

Gender and Sexuality, a Reflection on Rainmaking Songs

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KEYWORDS Dominance. *Mbonga*. *Nevana*. Societies. Spiritual Gender Roles. Spiritual Kingdom

ABSTRACT Generally, studies have always discussed gender roles existing in societies. The aim of this study was to explore the symbolism of gender and sexuality reflected by *Mukwerera* rainmaking ritual songs of the *Shangwe* community in the then *Gokwe* District in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. The ethnography was based on six informants who acquired wisdom with age. These culture bearers are communally famed sources of information in their rainmaking practices. Through the use of unstructured interviews, this article intended to analyse role delineations mirrored by rainmaking songs. It also planned to examine how rainmaking spirits are perceived by the *Shangwe*. Rainmaking songs contain rich symbolism of gender and sexuality. The researcher established that gender roles evident in spiritual kingdom epitomise those prevailing in societies. Also, songs are utilised to put pressure on people in authority so that they behave as expected by cultures. Role demarcations predominantly happen in the spiritual realm.

INTRODUCTION

By and large, some scholars deliberated on role demarcations predominantly existing in societies. In addition, they discussed the inequalities that occur among humanities. This ethnomusicological article contributes to these projects by analysing role delineations that are prevalent in the spiritual monarchy of *Gokwe* North and *Gokwe* South districts in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. Besides, it also enriches the concept of gender studies through discussing how the *Shangwe* community recognises and acknowledges the status of a regional god or spirit, *Nevana*, during the performance and singing of rainmaking songs. Similarly, rain gods or spirits namely, *Chibanya*, *Chikono*, *Chinamakwati*, *Nyamunda*, *Musemwa* and a goddess, *Nehowa* will receive special attention. Over and above this, *Shangwe* chiefs, as custodians of authority feel threatened with the plight of hunger and communal food shortages. In addition, they sometimes depend on a certain traditionally unmarried lady, *mbonga*, who plays a paramount role in rain rites. Therefore, some discussion will focus on her later. Nevertheless, most recent scholarship on this particular ethnic group, the *Shangwe*, has produced a detailed study on their indigenous knowledge systems used as a local model in the conservation of natural resources in their environment Ngara and Mangizvo (2013). In their study, they mention shrines where *Mukwerera* rainmaking ceremonies are

performed. This editorial comes with yet another dimension. It further deepens the scholarship of the *Shangwe* by examining themes of gender and sexuality reflected by their rainmaking songs. In order to address these issues of masculinity and femininity both in the *Shangwe* spiritual realm and their living community, the following objectives need to be achieved.

Theoretical Framework

One of the feminist scholars, Letherby (2003) is more concerned with how gender roles are constructed in societies therefore the need to address gender inequality often experienced by women arises. In other words, Letherby is approaching gender inequality from the sociological perspective. The researcher lays the ground for aspiring ethnomusicologists. This immense contribution informed how one should discuss spiritual gender roles portrayed by one of the *Shangwe* rain rite songs.

With particular reference to Weber (1962), there are certain people who are traditionally ordained with authority in societies. According to him, it is because of ethnically vested power, that the community believes that such people should not be challenged regardless of their gender identity. *Shangwe* chiefs are the highest symbols of authority in this particular community. However, there is a certain unmarried lady called *mbonga* who is accorded great honour by these chiefs.

Objectives

- i) To give an explanation for reserving and singing specific songs for the *Nevana* rain spirit and justify the drum exclusion in that context.
- ii) To identify and rationalise the existence of various roles in the rain rite.
- iii) Identify categories of people who are most affected by rain failure and explain how they express food grievances and/or downpours.

METHODOLOGY

Titon and Reck (2009: 542) assert that, *Your aim in discovering and documenting a world of music is a musical ethnography—a written representation, description, and interpretation of some aspect of a music-culture. The subject of our musical ethnography is the aspect of the music-culture that is being represented; the topic of your musical ethnography enables your analysis and interpretation of your subject.*

The ethnographic study involved six informants who occupied dominant positions in the *Mukwerera* ritual. These provided data through the use of face-to-face interviews, audio-video filming, tape recording, and the researcher's intensive participant observation. According to Amit (2000:2), it is the "totality" of participant observation, of course, that facilitates holism, but it also creates an intimacy between the researcher and the informants which is usually the shortcomings of other research methods. The researcher's intensive participation and total community engagement in *Shangwe* cultural practices, including *Mukwerera* rainmaking ceremonies, developed a rapport and mutual interaction with the aged key informants. So, at the end, the researcher could sing, dance, and drum, just like some of them. This could happen because the researcher began living among them since 1992 to date. Perhaps, this is one reason Ngara (2012), on one hand, advocates a complete immersion in the field and have an eye-to-eye contact and dialogue with particular culture bearers, on the other. The information flow between the researcher and culture bearers matured into a favourable relationship. This mutual interaction created an opportune time to gather all the data on themes of gender and sexuality mirrored by the *Shangwe* rainmaking songs.

