand the obedience of his wife through violence (beating) but has to be nurturing and cooperative with her woman as symbolised by Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10*.

One can conclude that the narratives feature episodes that are domestic in their settings, but that actually deals with questions of power dynamics in the relationship between men and women. In *Play8*, the husband Muhindo and his wife Njerina are presented as struggling but they end up living happily because the character Muhindo has developed from bad to good character after being persuaded by Severino and the local male chief.

One can also conclude that the frame of using mainly male interventions during conflicts of husbands and wives rises from the assumption that men are more likely to accept gender messages, and believe assertions of positive outcomes for them, when they come from other men than when they come from women. This echoes Connell's (2005) view that "[m]en and their practices are part of the problem of gender inequalities in aid, education and empowerment, and should be part of the solution"

(Connell, 2005, p.xvii). The plays endorse the view that “[t]he female is continually obliged to seek survival or advancement through the approval of males as those who hold power” (Millett, 1977, p.54). Men become at the same time the blamed and important avenues for fighting domestic violence. Clearly, *Ninde* endorses the naturalization of the compulsory participation of men in the challenge of the evil face of masculinity along ‘revolutionary’ women. It also endorses the inability of women to achieve nothing whatsoever without the participation of men.

5.3 The Relativity of Framing Strategies in radio *Ninde*: Rethinking Power and Solidarity in Gender and Dominance

In this section, I explore how power and solidarity are delineated in *Ninde* dramas. As such the section is enriched with ideas of Tannen (1994) of power and solidarity in understanding gender patterns in language use, and how language is an illuminating site for investigating the dynamics underlying language choice, including such dimensions as power and solidarity. The framing approach of gender is combined with a new theoretical construct of power and solidarity to summarize the relationship among gender, power and the relationship between husbands and wives in the contemporary world. In this we ask about power and solidarity, that is, how ‘status and connection’ interact (Tannen, 1994). In the dramatic narratives, the husband (man) and wife (woman) have to balance the simultaneous but conflicting needs for status and connection. Power is associated with giving orders or resisting to existing genders norms while solidarity is associated with dialogue and reciprocity.

In the Burundian context, one of the most striking aspects of the family institution is the hierarchical nature of relations and solidarity between husband and wife. Despite changes, the traditional mentality of hierarchy on which is based the inferiority of the

feminine gender in comparison to the masculine gender persists for fear of disturbing the family institution which is a cradle of social relationships that have existed in Burundian society for a long time.

For instance in *Play2*, Budodwa advises her husband to sell his plot so that they can go and leave in her own plot. The husband sells the plot and they settle in the woman's plot. His masculinity is here challenged. Mibare's acceptance to sell his plot on the advice of his wife Budodwa enhances his wife's masculinity because it reflects her power to influence his decisions. Mibare's dependency on the wife's plot now confirms that the woman is more powerful than him. Resonating with Butler's theory of performativity, *Ninde* does not perceive hegemonic patriarchy and gender relations as rigid, stable and unchanging but sees it as a fluid space constantly under construction and reconstruction.

Ninde affirms Butler's (1999) views by destabilizing the regular conventional notion of power in a traditional system whereby power is assumed to be the trait of men only. It frames both women and men exercising power and counter-power in the drama. Through characterisation of women and men, women are portrayed as self-assertive and powerful decision makers, a performance conventionally masculine.

However, the woman Budodwa shows her husband Mibare solidarity because she considers him as her husband, the head of the family. During their conversation, she reassures her husband that she owes him respect as husband; that she is not like other women who despise their husbands once they bring them to live at the women's home, as part of their dialogue below shows:

Mibare: *Sha nta jewe nikunda!* /Dear, I am not selfish!

Budodwa: *None uranzaniye?* /So, have you brought something for me?

Mibare: *Raba ingene nagupesuye umubiri wose uyagayaga! Ufise ubwoba bw'iki? /*
Look and see how much I beautified you and how your whole body shines! What are you afraid of?

Budodwa: *Turapesurana! Nukuri nanje ndagerageza. /* We beautify each other!
Verily, I try to do the same for you.

Mibare: *Rema wewe nta ngorane mugore wanje. /* Take heart my dear wife. There is no problem.

Budodwa: *Wewe none uragenda kumesa iyo shati n'iyu patalo, si jewe ndabimesa n'ukuri? /* Have you ever gone to wash that shirt of yours or that pair of trousers? Honestly, ain't I the one who washes them?

Mibare: *Ee! Muga ntu...ntuzombwire ngo ndakumese...ngo ndakumesurire igipfu...ico gipfundo! /* Yes! But never... never tell me to wash... to wash your...that skirt of yours!

Budodwa: *Oya jewe ndi kurya...kury'aba kera, umugore yubaha umugabo wiwe! /*
No. For me I act according to...to tradition from our ancestors: a woman who respects her man.

Mibare: *Ee! Ba unyubaha. Ko jewe narinze nda...tubana jewe naragukunda. /* Yes, indeed. You should respect me. Since I accepted to ...to live with you, it is a sign that I loved you.

Having a plot and house put the woman Budodwa in position of power, but she puts herself in position of subordination to connect with her husband Mibare by offering him some services as a wife. She shows her husband solidarity and respect though he depends on her. This means that in the contemporary society, it is important to allow more flexible gender boundaries than would be expected in a traditional setting.

The woman who has to stand for her rights and to be a wife at the same time, and the man who has to stand for his status of headship in the household and helpmate of the wife use different and sometimes contradictory gender identities. Sometimes, the demands of these identities conflict each other. For example, in the scene analyzed in *Play8*, the man Severino balances two competing and conflicting interactive

identities: within a “manhood frame,” he exercises the headship according to a prescribed routine; within a “husband frame,” he must cooperate with his wife. In the household, husband Severino and wife Makurata defer each other in seeking to fulfill each other’s preferences, desires and aspirations. Neither spouse seeks to dominate the other but each acts as servant of the other, in humility considering the other as equally better. We can hear Severino convincing his wife Makurata who would like to go fetching water that he will go himself because he shows solidarity to his pregnant wife. Makurata appears feminine during her period of pregnancy as she lacks the dominant masculine qualities such as strength. In this context, the man complements what lacks in the woman and together, they achieve their goal. Severino is the one who carries the heavy tree for firewood when they come from the field with his wife, and accepts to be teased by his friends Muhindo and Gasupari that he has turned into a ‘woman’. He also accompanies his pregnant wife to the clinic for routine checks.

Characterization of Severino and Makurata therefore emphasizes that femininity and masculinity are complementary but independent of who performs what between the husband and the wife. The woman or the man do not deny their biological identity or their roles as a husband and wife but transcend those categories that lead to oppression. This is consistent with Butler’s idea of gender performativity. One is a man and the other one is a woman, yet they act in close cooperation. They relate with mutual respect and servant love. They are an archetypal couple that demonstrates how to live and work together in such a way that each one makes significant contributions, without one being less than the other, without a spirit of competition. By establishing their marriages on a partnership basis, Severino and Makurata (*Play8*), and Majambere and his wife (*Play10*) protect them from joining the tide of dead or broken marriages resulting from marital inequities like in case of Rusimbi- Rozata in *Play5*

and Papa Fiston-Mama Fiston in *Play6*. In so doing, they model an example for other couples in quest of freedom and stand against patterns of domination and inequality sometimes imposed upon family by tradition and culture. This operating in non patriarchal way in a patriarchal society counters arguments of radical feminists who think that no reform is possible within patriarchy.

It is also important to note that although conferring privileges on men, the construction of masculinity simultaneously makes men carry enormous burdens insofar as it imposes constraining social responsibilities towards their wives, which turn out to be a privilege for women. Men's power is limited in such a case. On the other hand, it is difficult for women to be free from certain forms of dependence in spite of their empowerment. According to Nibafasha (2014, p.182), "[t]hese forms of dependence are such as sexual dependence, dependence on the husband's authority, and dependence on culture which unleashes the woman and assesses at the same time how she handles her freedom". It is evident in the dialogue between Mibare and his wife Budodwa cited above. Independence can be achieved in a state of dependency if women are well empowered while men are educated in the matter.