Before discussing literature related to this piece of work and issues of gender and sexuality portrayed by rainmaking songs, the researcher will relate various matters on sexual categories and role delimitations in this particular *Shangwe* community. This is meant to provide a background understanding of the concept of gender in this specific community. From the interviews,¹ it is the responsibility of women to brew beer. The cash economy is obtained from cotton, cattle, and beer brew sales and men keep the money. According to one of the female informants,² the *Shangwe* men's logical thinking is that they have the responsibility to keep the money since they emphasise that women are wasteful.

The women are not able to take the responsibility to keep the money because of their culturally prescribed gender roles which result in gender inequality. Fuchs (1988) and Ridgeway (1997) emphasise that gender is said to be concerned with the disparity that exists within the social relations of men and women. West and Zimmerman (1987: 54) also note that "doing gender" creates inequality. Similarly, Kanter (1977) and Risman (1987) comment that the "doing gender" are incompatible and practically places women on the oppressive side of men. "Doing gender" not only occurs in other societies but also among the *Shangwe* women, it [doing gender] makes them to feel vulnerable. Therefore, the practice creates gender inequality. According to Lorber (1994), Spence and Bucker (2000), Fiske et al. (2002) and Risman (2004) gender justifies the existence of social roles. These are immense contributions on gender studies. This contemporary piece of work brings in a certain dimension by exploring themes of gender and sexuality that are implicit in *Shangwe Mukwerera* rainmaking songs.

From collected data, it is the *Shangwe* men who own cattle and children. The men have the autonomy to decide the beast(s) which they intend to sell. They use their discretion to share the proceeds amongst the wives. The cash may be equally distributed among the wives. Most women entrust the cash which they obtain from vegetable sales to the custodianship of their husbands as a way to solicit love favours from them. With regard to money, women are really at the receiving end.

Based on the interviews, most *Shangwe* men delegate particular responsibilities to their first wives called *hosi*. The first wife collects the milk

and distributes it among the other wives at her own discretion. She frequently accompanies her husband to the beer drinking sessions. It is the task of the *Shangwe* women to provide food to their husbands and children hence they play a dominant position in food production. In addition, women supply clothes and school fees for their children. Conversely, men take leading roles in gathering food during drought periods.

Fiske et al. (2002) maintain that regardless of all the responsibilities placed on women by the “gender beliefs” and the “doing gender” perspectives, men remain in dominant positions. Dettwyler (1992) and Sellen (1996) argue that African women have many responsibilities. Dettwyler (1992), Fiske et al. (2002) and Sellen (1996) made immense contributions on gender beliefs found in communities. The study of *Shangwe* rainmaking songs augments the concept of gender studies by further examining sexual roles prevalent in the spiritual world.

Niles (1986) quoted in Kodish (1987) discusses how a male professional folklorist, Hamish Henderson, visits a female folk, Jeannie Robertson, who initially denied him entry into her room. Hamish began to sing one of Jeannie’s songs so badly that she got touched. Consequently, she allowed him entry into her room during that night. Niles (1986: 84) in Kodish (1987: 575) summaries that,

Male collectors appear as powerful, magical outsiders, folktale heroes initiating action and reestablishing value. Female informants appear as passive vehicles, unwitting receptacles of knowledge, silent, unspeaking, to be wooed and won into speech.

In this context, male folklorists are implicitly seen using influential skills to persuade and collect information from unwilling folklore informants. McClary (1991) also discusses how the concept of masculinity and femininity is constructed and she notes that the dominance of men over women in Western Music has a long history. The *Shangwe* rainmaking songs portray gender roles as well. As will be discussed later, certain roles reflect similarities between the world of divinities and the living. Radford (2001: 54) notes that,

All the band members are men save two women — Selina McAuley and her best friend Wee Angie Barr, who joined the band seven years ago when they became teenagers. They are unique on the road as there are no other wom-

en who play in the blood-and-thunder flute bands on the Shankill.