It can be argued, based on the background information on gender performativity perspective, that *Ninde* framing strategies of masculinity and femininity is intended to call women and men to compete against one another for power or for solidarity (connection) or, compete against one another for both power and solidarity. Assuming that the family is an arena of an ongoing power struggle but also simultaneously of an ongoing struggle for connection, the chosen texts as such present us with a postmodern world view of gender relations with possibility of gender-switching.

Ninde narratives attempt to challenge negative practices of the traditions to build balanced gender relations. Through the characters Rozata and her husband in *Play5* on one hand and Bihori and his wife Helena in *Play10* on the other hand, it is evident that healthy relationships cannot be built on a fifty-fifty philosophy, especially in marriage. It is not possible to have total equality between man and wife and have a successful marriage. There must be one of the two who goes beyond the half way and this one must not be necessarily the woman. When Bihori rises up, Helena lowers herself to expand space for her husband; when Helena rises up, Bihori lowers himself to expand space for his wife.

Using evidence from *Ninde*, one can conclude that each of the framing strategies that is claimed to show dominance can also show solidarity. The man (husband) and woman (wife) have to balance the simultaneous but conflicting needs for status and connection. Part of the argument between Helena and her husband Bihori (*Play10*) during their conflict around beans is reproduced below for the purpose of presenting the woman's linguistic creation of authority while seeking solidarity from her husband:

Helena: *Ehe! Ehe! Igitoke...igitoke ukigurisha kikiri umusaranguro simenya iyo ujana. Ntanakunyu ungurira. Uduharage twanje natwo... Mukama, bino biharage, ndabiryamakooo, ndabipfirekooo.* / Look! Look! Banana...you sell the banana before it matures and I don't know where you go with the money. You don't even buy little salt for me. And my beans... my Lord, these beans, I will stick to, I prefer to die if need be.

Bihori: *Ee! Ubuu ubure kuja hejuru! Nakuzanye kugira urime, nanje ngabe ivyo warimye. Ukorere urugo. Ugira nakuzanye... ugira nakuzanye gusasa gusa ngo ndyame [Utamfasha?], atakindi ukora? / Eh! What a desire to dominate, you woman! I brought you so that I keep control of what you have worked for. You should work for the household. Do you think I brought you... do you think I brought you for making my bed only [Without any help from you?], without doing anything else?*

Helena: *Utamfasha? Wewe none uri uwo kurya gusa? / Without helping me? Are you supposed to eat only?*

Bihori: *Hogi sha twigire asigare arabika. / Let's go and leave her behind to crow!*

Women are expected to use “polite” language and/or less likely use linguistic strategies that would make their authority visible in a family conflict scenario (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003, p.600). However, in many scenes of the plays, women break the maxim of politeness in order to create counter-power against the power of their men. In another argument between Helena and her husband about their pregnant daughter, Helena uses a more confrontational speech and a tone that make authority more visible:

Helena: *(Aca abanza kumukekeza) Yoooo! Mbe ico gihe aho narera nabi weho wari hehe? Wari he? Twaravyaranye! (She starts mocking him) / Yoooah! Where were you while I was bringing her up in bad manners? Where were you? We made children together!*

Bihori: *Umwana w'umukobwa n'uwa nyina. / A girl child is under her mother's responsibility.*

Helena: *Umukobwa agukundiye ngw'aca... ngo...ngw' aca aba ngo...ngo wa se. Aho narera nabi wari hehe? Nitwari kumwe? (Haca harenguka umugabo aza araramutsa avugira inyuma) / When a girl child complies with your guidance she becomes... that...that she belongs to...to her father. Where were you while I was bringing her up in bad manners? Weren't we together? (A man shows up and comes closer calling for attention)*

Helena's contempt for the man Bihori is made public in order to hurt him. She publicly exposes her husband's shortcomings. Such a character is emasculated. On the one hand, for the man, solidarity is achieved as long as the woman acknowledges his 'lordship' (that is, power) that is, let him do whatever seems good to him and complies to be dominated (that is, remains distant to him). That is why Bihori treats her harshly or rules her with a heavy hand. On the other hand, for the woman,

solidarity is achieved as long as the man acknowledges her worth and accepts to be closer to her. For that purpose, Helena uses ‘excitable’ speech with the intention to pull down her man as she uplifts herself, that is, acquires a certain power. It is interesting to note that the man and the woman are motivated by the same thing, that is, solidarity but use different strategies, hence the struggle. Approaching gender differences in *Ninde* performance as “‘cultural’ differences implies that men do not dominate women, but only misunderstand them” (Tannen, 1994, pp.7-8).

The analysis of the women’s speech such as, Ngendanganya in *Play1*, Riyera in *Play3*, Rozata in *Play5*, Karorina in *Play7*, Njerina in *Play8* and Helena and Ndinzemenshi in *Play10* shows that they draw on language strategies they use as empowered women when they are speaking to their husbands and manage to create space for themselves closer to their men at the end of the storyline. In normal circumstances, they would be expected to use a different frame when talking to husbands. However, their speech enjoins the subject to reoccupy a subordinate social position. According to this view, such “speech reinvokes and reinscribes a structural relation of domination, and constitutes the linguistic occasion for the reconstitution of that structural domination” as Butler (1997, p.18) opines. Speech does not merely *reflect* a relation of social domination; speech *enacts* domination, becoming the vehicle through which that social structure is reinstated (Ibid.). What is displayed in the speech of both the above women and men, according to Tannen, is orientation to a particular set of values: for men the central one is status, for women it is connection or affiliation. These differing values arise out of the collective social experience of living in a particular group which is to a considerable extent separate and distinct from others (cited in Wodak, 2005, p.27).

The analysis demonstrates that a framing approach can contribute to a more complex understanding of the role a speech plays in the linguistic construction of social identity as a woman or man and relations as wife or husband. For the woman, it may be a way of saying, ‘Look, I don’t want to be equal to you but I need to be closer to you, I need your solidarity.’ In *Play10*, when Ndinzemenshi comes back from where the husband has sent her to borrow money, she uses an indirect way to comment on his weakness in order to exercise her power while remaining connected to him:

Ndinzemenshi: *N’ukuri, urazi Majambere ukuntu yaciye ambwira? Ati naho urya mugabo wawe ari ikijuju, ati ni ikijuju kimwe ca mbere [Mh], ati urabona yuko yanse gushira abana mw’ishure, aguma agutuka ngo uvyara abakobwa, ati yaranse kubashira mw’ishure, ati jewe ngomba ndamwereke y’uko jewe nzi ibintu, ndamwereke. Ati kandi umubwire y’uko uti ibi vyose ati nabihawe nababakobwa yanka. Wa mukobwa wiwe ntuzi y’uko aheruka guheza? Wa wundi nawe yaheza mu mwaka wahera [Mh], ubu ntasigaye ari Buramatari? / Truly speaking, do you know what Majambere told me? He told me this, ‘Even if that husband of yours is stupid, he is very stupid indeed[Mh], you see he refused to send children to school, and kept insulting you for the simple reason that you give birth to girls, I want to show him that I know things, I want to show him’. That is what he said in fact. He further asked me to tell you that all what he possesses have been given to him by the female children you look down upon. Don’t you know that his daughter has just graduated? And the one who graduated last year [Mh], isn’t she now a Governor?*

Talking through Majambere is a framing strategy that presents the woman less provocative before the man and more connected. To sound less offensive, this woman Ndinzemenshi uses someone else’s words to criticize her husband Masatura. By involving a third party, her attempt to get her way (a control manoeuvre) becomes less directly confrontational (the power play is mitigated) and also entails aligning herself with Masatura (a connection manoeuvre). The wife Ndinzemenshi turns into a lecturer and the husband Masatura into a listener. The lecturer is framed as superior in status

and expertise, cast in the role of teacher while the listener is cast in the role of student. The framing process results in Ndinzemenshi's dominance without intending to dominate but seeking solidarity of the man Masatura.

A critical reading of these narratives shows that change towards closeness of women and men is possible. This idea is symbolized in the denouement of *Play1* and *Play8* when Nkinahoruri and his wife Ngendanganya (*Play1*) or when the man Muhindo and his wife Njerina (*Play8*) finally reconcile their differences. The following is part of conversation between the former aggressive but now transformed Nkinahoruri and his wife Ngendanganya:

Nkinahoruri: *N'ukuri nk'ubu ndaryoherwa cane kubona warakize./* Verily I am very happy to see you recovered health.