The male bands discouraged females to be part because they are women. These two women insisted and persisted being co-opted in the band. Doubleday (1999) reveals that frame drums are played by women-yet in several regions such as Europe and sub-Saharan Africa, drums are traditionally played by men. Conversely, Hassan (1980) cited in Doubleday (1999) stresses that in Iraq, the same frame drum itself, is played by men, not women. Generally, this gives a picture that women do not have sufficient rights over musical instruments. The *Shangwe* women in Zimbabwe, which is also in Africa but south of the Sahara, are not traditionally allowed to play *Mukwerera* ritual drums but their exclusion is rich in sexual symbolism. Sugarman (1989: 192) informs that, “Vocal timbres and performance styles of women and men singers and in the contrasting themes of their song texts” portray gender related “sexual segregation.” Even the *Shangwe* rain song texts are entrenched in male – female sexual symbolism yet some of their symbols give the impression of spiritual roles. Butler (1990: 25) observes that, “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ...identity if performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be the results”. The analogy is, a particular gender role can be acted or portrayed in a performance. These are widely and intensively discussed gender related issues. Nonetheless, another twist also emerges in this commentary which is based on role demarcations that happen in the *Shangwe* spiritual kingdom.

As stated earlier on, Ngara and Mangizvo (2013), on the topic entitled, *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Conversation and Preservation of Natural Resources in the Shangwe Community in Gokwe District, Zimbabwe*, this ethnic group under discussion, utilises its local knowledge to preserve natural resources in their environment. One of the main reasons is that rain rites are performed at specific shrines such as hills and/or certain trees. These sacred places deserve local veneration since they are home for gods or spirits. As a result, *Shangwe* chiefs fine anyone who fells especially *michakata* trees. This was one dimension towards the study of the *Shangwe* culture. This commentary fills another information gap by discussing the manner in which these chiefs show respect and honour to a certain lady called *mbonga*, in rainmaking ceremonies.

In the *Shangwe* rainmaking setting, rain failure is perceived as a form of punishment attributed to a socially unaccepted behaviour. Accordingly, the *Shangwe* chiefs subtly apologise to their dependents for rain failure since they lead in rainmaking ceremonial rites. On a similar note, Smith (2013: 8) says, "We apologize not because we want to avoid further punishment but because we realize we have wronged and care about the other person and the principle at issue." This study further nourishes the concept of caring by analysing how *Shangwe* rainmaking songs mirror the unbearable pressure which emanates from communal food shortages.

Laycock (2013: 102) maintains,

Robert Love's extensively researched biography of Bernard credits him with reforming the American perception of yoga from scandalous practice associated with idolatry and preserve sexuality into a wholesome system of fitness.

Laycock was successful in erasing the American notion that *yoga*, a male - female dance, was a portrayal of sexual symbolism and such cultural practices should not be performed in the public domain. That was a certain facet on the study of gender and sexuality. Ngara (2013) discusses roles of the *Shangwe* men and women and a form of equality that only exists in their performance setting, cultural - conditional gender equality. In summary, all roles discoursed above were mainly focused on gender associated issues in music performances in general and the broad-spectrum covered matters of various societies. This present essay further supplements the same concept by examining an inequality that exists in the *Shangwe* spiritual kingdom and even by making comparisons with what actually happens in other societies.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Superiority in the Spiritual World

All the songs that are performed for *Nevana* do not include the drum yet songs for other spirits do. In addition, seven songs are specifically reserved for the dominant rain spirit who is locally called the regional spirit.³ According to informants,⁴ all the six mentioned above gods ask for rain from *Nevana* since he is next to The Almighty God, *Mwari*, in the traditional hierarchy of communication. One of the culture bearers repeatedly uttered the words, "*Nevana* is a re-

gional spirit. He is not invited by a drum like other spirits. No! Because he is a regional spirit."⁵ Based on what *Gasura* said, the drum exclusion has traditional and political implications. Analogies are, reserving songs specifically for *Nevana* and even not drumming are signs of showing him a special respect and recognition of his supremacy. In the world of politics, presidents also receive special honour. As is the case in Zimbabwe, where this research was carried out, there are songs that are only sung for the president at political events as a sign of acknowledging his paramount position. In a few words, hierarchies evident in the world of spirits are a reflection of hierarchies in societies, and the former might even be used as a justification of the latter.