Ngendanganya: *Eee!//* Really!

Nkinahoruri: *Ego n'ukuri. Nico gituma rero [Mm], ubu ngomba nze dufate imigambi, mm? Twikorere...twikorere ibikorwa ngaha [Mm], twiteze imbere [Ego], tuze dusange twaratunze. Ubundi bwo nararonka amafaranga nkama nayahereje mu kabare, nkama naya... nayahereje mu...mubitaja ntibize./* Yes truly. That is the reason why [Mm], now, I want that we plan projects, mm? We will do... we will do a lot of activities here [Mm], and develop ourselves [Yes], till we become rich. Otherwise you know I used to get money but would waste it in bars...always wasting it...wasting it...in nonsense.

Ngendanganya: *Muga jewe ndibaza urabona ko wampora ubusa n'ubwo atawitosora mu jisho?/* But I think you see that you abused me unjustly although no one can pull out the mote out of his own eye?

Nkinahoruri: *N'ukuri naraguhoye ubusa [Mm].K'ubu rero nagarukanye umutima [Egome], nta kintu na kimwe kibi ngisubira kuku...kukugirira, kuko... 'urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu'. Verily I abused you unjustly [Mm]. Now that I have come to my*

senses [*Yes*], I will never do anything wrong to...to you, because... ‘when you eat your relative, you digest grief’.

Through this dialogue, the husband, who has now changed puts himself in position of humility, accepting the blame that he used to ill-treat his wife unjustly and repenting. Now he is transformed and he is promising his wife cooperation. The same is replicated in *Play8* with the character Muhindo and his wife.

One can conclude that discourse in gender within the context of family can be seen as a struggle for power, yes, but it is also - and equally - a struggle for connection (Homes Miriam, 2003). The audiences can still read either power or solidarity or both power and solidarity in these frames depending on what they have brought ‘aboard’ in the reading process.

5.4 Masculinity, Femininity, Feminized Masculinity and Masculinized Femininity

Goffman’s notion of framing and Butler’s perspective of masculinity have been important in understanding the framing of masculinity and femininity in their various forms. In this section, their views assist me in interpreting and understanding how women’s and men’s performances and characteristics affect each other. I also use the proverb in the title of this chapter as a tool for my analysis of the gender vision of the chosen texts to show how change is reflected through the denouement of the narratives.

In addition to deconstructing the patriarchal hegemony and (re)defining ‘man’ and ‘woman’, *Ninde* projects new gender relations where new principles in gender roles and responsibilities that suit the new world are set. Masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) are pictured as fluid and not static.

First of all, the traditional conception of male superiority since childhood without even knowing how useful he will be to the society is discarded through performances. Many of the envisioned changes are reflected in the speech of the District Chief in *Play10* during a meeting as shown in part of it below:

District Chief: *Karya kazi umuhungu ashoboye n'umwigeme aragashoboye (Baca babandanya bavuzwa urwamo). Twumvikane. / The task that a boy can perform, even a girl can do the same. (They keep making noise). / Please listen!*

Ndinzemenshi: *Ego./ Yes.*

District Chief: *Twumvikane. Uwufise ijamba araja kurivuga. Bon ni nk'uko indero mu rugo ku bana yaba umuhugu cank' umwigeme, si iyo umugore gusa. N'umugabo arajewe iyo ndero. Arakeneye kurera neza umwigeme wiwe, umuhungu wiwe nk'uko narugo nyene bategerezwa gufashanya mu kurera abo bibarutse. Nihagire umugabo azota ikosa ku mugore ngo umwana yatojwe indero mbi. Harya kuba ari ukwihenda kw'umugabo kuko umugabo n'umugore bategerezwa gufashanya. N'uko. (Haca hongera kuba uruyogoyogo kubera havutse impari mubari mw'ikoraniro) / Listen. Whoever wants to have a turn will have it. Well! Regarding the children's discipline, be it a boy child or girl child, it is not only the woman's duty. Even a man is responsible for his children's discipline. He needs to bring up well his daughter or his son, the same as the wife needs to do. They need to share the responsibility to bring up well their offspring. No man should pass the buck to his wife that a child is ill-mannered. That's a mistake for the husband because husband and wife must share the responsibility of bringing up well their sons and daughters. That's it. (There is noise again out of a misunderstanding among participants)*

One of the changes that the speech highlights is the need for sharing responsibility between husbands and wives in bringing up children, a task traditionally known to be for women only. Through the speech, the chief's message extends to the listeners who are made aware that the act of bringing up children must be a shared responsibility between husbands and wives. The speech also reinforces the idea that girls and boys are equal in worth and so must be treated equally. From characters' performances and

the intervention in the meeting frameworks, masculinity and femininity are presented as interdependent concepts because they complement each other. The other important information that the speech communicates is the involvement of men in the health of their babies since their conception. This is mainly the concern of *Play3* and *Play8*. In *Play3* for instance, we learn from the wife Riyera that her husband Banzubaze finally went to the clinic for a check after resistance.

The narratives advocate for equal opportunities and equal involvement in family matters for both males and females without limitation by one's sex as in the following excerpt where the District Chief is calling men to get rid of their traditional mentalities and accommodate fair gender ideas:

District Chief: *Umviriza! Ibi mwe...abagabo bishiramwo, bamenye ko umukobwa ari umwana nk'umuhungu. N'ukuri mutagiye inama ngo umukobwa aje mw'ishure nk'uko umuhungu aja mw'ishure, umukobwa afatwe nk'umuhungu, co kimwe bose nkukw' ari abana, muje inama mu kurera, mu kwubaka urugo vyose mufashanye, ivyo mwibaza navyo vy'uko umukobwa atari umwana nk'uwu... nk'uwundi ni ukwihenda. None akandi kabazo, ubu ntimubona ko urugo rurimwo umugabo n' umugore bumvikana mu bikorwa vy'iterambere canke mu kurera, arirwo rutera imbere?/ Listen! What you ...men have a wrong conception. They should know that a girl is a child like a boy. To tell you the truth, you have to agree that a girl child goes to school as a boy child does, to treat a girl the same way you treat a boy, just fairly as they are all children; you must agree on child upbringing and cooperate in everything to build your household. Thinking that a girl is not a child like...like a boy is to be mistaken. So another question, don't you see that a household where the husband and the wife cooperate in works of development or in child upbringing is the one that makes more progress?*

Participants: *(Bishura mu kivunga) Mugabo nivyo...Ego...Nivyo. / (They answer collectively) That is true...Yes...That's true.*

District Chief: *Ndabahe nk'akarorero aha ku mutumba iwanyu nyene. Majambere mubona kubera yumvikana mu kwubaka urugo, n'umugore wiwe, mubona ateye imbere ate? / Let me provide you with an example in this same locality. Because*

Majambere cooperates with his wife in building their household, how do you see his progress?

Participants: *Cane! Basha!... Majambere! ...Aho muvuze neza.../ Wonderful! Goodness!.. Majambere! ...You have just made a good point.*

Gipushi: *Jewe ndanyuzwe. Jewe nari mfise abakobwa, nzoca ndabajana mw'ishure./* I am persuaded. I have daughters; I will take them to school.

District Chief: *Ubu rero tumenyere, uku kwubaka igihugu gushasha, urugo ni babiri. Twishiremwo ko ivyari imagera vyageruye. /* Now, let's get accustomed to new ways of doing things. In this new way of building the nation, the welfare of the household is a shared responsibility between the husband and his wife. Let's put in our mind that circumstances have changed.

In the denouement of the *Ninde* narratives, definitions of masculinity and femininity are updated for the contemporary society because gender is not a static identity. They highlight the agency of women in the construction of masculinity and the importance of democratizing gender in their performance.

The third needed change as reflected in the Chief District's speech is that in the building of the modern family, men must help women in domestic tasks. This is something new because the domestic sphere is traditionally known as feminine. The idea of men helping their women in domestic chores, especially when they are pregnant is also stressed in the speech of the local chief in *Play8* as it is evidenced in this excerpt from *Play8* during a meeting held by a male local chief with men of the locality:

Local chief: *Ego rero hampande y'ivyo nariko ndababwira bijanye ni...ku bijanye n'ibikorwa vy'iterambere, kari agacyemwo. Ahanini hariho ijambo nyamukuru nari nabatumiyeko kugira ngo tuvugane. Sinzi igituma... Ntimwatangaye mubonye nabatumyeko muri aba...muri...muri...mur'aba...? (Aca atwenga)/* Okay. Beside what I was telling you about works of development, that was a digression. There is a very important topic that caused me to invite you so that we may discuss it. I

wonder...Weren't you surprised when you found that I invited only...only...only...?
(He bursts into laughter)

Participants (Collectively): *Hari uwo vyobura gutanganza?(baca batwenga). Nibwo bwa mbere tubibona. / Who would not get surprised in such a case? (They burst into laughter). It is our first time to see such a thing.*

Local chief: Eee? / Eeh?

Participants (one after another): *Inama y'igitsina kimwe? Inama y'abagabo gusa? Natangaye....Naje natangaye kweri!/ A meeting of one gender/sex only? A meeting of men only?*

Local chief: *(Abanza gutwenga) Umve rero ndababwire ikintu nabatumiyeko! / (He laughs first). Let me tell you the reason I have invited you!*

Participants (collectively): *Ego. / Yes.*

Local chief: *Nabatummyeko muri abagabo gusa, muri abashingantahe gusa, kuko impanuro ndiko ndabaha...impanuro nateguye kubaha ni iziberekeye mwebwe gusa. Ntivyari bikenewe y'uko haba abakenyezi canke abapfasoni banyu baza ngaha. Ni izerekeye mwebwe gusa. Mbega murazi ikintu ngomba ko mwova ngaha mwumvise? Nagomba ndababwire y'uko.....mukwiye kuza...murashigikira abakenyezi banyu igihe bibungenze, mukabafasha mu dukorwa dutandukanye (utwongoshwa twa Severino: Ko mutwenga? None siyyo?). Ikintu nyamukuru kandi, mukongera mukabaherekeza mu gihe baba bagiye gupimisha imbanyi kwa muganga. Kuko ndazi y'uko ivyo ari ibintu bigirwa n'abantu bake cane. Muri mwebwe hari umuntu abigira?/ I invited you men only, you gentlemen only because the advice that I am giving you... advice that I have planned to give you concern you only. The presence of women in general or the presence of your wives was not necessary. That advice concerns you only. Do you know what I want you to understand well before you leave this meeting? I would like to tell you that you have to support your wives when they are pregnant, and assist them in various tasks (Severino whispering: Why are you laughing? Is it not true?). Another important point also is that you should accompany them at the clinic for routine checks of their pregnancy. I know for sure that very few men do those things.*

From the scene cited above, the local chief is advising men to get rid of certain traditional notions of masculinity in order to accommodate new ideas with regard to their relations with their wives. Another observation from the chiefs' intervention is that change requires the involvement of various stakeholders.

By framing male characters like Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10* and female characters like Rozata in *Play5* and Helena in *Play10*, the narratives demonstrate that males and females can freely and equally perform masculinity and femininity across the binary divide. Majambere in *Play10* is presented as a man who can play both male and female gender roles to express solidarity to his wife. He is a serious man who seeks understanding in the family and helps his wife in roles traditionally known as feminine. He lives with his wife in peace, understanding, fulfillment, cooperation and true love. The same applies to the man Severino (in *Play8*) who cooperates well with his wife Makurata. These cases illustrate that masculinity and femininity depend on each other and they are not static. They are constructed within specific socio-cultural circumstances and change accordingly. Severino's (*Play8*) and Majambere's (*Play10*) performance of femininity that was ridiculed before becomes now normalized. Their performance is given the most attention through the speeches of the chiefs (respectively the local chief in *Play8* and Chief District in *Play10*). Through re-enactment in the radio drama, specific gender traits are passed on as natural and acceptable while others are challenged.

The aforementioned male and female characterization agrees with Butler's argument that repeated performance of specific gender traits serves to make what is unnatural appear natural and legitimate (Butler 1999). It is through the same process that denaturalizing the naturalized unnatural practices and conceptions can happen. From that perspective, we understand how patriarchal hegemony is deconstructed and replaced with pragmatic gender relations in gender performance in radio *Ninde* to create a new normality.

By using various male characters, the myths around the male personae are demystified and he is presented as a human being just like the girl and the woman. What happens to women can also happen to men. Through the couple Matayo and Karorina in *Play7* for instance, the traditional stereotype of linking infertility with females is challenged and it is now the man Matayo who is proved infertile. This leads to his emasculation or impotence according to theories of masculinity because he cannot sire children. Using the male character Gihushi and the female character Sabokwigura in *Play4* and the male character Rusimbi in *Play5*, untamed virility is disapproved in both males and females, while it was a symbol of masculinity in the past. Because of changes of circumstances, it must be tamed now. Through the characters of the men Gihushi and the woman Sabokwigura, promiscuity is bad for women as well as for men. The two characters end in jeopardy because of their promiscuous behaviour. In *Play5*, promiscuity makes Rusimbi lose his marriage and to resume street life. He loses delicious meals from his wife and goes to survive on discarded food waste from the dumping ground as he used to survive in the past before he married Rozata.

In the various female and male characters, there is a setting of equal ethical standards to regulate the life of both men and women. This implies that there is both freedom and regulation. Bad things from tradition are rejected while good practices from tradition are copied or adapted to the present in addition to innovation of new ideas. Negative performance is disapproved for both males and females. The social implication of this is that men and women have the equal rights and same social obligations.

Another interesting change in the vision of *Ninde* is related to property ownership. Women own property or have right to property, something that was exclusively for men. This gives power to women to perform beyond the conventional gender boundaries. Rozata in *Play5*, for instance, is portrayed as a woman who can play both female and male gender roles when her husband is punished because of his bad manners. Helena in *Play10* is characterized as a woman who can perform femininity and masculinity depending on the circumstances. Male and female characters are represented with free and equal rights in the performance of gender and this gives results to various and sometimes contradictory gender identities. This framing resonates with Butler's who believes that gender is not a fixed, homogenous and innate construct but is rather fluid, relational, and contextual, changing and constantly being negotiated. Power and resistance go hand in hand in the 'gender war'.

The sampled radio *Ninde* advocate for gender democratization because they set the same standards for men's and women's performance of femininity and masculinity by redefining them for a common ground. In this project of democratizing gender, *Ninde* corroborates Connell (2009, p.146) who proposes this:

[t]he real alternative to de-gendering, it seems to me, is a strategy of gender democracy. This strategy seeks to equalize gender orders, rather than shrink them to nothing. Conceptually, this assumes that gender does not, in itself, imply inequality. The fact that there are in the world gender orders with markedly different levels of inequality is some evidence in support. That democratization is a possible strategy for a more just society is indicated by the many social struggles that have actually changed gender relations towards equality.

According to the quotation above, to think about abolition of gender would be utopian. By 'undoing' gender, we are 'redoing' gender. The best strategy as suggested by Connell is therefore to equalize gender orders by elevating feminine and masculine attributes to the same standards. For the sustainability of the family unit, there must be 'wifely' and 'husbandly' traits, 'motherly' and 'fatherly' attributes no matter who

performs them between ‘he’ and ‘she’. Indeed, it is this democratization that allows fluidity that manifests a more dynamic notion of masculinity (ies) and femininity (ies) in the narratives. This gender-switching is part of the framing of *Ninde* narratives.

The framing reflects a possibility of ‘gender-switching’ where each actor of the gender binary within heterosexual relationships slides between roles which are not biologically- sex-linked to insist on practicality and flexibility for a healthy gender co-existence since differences will always be there(‘Gender-switching’ is a concept developed by Connell (2005, pp.58-59) and applied in homosexuality). Surrounded by environment of numerous needs, there is gender-switching within the context of heterosexuality symbolised by Rozata in *Play5*, Jozerine in *Play6* or Severino in *Play8* or Majambere or Helena in *Play10*.