Role Demarcation in the Spiritual Realm

One song entitled, *Ndiani wapisa mwoto*⁶ is about *Nyamunda* and *Nehowa* who are a rain god and goddess respectively, yet in the rain rite setting, they are also mediums, and rain priests, who were named after these rain spirits. *Nyamunda* is a male rain spirit whereas *Nehowa* is a female. Gender symbolisms are embedded in the names '*Nyamunda*' and '*Nehowa*'. *Nyamunda* is made up of the prefix *nya-* (owner) and suffix *-munda* (field) - meaning the owner of the field. If *Nyamunda* is the owner of the field, he has to ensure that he provides the rain for the crops to grow well. *Nehowa* is made of the prefix *ne-* and the suffix *-howa=nehowa*, which means 'with mushrooms' - implying that she is the provider of the mushrooms. The inference is *Nyamunda* assumes the role of a father in providing *sadza*, stiff pup, whilst *Nehowa* is responsible for searching for mushrooms, the relish, meaning what the researcher might refer to as spiritual gender roles delineation. Another inference is roles are clearly defined in the spiritual dominion. But in most African societies, men are responsible for gathering food during drought while women search for the relish. In other words, assigning each other clearly defined roles in the spiritual realm is intentionally done to complete the ritual model. Briefly, gender roles evident in the spiritual kingdom mirror male - female roles existing in societies.

Male Dominance in the Spiritual World

The song entitled, *Mireniko*, mentions six names, *Chibanya*, *Chikono*, *Chinamakwati*,

Musemwa, *Nyamunda*, and *Nehowa* and the key informants referred to them as 'small rain spirits'.⁷ However, one of these spirits, *Nehowa*, is a female, implying that five are males. When the researcher enquired from the informants⁸ why there were more male than female rain spirits, they explained that it was a long tradition that men ruled the country, an implication that cultural gender inequality was a long established tradition in the *Shangwe* community. In summary, male dominance in the spiritual sphere might be a reflection of male dominance prevailing in societies, and vice versa.

Role Delineation in the Performance Setting

During the mentioned above rituals in the villages of *Kufahazvinei* and *Nevana*, the researcher made the following observations: Drums were played by men only at both *Kufahazvinei* and *Nevana*. Out of twenty-two songs recorded for video edition, four were sung by men and eighteen by women. According to one of the key informants,⁹ women are not only culturally secluded from drumming, but they are also not even supposed to carry them. It is an established indigenous knowledge system by *Shangwe* men that since women menstruate, they should not play rain ritual drums. In their spiritual world view, menstrual blood renders women impure before their rain gods and/or spirits. The concept of purity is further articulated by another ethnic group by Rutsate (2010: 97) and he asserts that,

Among the Karanga, the two drums (ngoma) and rattles (magagada) that are played in mhanda dance are normally kept by either the spiritually initiated or master musicians who conduct their lives in accordance with societal norms, values, and beliefs.

Besides purity, the *Shangwe* justify the exclusion of women from drumming from a physical perspective. One of the informants¹⁰ stressed that men are stronger than women. They are able to play the drums for the whole night but women would have a problem.

As could be observed in the *Mukwerera* ceremonies the researcher has participated in since 1992, when it comes to singing, women take leading roles, yet during the study, men led in singing four songs and out of twenty-two songs females led in eighteen. When the researcher asked them to justify why females had a leading role in singing most of the rain rites songs, male infor-

ants maintained that women have high voice registers which travel further than most men's voices. According to one of the informants, since men also led in playing drums, their singing is a way of trying to balance gender roles during the performance. Henceforth, role delineation is a common feature occurring in this rainmaking performance situation. Similarly, Rouget (2011: 94) on the topic entitled, *Musical Efficacy*, which focuses musical ritual of BaNgombe Pygmies, notes that, "Women sing and their husbands hunt." This is typically role delineation but not mirrored in the *Shangwe* ritual songs. In other words, role demarcations that happen in African rituals are ethnologically designed to assign participants and performers to collectively and successfully accomplish the ritual models.