In *Play6* for instance, we see Jozerine performing masculinity under the circumstance of a party. On the day of celebration of her Diploma, Jozerine makes a speech of appreciation before an audience which includes her father and mother. To recall the story, Jozerine’s father had chased her away because she had chosen to continue her studies instead of getting into a forced marriage. Fortunately, she got a gentleman who took her to his home and who paid school fees for the remaining three years of training. During the speech, she first thanks the gentleman and then the father. Now the father is no longer hard as he used to be. We can sense from the excerpt below how he has changed from an authoritative patriarch to a common man, how he takes the low position even before his daughter:

Shantare’s father: *Ubu nagomba gusaba ikigongwe umwana w’iwanje, umufasoni w’iwanje, na mwebwe mwese abaryango mu...mu...mumbabarire narabonye ko nagize ikosa.Ubuu narigaye singisubira. Hama naho uwo mushingantahe yakoze*

ibikorwa bikora inka [Yaturereye], nawe nyene agire akajambo ababwira jewe nta menshi mfise ndababwira ni tugire amahoro./ Now, I'd like to beg for forgiveness to my child, to my wife and to all of you family members; please...for...for...forgive me because I realized that I did a mistake. Now, I have repented and I won't resume it any more. And concerning that man who offered quality services such as those offered by a cow [*He brought up our child*], let him have a turn to speak so that he may deliver a small speech to you. I don't have much to tell you, peace be with us.

Now Nyirigo, Jozerine's father humbles himself even before his daughter. When Shantare observes how Jozerine has become the centre of attention during the diploma celebration, she regrets having dropped out of school to get married and for having been disappointed by the man she had trusted (her husband), saying 'This is where I would have been.' This performance corroborates Butler (2004) whose key move toward refashioning gender norms lies in redefining gender as performance, as an "act of doing" rather than a mere "state of being." If gender is an act, then it can be performed in an infinite number of ways, and one actor can potentially slide between roles. So, one is still doing gender even when they cross the boundaries to the other gender category.

Both the 'doing' and the 'undoing' implicitly bring gender to the mind. Gender is thus ubiquitous and we cannot pretend to get rid of it completely without creating confusion in the society. Men and women are equal in worth but different in body. Performative doings and undoings go hand in hand and men and women are constantly undoing gender while doing another gender, or doing gender while undoing another. I argue that the performative doings and undoings contribute to construction of new feminine and masculine identities but don't alter the body of the doer. "Being a man" and "being a woman" affects necessarily the "doing man" and "doing woman". The argument is that denying this fact would be denying a very

important aspect of nature in general and humanity in particular. While keeping the gender binary, being flexible and opening gender boundaries, being pragmatic is the envisioned answer to the gender conundrum.

Ninde opens gender boundaries rather than dismantling them. Though men and women are equal in worth, they are quite different in identity and this necessarily influence the doing of gender. For the same role, a man has his masculine way of performing it while a woman has a feminine way of performing. For instance the female characters Helena in *Play10* slides from femininity to masculinized femininity and goes back to femininity while the male character Majambere switches from masculinity to feminized masculinity and goes back to male masculinity, and so on. In the relations of these men and women, when the woman such as Helena performs femininity, her husband Bihori performs masculinity. When Helena switches to masculinized femininity, her husband Bihori resigns and becomes feminine. It is these differences that bind solidarity between the two characters especially in marriage.

In the *Ninde* episodes that I have discussed, the female characters do not see their roles as degrading or humiliating, but rather as a significant contribution to the continuation of the family in particular and the society at large. Through characterisation, the males such as Nkinahoruri in *Play1*, Banzubaze in *Play3*, Gihushi in *Play4*, Rusimbi in *Play5*, Nyirigo and Papa Fiston in *Play6*, Matayo in *Play7*, Muhindo in *Play8* and Bihori in *Play10* are castigated for not fulfilling their culturally assigned roles as 'men' or for abusing their authority. While acknowledging that men and women are different in identity, women demand for gender equality in dignity and worthy in *Ninde* performance. Unlike the traditional gender ideology

which delineated different positions and roles for males and females in society as reflected in proverbs (Nibafasha, 2014), a critical reading of *Ninde* narratives reveals that Burundian gender ideology is nowadays attempting to take paradigm shift in direction toward flexibility in gender roles.

The denouement of *Play2* is the restoration of Mibare's recognition and dignity thanks to the intervention of his brother-in-law. Selling his land on advice of his wife implies the wife's idea was better and this diminishes his masculinity because his respect and recognition in the society first drastically wanes, particularly when his wife dies. His two daughters chase him away plotting to monopolize the family property. Their uncle or Mibare's brother-in-law threatens to chase them also in order to teach them a lesson. They ask for forgiveness from their father and confess that it is someone who led them to make that mistake. The narrative reflects a new order that is not common in a society that is patrilocal and patrilineal.

The plays present various faces of masculinity and femininity. Manhood and womanhood are constantly shifting social constructions. There are symbols of caring men such as Severino in *Play8* and Majambere in *Play10*. There is also development in characters such as Nkinahoruri in *Play1* and Muhindo in *Play8*. The progressive change in Nkinahoruri's and Muhindo's character emphasizes that masculinity should be considered an adjustable and fluid concept, as opposed to the more static disposition of biology.

When Severino (*Play8*) is insulted, ridiculed and stigmatized by other men for helping his wife in domestic activities and for accompanying her to the clinic for antenatal routine checks, he says as a way out but also as a lecture to the audience: *Muhindo, oya n'ukuri isubireko. Ariko kugira ga Muhindo unige...umfate unige, ku bintu*

bitumvikana kandi ndiko...? Ibintu nkora, nivyo bose ubu bakunda./ Oh no Muhindo! Come to your sense honestly! Muhindo, how does it come that you strangle me... you seize me and strangle me for unjustified reasons while I am...? What I do is what all people like nowadays. The trait of masculinity that *Ninde* frames in Severino is more pragmatic. The pragmatism of the emerging ‘new man’ with egalitarian masculinity is hampered by prevailing ideologies such as traditionalism.

The sampled radio narratives attempt to demystify conventional/traditional conceptions of masculinity and to define a hegemonic masculinity which is not fixed and with a positive force. This affirms Connell’s view that “[i]t is quite conceivable that a certain hegemony could be constructed for masculinities that are less toxic, more cooperative and peaceable than the current editions” (cited in Shira, 2008, p.11). Muhindo emulates Severino and turns into a very loving and caring husband:

Njerina: *Mbe ko unumye uriko uraba ibi biguru vyanje? /* Why are you silent? Are you looking at my swollen feet?

Muhindo: *Ni ukubabara! Erega uriko urababara na jewe nca numva mbabaye. /* I feel pity for you! I feel sad because of your suffering.

The denouement of *Play8* portrays a completely changed Muhindo who surprises Severino because of the care he gives his wife. While recalling the main theme of the drama, Muhindo takes the opportunity to apologize for having abused Severino. He tells him: *Uze umbabarire. Harya kwari...kwar’ukutamenya./* Please forgive me! What I did was because of... because of ignorance.// *Erega Severino burya, nasanze imbanyi ari iya twese. /* You know what Severino? I discovered that the pregnancy is for both of us.

A reading of the narratives reveals that they seem to carry out the message that irresponsible, stupid and senseless masculinity does not have place in building the modern family and nation. Only forms of gender that are compatible with equality between men and women are approved while those which do not are challenged. The chosen texts demonstrate that one cannot be a man and a woman at the same time but can acquire some feminine attributes as a man or some masculine attributes as a woman to be used when circumstances require it. Both men and women may need feminine or masculine characteristics depending on the circumstance. Both females and males need a flexible and skilled mind which decides quickly what attitude or behaviour to adopt before a given situation. Men or women can incarnate both masculine and feminine characteristics and present a personal model of integration and plenitude. In fact, the overall message of the narratives is that it must be womanly as well as manly to own property, to go to school, to make decisions, to raise children, to do the washing, to fetch for water and firewood, to cook, to clean, and many other necessary roles for human welfare; in short to take care of oneself in everyday life.

In totality we see that the proverb *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye* recaptures the denouement of the narratives that have been discussed in this study. And this is a moral lesson that gender is a social construct and as such is not deterministic. It can be done, undone and redone, and in a sense men and women can gender-switch or slide across traditional gender binary divide without negating their biological identities or altering their body as it has been seen through the various characters. The idea that is encapsulated in the proverb is that you cannot use old paradigm to understand the present relationship.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how *Ninde* project a democratic vision of gender relations. *Ninde* narratives represent a significant departure from the more traditional models of male and female roles. A male body can perform femininity while a female body can perform masculinity depending on circumstances. Gender identity is not fixed. Roles that do not require male and female genitals are differentiated but not segregated, that is, they are reversed or shared when necessity demands it; what has been termed gender flexibility or ‘gender-switching.’ Performing tasks that are male oriented if you are a woman or performing tasks that are female oriented if you are a man is a matter of practicability and not of sex. Gender can be made ambiguous without disturbing or reorienting normative sexuality (Butler, 1999, p.xiv). Through characterisation, the chosen texts demonstrate that in a patriarchal society, women can perform masculine functions while men can perform feminine functions. It is through the coming together of self-actualized males and self-actualized females that sustainable development can be achieved.

Analyzing strategies of framing has enabled us to understand the connection between masculinity and femininity and how they complement each other in the project of building a modern family and nation. Another interesting observation from the discussion in the present chapter is the ‘deinstitutionalisation’ of power in marriage. While traditionally and conventionally the power arises from being a husband (man) in a patriarchal society, in the narratives under analysis, it is negotiated between men and women. The denouement of the narratives emphasizes a conception of partnership between men and women in the building of the modern family and nation. It has been noticed that we can construct sexual and social difference without returning to

man/woman hierarchized oppositions. Power is not a fixed quantity. *Ninde* advocates for gender reformation and not gender abolition.

Because the purpose of *Ninde* is didactic, the framing displays to a great extent men shifting from their oppressive hegemonic performance to progressive masculinity. This shift is done intentionally to suit the didactic component and can be illustrated through male characters such as Nkinahoruri in *Play 1* and Muhindo in *Play 8* moving from aggressive masculinity over their wives to loving and caring husbands. From the analysis, one can conclude that there is a pattern between people's development of mentalities and the way gender issues are framed. The contemporary gender structure, socio-economic situation and the empowerment of women, in short the postmodernism environment of dismantled social structures increasingly inspire a kind of tragic-comic framing in which masculine power is challenged while feminine power is asserted. *Ninde* attempts to make the audience see gender not as polar natural opposites but as separate dimensions that can be over-crossed. This characterization of masculinity and femininity defies the common assumptions of determinists such as Sigmund Freud. Masculinity and femininity are constructed within specific socio-cultural and historical circumstances and they change accordingly. All *Ninde* narratives that I have analysed, in one way or the other, seem to seek equity, equality and sameness with regard to the undying question of gender identities.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

This study is situated within the broader context of edutainment programmes in East Africa. Specifically, it is an analysis of the conceptualization of framing of gender through the medium of the dramatic sound. One important avenue for raising public awareness on issues of social concern is through radio edutainment programmes which through the incorporation of messages in the entertainment format attempt to address various issues including gender.

The reason why the struggle for control between men and women has been since time immemorial and that it has not come to an end is that it is very complicated and what complicates it more is the biological aspect. The complexities of the male-female relations are defined through sexuality. Because of that fact, men and women need each other. Beauvoir (de) confirms that idea when she says that “the couple is a fundamental unit with the two halves riveted to each other: cleavage of society by sex is not possible” (2009 translation, p.9). Contrary to master-slave relationship, there are strong bonds between men and women. From physiological differences arise biological functions of the human body that dictate a social agenda. The continuity of the human race lies on the two wings of sex binary. None of the other binaries have the continuity of the human race on their shoulders.

The theories arise because women and men need to live together in an organized society. And one of the main objectives of society is to achieve harmony among the various members of the community, despite their differences. There is a need of

theorizing on how they should relate harmoniously. That is why gender has become an issue of academic concern. Because there is no fit-all theory, there are steps taken in various cultures in the purpose to contribute in that challenge of harmonizing male and female relations and the radio drama *Ninde* comes in as one of those steps of intervention.

Narratives have power to invent and reinvent societies. The moral system is of great importance in behaviour establishing. Thus, *Ninde* is useful for both the individual listener and for the nation as a whole. In fact, in almost every *Ninde* play analysed here, we can depict an ethic to which everyone tends to accommodate his behaviour and thereby the identity of the nation is shaped. In addition to its power of entertainment and its moral and social function, *Ninde* has other qualities. In fact, in the rapidly changing societies in Africa, hardly any one is concerned with art for art's sake. Everyone has some attitude towards socio-economic development. This is mirrored in the work of art *Ninde*. When Burundian girls, boys, women and men enjoy listening to *Ninde* narratives, they are undergoing a formative psychological socialisation process. Authors and transmitters of this oral heritage whether consciously or not, play an important role in the social construction of the Burundian community.

The study has acknowledged that *Ninde* is the longest running Kirundi radio drama programme that has been produced for the Burundi national Radio since 1981. A link between orality, performance and radio technology has also been acknowledged. A background on gender relations and on the general perception of men and women in Burundi has been presented.

In order to understand how the genre functions and to locate the gap for the present research, a vast literature has been reviewed. I have narrowed my focus to some gender frameworks; works produced in East Africa and identified literature that related media communication studies to education and entertainment; and to works done on oral literature in Burundi with particular focus on radio *Ninde* and gender. This body of works has provided me with concepts for analyzing radio *Ninde* as a theatre of the mind, enabling me to create similarity and distinction between theatre for the real/visual stage and *Ninde* as a theatre of the mind or imagined visuality. They have also provided tools for analyzing the framing of the dramatic performances from a gender perspective within the sound medium.

In my analysis, I have drawn from many gender frameworks from various scholars who have tried to theorize men's and women's relationships to see how they influence the imagination in the framing of gender in *Ninde*. I have looked at how radio *Ninde* creatively and artistically play with the gender binary either to challenge, re-affirm, alter, and sometimes to reinforce negative traditional gender perceptions and relations in the society.

As already mentioned in the first chapter, the study has focused on examining how the radio *Ninde* 'visualize' masculinity (ies), femininity (ies) and power relations as part of raising public awareness on the gender problematic in a society that is mainly patrilocal and patrilinear. Using the concepts of framing and gender performativity, the present study has explored how radio *Ninde* frames gender implicated dramatic narratives for an invisible radio audience.

Given the duality of purpose of the edutainment strategy, Goffman's concept of framing has been important in the foregoing discussion in that it has helped in the understanding of how edutainment programmes such as the radio drama *Ninde* which must balance between the sweet ('*dulce*') and useful ('*utile*'), between 'delight' and 'instruction' or between entertainment and education designs, packages, disseminates gender implicated messages and involve its imagined audiences. Through the framing process, 'images of social reality are constructed in a patterned way that ultimately affects the way audiences view life because framing organizes reality through conscious salience and emphasis of specific aspects of a story.' (Sambai, 2014, p.206). Gender performative theory by Butler supplemented the framing theory to explain how language is constitutive of masculinity and femininity. By saying words in radio drama, women and men perform acts that contribute in shaping the identities of men and women in the real world, and it can be positive or negative depending on how the framing is manipulated or how words are used.

The second chapter has documented the manner in which *Ninde* programme is framed as a radio play form intended for entertainment and education of population for change. As such, an analysis of the historical and cultural importance of the programme has enabled me to examine the development of the radio drama genre in the country. The study has explored the history, design and structure of the radio drama *Ninde* as an 'edutainment' genre.

As a genre that has been produced for a state broadcast since its inception in 1981, the study has shown how radio drama becomes a useful site for engaging with many moral issues affecting the Burundian society. I have explored *Ninde*'s production in a

state owned national radio RTNB, and concluded that the programme's preoccupation with moral narratives was influenced by restrictions and censorships that avoided exploration of political themes which might have been touchier to the governmental authorities.

It has been observed that the Kirundi radio drama *Ninde* is a one hour didactic satire which depends on the comic improvisatory talents of the actors. Because the drama intends to entertain while being pedagogical, it mostly relies on a formulaic approach, often one that simply contrasts characters of good moral standing against those of dubious repute. It informs as well as suggests preferable ways of performing masculinity and femininity in the home and in the larger society.