The Role of Mbonga

The song entitled, *Nhai mbonga*¹¹ is about a lady, *mbonga*, who was traditionally not supposed to marry and she resided at the rain priest's home for her entire life. The informants compared her status to nuns in the Catholic Church. The community depended on her ability to interpret the symbolism of thunder and lightening. Twenty-six chiefs come from the four districts of *Binga North*, *Binga South*, *Gokwe North*, and *Gokwe South* to ask for rain from the regional spirit, *Nevana*, and they bow before the unmarried lady (*mbonga*) since she has traditionally vested authority. Despite being female, she occupies a more dominant position than the chiefs in rain rites. The *mbonga* supervises elderly women when brewing rainmaking ritual beer. In a normal *Shangwe* life setting, it is supposed to be an elderly person who monitors young people at work. According to the informants, the lady is also responsible for interpreting the symbolism of thunder and lightening. Since the *Shangwe* believe that their rain god, *Nevana*, sometimes communicates with them from clouds, the community depends on her ability to explain the meaning of thunder and lightening. As a result, women, chiefs, and the society at large owe her great respect because of her wisdom and sanctified status. It is for the same reason women who are presidents and vice presidents, are highly honoured in certain countries. In summary, traditional authority empowers women who occupy influential positions in societies. That is one reason Weber (1962) advocates that the community acknowledges and respects the people who hold

socially prescribed positions. They are imbued with sanctified authority.

Social Reciprocity

Elderly women sing a song entitled, *Waita murudzii pana ambuya*¹² in which they use vulgar language, *maitambanudza matako*,¹³ which is traditionally discouraged in the public domain. According to the informants, the song is meant to castigate and provoke the rain god(s) because they were offered ritual beer but failed to supply rain in return. Once the *Shangwe* offer *Mukwerera* beer, they sing and expect the rain as a sign of social reciprocity. With reference to Deckop et al. (2003:101), culturally and biblically, human beings should reward a gift by another gift. Hence, goes the expression, “Do to others as you want them to do to you” (Luke, 6 verse, 31). In the English language, “A good turn deserves another” and in *Shona*, “*Chindiro chinopfumba kunobva chimwe*”. These three manifestations are simply underscoring the concept of social reciprocity. On a similar note, Mauss (2000) makes it known that social reciprocity maintains a rapport between the giver and the recipient and it is social expectation. In the context under discussion, if that societal hope of rain is not met, the *Shangwe* rebuke the rain spirits for their failure to perform the expected duty. They reprimand the rain gods to remind them not to pretend that they are not aware of the communal outcry for food. In such instances, it is the role of men and women to covertly tell rain spirits that there is severe hunger. The community also wants to find out the reason why *Nevana* does not fulfil his part after they offer him *Mukwerera* ritual beer. In the world of commerce, companies are lent large sums of money by banks but they are expected to pay back after a certain period. The purpose of repayment of bank loans is to maintain good ties between the borrower and the lender. On a slightly similar note, the rain god is offered beer during rainmaking prayers. Following this, he is inclined to reward the community with rain to maintain a positive relationship. Once *Nevana* fails to meet the social expectation, the community reminds him of his duty in rain rites. This again reminds the researcher of the *Shona* expression about the concept of ethos (*unhu*) “*Chindiro chinopfumba kunobva chimwe*.”¹⁴ In this regard, songs can be used to put pressure

on people who hold influential positions so that they behave or act according to the societal expectations, norms, values, and beliefs.

Rain Sentiments and Celebrations

The Chiefs

From the collected data, all the twenty-six chiefs who requested rain from *Nevana* were males. The chiefs occupy the highest position in their communities and possess a conventional authority. They are the only people who lead their chiefdoms in rain rites petitions. Based on that fact, it is the *Shangwe* and *Tonga* ethnic practice that prominent roles such as chieftainship should be occupied by males. During drought, the community looks up to the chiefs to ask for rain from *Nevana*. Most songs sung by chiefs express how deeply they are affected by the failure of rain. The chiefs would be worried that their status as symbols of authority has been undermined by the failure of the rain. They would be now vulnerable to society’s displeasure instead of restoring social order. So, their worry signals that they are deeply affected by the failure of rain. Chiefs express their dire need for rain and ultimately food through songs of sorrow. They present their rain sentiments to the gods or spirits because they would no longer be able to bear the pressure for food from their dependants. Other inferences are: Songs may be utilised to diplomatically remind those in positions of authority to know that societies are quite aware of their negligence of traditionally prescribed roles. Therefore, songs may be used as mechanisms to try and maintain the social model in order for the community to live as a family. Also, it is the role of chiefs to sing and dance to songs that provoke spirits to possess their mediums and it is another way of their interaction with the spiritual world. Additionally, such pressure songs reflect the connections that exist between societies and the divinities.