A common factor of all these plays is the strong moral tone which pervades them. The all-pervading moral element seems to stem from the fact that Burundians, like many other African people, are very religious and moralistic. The entire fabric of their social life is based on religion and morality; partly due to the importance of the Christian church in the national life in Burundi. Social relations and attitudes and behaviour are exposed to be geared to the integration of the social order. Any deviation from the social norms, values and standard behaviour of the society are considered to be disruptive and to call for correction. *Ninde* actors highlight the disruptive tendencies and deviations which are prevalent in Burundian society. In that way, they warn the audience against these tendencies and deviations. Meanwhile they bring in other cultural innovations and that is how the Burundian society evolves.

Therefore, *Ninde* performers do two opposite things almost at the same time. They give the audience some excitement by dramatizing immoral and absurd impulses; but at the same time they offer them moral lessons, inculcating them with warnings of the

dangerous results of not curbing evil tendencies. The ambivalence of the unfolding events in the plays helps members of the audience recognize that such disagreeable impulses are part of mankind's common heritage. The audiences are told at the same time that it does not pay to violate the values and moral standards of the society. This point is forcefully driven home to them by the misery and punishment which, in the end, is always the lot of those who act in violation of the norms and moral expectation of the society. This sense of conflict is characteristic to comedies and especially the character comedies. Thus, in the ten plays I have analysed the comic potential of conflict is present. It prevails right up to the resolution.

The audiences come to know the emotions, the thoughts, the desires, in short, to read the mind of an individual through his actions and reactions. To this end, the technique used by 'authors-actors' in these narratives is the recreation of normal life situations through characters' enactment. They are everyday characters caught up in the routine of daily living and exchanging colloquial dialogue.

In this study, *Ninde* has been analyzed as a means of sustaining the social norms through challenging the old-fashioned and projecting 'a new normality', or declaring the identity of Burundians and what they aspire to in future. In the moral-enforcing conclusions of the analysed plays, it is very frequent for the actions or opinions of the female characters to be endorsed.

Radio *Ninde* uses imagined visuality to address its imagined audience because all images are created through terms. In the analysis I was interested in how gender is performed through dialogue and other techniques that radio *Ninde* uses to enhance the

gender imagination of its imagined audience. It has been noticed that in the structure of the radio drama *Ninde*, there are elements of orality such as proverbs and Kirundi idiomatic expressions as framing devices and vehicles of the meanings.

Chapter Three unpacks the main framing devices that the radio *Ninde* uses in debunking the myth of patriarchal hegemony or dominance. Being often assumed that gender inequality is deeply embedded in the family, the texture of *Ninde* narratives shows that it is exactly from there that the healing process must take place. It has been observed that *Ninde* is used as a social and aesthetic unit. The chosen texts speak to the complex matrix of power that is involved in relation between husbands and wives.

It has been found that *Ninde* demystifies the past glorified image of male. The sensitivity of *Ninde* authors/actors in framing traditions and practices that affect gender is a sign of hope that change is gradually affecting cultural practices (masculinity and femininity) that once in history seemed eternal and immovable. The narratives' satirising and mirroring of a brutal masculine identity indirectly serves as a manifesto in favour of equitable gender relationship, without turning upside down the existing patriarchal order. The *Ninde* narratives under analysis deconstruct and undermine the configuration of patriarchy that favours the traditional masculine and feminine definitions and perceptions. Women threaten the binary and hierarchical gender framework through their resistance to patriarchal hegemony.

The dramatic narratives allow drawing a picture of changed men husbands in the image of projected heterosexual relationships. *Ninde* narratives are essentially

reformist and do not challenge the patriarchal structure of society itself. The analysed *Ninde* texts do not advocate a destruction of the patriarchal structure nor “cleavage of society by sex” (Beauvoir, 1949). They only attack those patriarchal practices that are found unfair and unjustified. This framing explains that a woman can change her feminine performance despite the patriarchal system by challenging its dominating and subordinating ideology. Women can live in a patriarchal society but operate in non-patriarchal ways. By the time patriarchy is not presented as the problem in these narratives, there is a shift in ideological orientation among Africans with regard to patriarchy.

Chapter Four presents how characterization in *Ninde* helps us to recognize complexities of masculinity and femininity where they are defined as a series of shifting and fluid subjects rather than fixed and static ones. No gender is adapted to all contexts. Gender is adapted to character, context, and individual experience in a given situation. The sense of determinism in gender is defied. Men or women incarnate both masculine and feminine characteristics and present a personal model of integration and plenitude.

Gender performance in the selected radio drama *Ninde* shows various faces of femininity and masculinity with some more dominant and/or harmful than others. Through these non-specific and sometimes ambiguous gender identities such as feminized masculinity and masculinized femininity, *Ninde* challenges the conception of conventional masculinity and femininity in the Burundian (African) society. Furthermore, characters’ performances affirm that masculinity and femininity are not fixed categories and are not solely located respectively in male bodies and female

bodies as had been previously thought of by essentialists. There is no purity in being male or female: men and women each have a bit of the other sex in themselves (Mugambi and Allan, 2010, p.110). It demonstrates that there are not any and all fixations with a distinct bifurcation between masculinity and femininity, anima (man's feminine side) and animus (woman's masculine side). Masculinity and femininity are not permanent in individuals' bodies. They switch from one body to another depending on the circumstances.

This research brings a particular credibility to existentialist's thought. From an existentialism perspective, a performance can be masculine while the performer lacks the male member (phallus) and a performer can be a man while lacking masculinity. Women therefore do not need to be like men to perform masculinity. A human being is not a given static, immutable and definite entity. He or she is under perpetual construction. He or she is a product dynamically generated by acts s/he performs. For the existentialist, the masculine or feminine gender is a social construct that is in continual mutation and the examples from radio *Ninde* evidence that.

Overall, the chosen *Ninde* texts conceptualise a theory of difference presupposing 'dynamic and flexible dualisms' or gender-switching within the context of heterosexuality. Our study of the chosen texts reveals that female masculinity influences the construction of male masculinity while progressive men act as catalyst in gender transformation for balanced relationship. To a great extent, the framing of the male characters defies the normalized thinking of the patriarchal male figure that is rooted in essentialist assumptions that a man is aggressive, a decision maker, a provider and a person whose authority cannot be questioned by a woman.

In the fifth chapter, the study discusses how *Ninde* projects a democratic vision of gender relations. The unfolding of the narratives emphasizes a conception of partnership between men and women in the building of the modern family and nation. Gender is open to change because masculinity and femininity are brought into existence by specific historical circumstances, contrary to sex which is fixed. Power is not a fixed quantity. *Ninde* advocates for gender reformation and not gender abolition.

These plays seem to challenge and redefine the notions of masculinity and femininity and to make statements about new power relationship between men and women. By envisioning a radical change, *Ninde* plays challenge the society to replace old and bad practices by new practices that fit the new circumstances. The different sequences explicitly or implicitly emphasize on the concept of egalitarian gender relations between men and women with focus on home setting in a male-oriented society. The prioritization of family gatherings as prime spaces to debate about gender issues present gender as a social and cultural phenomenon. Some of gender practices are essential in the regulatory social framework to ensure harmony and order within the co-existence of humans.

We have also noted that Burundian women generally have not attempted to change the performance of their gender to achieve ‘equality’ and ‘democracy’ as we would understand from the point of view of Western political ideology. Instead, it would seem, they have invested in gender as understood from the Burundian cultural perspective to achieve their aspirations within the patriarchal social system.

Ninde offers tropes that deconstruct the traditional characterisation of domination of wives by their husbands and of daughters by their fathers. They also deconstruct the old conception that girls do not have the same opportunities as boys as valued solely

for the money that they bring to their fathers through their bride price; girls have choice when and whom they marry. In addition, these narratives imply that social and cultural determinism is harmful to women as well as to men.