Women and Children

The song entitled, *Warara kurima*¹⁵ states that women and children always work the fields even though it will continue to be dry, because of no rain. The song-dance participants and performers end ritual ceremonies by songs of praise and joy, giving the impression of working together. Also, the females are more grieved by the

failure of rain since their role is to prepare food for the family members but there would be nothing to cook. Therefore, they express their grievance about the drought through songs of sorrow. Accordingly, women's longing for rain is compounded by their children's daily demand for food. In *Shona* and *Shangwe* customs in particular, children ask for food from their mothers. Consequently, women are saddened by food outcries from their siblings. Grieving, is meant to draw the attention of the rain gods or spirits so that they fulfil societal expectations.

Women singers want their male counterparts to take the leading role in finding out the cause of hunger. Women and children constitute the workforce therefore they work their field despite the absence of rain. One of the *Shona* expressions which promotes human endurance says, "*Simba mukaka rinodzinhira*".¹⁶ Accordingly, they do not tire working the fields since they have the feeling that one day, the rain will pour down. Hereafter, the children are likely to grow up with the notion that farming needs endurance.

The Community

Once the *Shangwe* receive rain, they celebrate and worship the rain spirits as depicted again by some of their songs. Consequently, it is their role to maintain rapport with the rain spirits through songs of praise. Again, it is the responsibility of men and women to instil the zeal in rain spirits to keep on providing more rain through singing particular songs. Praise songs are meant to inculcate the character of competition among gods in rain offering. In the world of the living, prizes are sometimes offered to the best achievers as a means to motivate them to maintain the standard. Here, songs are seen as being employed to raise the self-esteem of best workers in society.

CONCLUSION

Drought is a common feature of the *Gokwe* community. Chiefs, who are symbols of authority in this society, play a vital part in the *Mukwera* rainmaking ceremony. Just like their dependents, they are equally saddened by communal food shortages. The *Shangwe* express their food grievances by singing particular songs. *Nevana* spirit is their beam of hope during famine. Con-

sequently, they sometimes sing songs that are specifically reserved for this particular spirit during rainmaking performances. These songs are performed without drumming because of various reasons. Therefore, roles are traditionally designed to accomplish the rain ceremonial model.

RECOMMENDATIONS

By and large, scholars discuss the inequality that exists in societies. This paper established that discrimination also prevails in the spiritual realm. Given this scenario, there seems to be a need for ethnomusicological scholars to further carry out research in Africa, south of the Sahara on rainmaking ceremonies in order to find out if gender inequality predominantly occurs in the world of spirits. Academics usually discuss role demarcations found in communities. It emerged from this study that role delineations are also rampant in the spiritual kingdom. Therefore, studies may be conducted to investigate how responsibilities are marked in other African ritual songs. Generally, intellectuals talk about spirits that are evoked to possess mediums through drumming. Conversely, this particular work established that there are certain songs especially reserved for a distinct spirit and they are sung without drum accompaniment. Based on this, it appears there is a necessity to make additional enquiries on African ceremonies to establish the way certain spirits' social positions are ethnically acknowledged. Besides, academics and scholars discuss that chiefs are insignias of power. This paper confirmed that *Shangwe* and *Tonga* chiefs are deeply affected by rain failure. They feel that their status is consequently threatened if their dependents continue starving. It is recommended that researchers conduct other investigations on rain ceremonial rites to find out how chiefs in other parts of Africa express their rain dilemmas.

NOTES

1. Compiled from Evina Marariromba, Gaison Gasura, and Obert Marariromba in Gokwe North District on 16/07/2010
2. Interviews compiled from Evina Marariromba in Gokwe North District on 16/07/2010
3. Mhondoro huru yedunhu.
4. Interviews compiled from Evina Marariromba, Gaison Gasura, and Obert Marariromba in Gokwe North District on 16/07/2010
5. Gasura uttered, "Nevana imhondoro huru yedunhu. Haadanwi nengoma semhondoro diki. Kwete! Nokuti munhu mukuru."

6. Who has set the fire?
7. Mhondoro diki.
8. Interviews compiled from Evina Marariromba, Gaison Gasura, and Obert Marariromba in Gokwe North District on 16/07/2010
9. Interviews compiled from Evina Marariromba in Gokwe North District on 16/06/2010
10. Interviews compiled from Phineas Maenzani in Gokwe South District on 13/07/2010
11. What is it the unmarried lady?
12. What kind of humanity do you portray during the presence of mother-in-law?
13. You were moving buttocks fast.
14. A good turn deserves another.
15. We are just planting.
16. Energy rejuvenates just like milk.

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