Ninde narratives represent a significant departure from the more traditional models of male and female roles. Roles that are not sex-linked are differentiated but not segregated, that is, they can be either shared or reversed when necessity demands it. Their framing of masculinity and femininity destabilizes and deconstructs the conventional notions of gender roles and power relations. This framing interrogates the static and stereotypical perception of men and women in conventional patriarchal perspectives and defies gender perception that assumes men are always dominant while women remain passive and dominated. We have male minds in male bodies, female minds in male bodies, female minds in female bodies and male minds in female bodies. Gender identity is not fixed. It depends on the circumstances. Power is no longer reserved for men. Women can also exercise power. The framing shows that gender is performative though there are limits beyond which it cannot perform, not because of anatomy but because, as social beings, men and women need to live in an ordered society.

The narratives have illuminated the need for change of our notions of gender and for integrating men in the domestic sphere for the wellbeing of the community at large, a sphere traditionally known as feminine space and therefore associated with less power and less or no authority. They suggest a definition of masculinity and femininity that is flexible. Radio *Ninde* emphasizes that building the modern family requires gender relations to be revisited and hegemonic ideologies to be ousted.

6.2 Conclusions

Ninde is a work of art which has its main purpose to correct people by means of satire thanks to ridicule. In other words, while a character is being ridiculed, at the same time a moral lesson is being given to the audience. We know that the *raison d'être* of *Ninde* is to educate through relaxation but not to just keep up continuous roar of merriment. Indeed, none among the sampled plays has action of the plot fashioned purely for humorous effect. Radio *Ninde* is a template that accommodates entertainment and education. The chosen narratives attempt to tell in simplistic ways issues seemingly complex such as female and male relationships. *Ninde* programme takes a comic approach in the interrogation of social issues.

Although these plays deal with serious issues, they are 'wrapped in humorous language and intonations as well as ridiculous comments all of which make them 'palatable' for the audiences who come out of the plays with a sense of having been both entertained and informed'(Ligaga, 2008, pp.188-9). Apart from telling stories about the everyday experiences and helping audiences construct a type of social reality, the narratives deploy framing devices such as irony, exaggeration and understatement to arouse and sustain the audience's attention while also passing across important messages. The use of extremes in the framing for comic effect is likely to normalize the abnormal in the everyday practice of listeners. Problems arise when some comic devices of the framing are taken as an end in themselves for the concientization process to become misinformation and eventually a reinforcement of stereotypes and biases.

Ninde dramas twist and turn to come up with surprises. Through the use of language in framing, it has been found that the studied texts seek to undo certain gendered

wrong traditional beliefs, habits and practices and to project positive change. The performance does not stop at ridiculing 'toxic masculinity' but projects alternative ways of being a man in accordance with the expectations and the requirements of the moment. The progressive masculinity is presented as a kind of hegemonic masculinity that is more cooperative, harmonious and peaceful, brief with a positive force. *Ninde* narratives help in the dissemination of a dutiful masculinity by framing substantial dutiful masculinity the most triumphant face of masculinities.

The educative aspect of these edutainment programmes does not stop merely at making people knowledgeable about the roots of the gender problem in the domestic setting but it also aims at making them change their behaviour through character transition/development. To arouse interest in the behaviour change being promoted, the last episode always has a moral lesson that is in a proverb or proverbial statement or a catch phrase. The necessary lessons are also emphasized for the audiences through speeches by authorities during family meetings or other social gatherings.

The framing of gender in drama *Ninde* is a proof that "the media technology can be used according to the needs and orientation of African societies, and not necessarily as a vehicle of western culture" as Kerr puts it (1998, p.74). *Ninde* is an illustration of how media can be used both to preserve indigenous culture and to promote national development, and promoting national development does not exclude borrowing and adapting practices that have been successful elsewhere for home use. The dramatic form *Ninde* helps to understand and mediate the socio-economic changes occurring in Burundi. It is thus conceived as a viable instrument imagining a unified family and hence the society at large, through the communication of harmonious family building messages.

Having looked at all these aspects in the chosen episodes, we see how they have been framed to bring out the problematic of gender relations and as we have witnessed in chapter five, we see how all the chapters revolve around the encapsulating proverb ‘*Ivyari imagera vyarageruye*’ (Circumstances have changed) which supports the claim that change is inevitable. It assumes that gender is dynamic and that what is considered appropriate gendered behaviour changes over time. *Ninde* performances validate and enhance the performative nature of gender.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the episodes defy the sense of determinism or the earlier deterministic understanding of gender. In the performance, gender becomes something fluid, unstable and therefore changeable.

6.3 Areas for Further Research

This study raises issues that can be further researched on. Apart from gender performance, researchers can ‘read’ language in *Ninde* dramas. Does the language used to perform what the producers-actors actively have in mind connote affirmation of positive gender ideas or negative gender ideas? *Ninde* plays can also be ‘read’ from another angle. They centre on issues of domestic rather than national conflict and yet they can be ‘read’ as metaphor for national conflict. There can be political analysis through *Ninde* narratives.

A research focusing on audience reception in order to understand how audiences make sense of the gender frames in radio *Ninde* could also complete the present study. This could help to assess the effectiveness of radio *Ninde* and determine its level of relevance in the lives of the listeners. Aren’t the audiences likely to eschew what is closer to truth and instead embrace what is seemingly distorted or exaggerated sense

of reality? The aesthetics of abnormality which is used as a framing technique tells people what they should not do by doing it or attacks a vice by a vicious character. Critically speaking, what is dangerous with this aesthetics of the abnormality is that by attaching a bias you use the patterns of the same bias or highlight the same bias and this serves its reinforcement. Or, actors may concentrate their efforts on comic effects thinking that they are maximising the transmission of the message while they become the focus of the audience, thus the loss of the thematic concern by the audience.

Putting in place appropriate systems of feedback and community participation in the media would help *Ninde* producers to assess the audiences' involvement with the storyline and its characters (through post-broadcast letters, mails, telephone calls or sms).

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A number of ten *Ninde* episodes selected from those produced post-2005 for Burundi National Radio Broadcast (The ten episodes are available on a CD):

Play1: *Urya uwawe ukinovora intuntu (2008)* / If you eat your relative, you will digest grief, (00:53:06).

Play2: *Ivyo utipfuzako ko bikubako, ntukavyipfurize n’uwundi (2014)*/Never do to the other human being what you would not wish to be done to you, (00:50:18).

Play3: *Izija guhona zihera mu ruhongore (2011)*/ For cattle to get exterminated, it all starts from the cowshed, (00:53:54).

Play4: *Intabarirwa ibarirwa n’uko amaso atukuye (2006)*/ A person who never listens to advice is convinced when his eyes get reddish, (00:56:34).

Play5: *N’iyo yiharuriye (2015)*/ He is the one who made his own way, (00:56:01).

Play6: *Aha niho mba ndi (2014)*/ That is where I would have been, (00:59:53).

Play7: *Bishikira bose (2014)*/ It happens to both women and men, (00:57:25).

Play8: *Imbanyi ni iya twese (2012)* / The pregnancy is for both of us (wife and husband), (00:58:18).

Play9: *Ugira ngo uhemukiye abandi ugasanga uhemukiye ubuzima bwawe (2015)* / When you think of disappointing others, you find yourself disappointing your own life, (00:58:00).

Play10: *Ivyari imagera vyarageruye (2012)* Circumstances have changed (Things are no longer the same way they were in the past), (00:56:12).

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APPENDIX: RESEARCH PERMIT

RADIO – TELEVISION

 NATIONALE DU BURUNDI

Bujumbura, le 24-4-2015

A Madame NIBAFASHA Spès
à BUJUMBURA

N/Réf.N° 584.1.R.T.N.B.109.1225/2015

Objet : Votre demande d'accès.....
à la documentation.


Madame,

Faisant suite à votre correspondance du 21 Avril 2015 par laquelle vous demandez l'accès à la documentation sur l'émission NINDE à la Radio, j'ai l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que je marque mon accord pour une période d'un (1) mois dès la réception de la présente.

Le Directeur de la Radio Nationale qui me lit en copie est prié de vous faciliter l'accès à la documentation souhaitée.

Veuillez agréer, Madame, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

LE DIRECTEUR GENERAL DE LA RTNB
 Jérôme NZOKIRANTEVYE



COPIE POUR INFORMATION A :
 -Monsieur le Directeur de la Radio Nationale
à BUJUMBURA

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