



**MADONNA
UNIVERSITY**

**INTERNATIONAL
JOURNAL**
OF EDUCATION AND ARTS

VOL. 1 , NO 4

2023



International Journal of Education and Arts Vol.1 , N0 4 Nov. 2023

Commodification: Feminist Struggles in Sutherland's *the Marriage of Anansewa* and Sofola's *Wedlock of the Gods*

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Abstract

*Women have always been considered as simply mere commodities. This has made them not to be valued for their human qualities in the society. Women in most African cultures are seen as commodities, where they are being given out in marriage against their will. Most times they are being sold out as commodities for economic values. However, African writers have been able to expose the flaws and dangers in such a conception. This study examines the negative impact of feminist struggles as a result of commodification by African parents. The study adopts feminism as a theory and uses textual analysis method to critically analyze Efua Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa* and Zulu Sofola's *Wedlock of the Gods*. Through content analysis, the study discusses the commodification of women and their struggles in the African Patriarchal society. The study concludes that women will do better and contribute more*

positively in the society when they are given freedom to live as humans not as commodities. The study recommends that awareness should be created by triggering dialogue through theatre. This approach will open a unique space to build awareness on the effects of forced marriages as well as open discussion on how to address the issue.

Keywords: Commodification, Feminist struggle, Women, Patriarchal, African culture.

Introduction

Women in most African cultures are seen as commodities, where they are given out in Marriages against their will. Most times, it appears they are being sold out as commodities for economic values. In Togo, a country in Africa, a woman is seen as her husband and family's property, even after his death Moore (2008). Women have struggled for equality and against oppression for centuries. Although, some battles have been partly won; such as the right to vote and equal access to education, Women are still disproportionately affected by all forms of violence and by discrimination in every aspect of life.

In contemporary Africa, negative social practices against ladies actually exist. These incorporate early and constrained marriage, unsafe widowhood ceremonies, female genital mutilation and non-legacy from guardians and spouses. As a matter of fact, ladies in most African social orders are treated as lesser being and are neither concurred the valuable chance to put themselves out there, nor are they engaged with deciding (even the choices that influence their prosperity straightforwardly) within the sight of men. Most female activists note that females turn into objects of males' pleasure in marriages and they are subordinate to the male orientation.

One major movement behind feminist's struggle is Feminism. Since the springing up of feminism as an organized force from the radical anti-slavery movement in the early 1830, it has spread to different parts of the world including Africa. It has been an

umbrella body for the expression of women's needs. Etymologically, 'feminism' takes its roots from the Latin word "femina" which translates as "women". The concept of feminism reflects the history of different struggles and one of them is commodification. The publication in 1792 of *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* by Mary Wellstone Craft is said to have given rise to the emergence of feminism as an intellectual movement to put an end to sexism, oppression, sexist exploitation and to achieve full gender equality in law and in practice.

This study examines the negative impact of feminist struggles as a result of commodification by African parents. The study adopts feminism as a theory and uses textual analysis method to critically analyze Efua Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa* and Zulu Sofola's *Wedlock of the Gods*. Through content analysis, the study discusses the commodification of women and their struggles in the African Patriarchal society. The study concludes that women will do better and contribute more positively in the society when they are given freedom to live as humans not as commodities.

Theoretical Framework

Feminism is defined by chelisa and preece(2005) as "the manifestation of gender inequality and gender oppressive behaviour." (212). Feminism is a movement based on feminist ideologies aimed at eradicating all forms of oppression, abuse, and injustice that threaten women in society.

Feminism in Africa aims at transforming culture as it affects women in different societies. Many theories and movements are embodied African feminism, which represent the realities of women in a variety of African countries. According to Arndt (2002), one of the main objectives of African feminism is to demolish the current state of domination and then rethink the notion of gender roles in African societies in order to improve the status of African women. Although the feminist movement began in the nineteenth century, liberal feminists demanded stronger equality laws and reform of organizations such as schools, hospitals, and the media.

The root of women's inequalities was argued by radical feminists

in the second wave of feminism: men oppress women as a group. They also focused on violence against women by men, and they began to discuss abuse in the family, as well as rape. It is a combination of patriarchy and capitalism, according to socialist feminists, that causes women's oppression. Women were a part of the French revolution from the beginning: women marched to Versailles by a large group of working women marching to demand not only food to feed their families, but also political change.

Review of Related Literature

The globalized commodification of women is ultimately triggered by the patriarchal power structures that thrive to convert women into commodities that can be sold. When a woman is transformed into a commodity, according to Kopytoff (1986), she becomes a unit under someone else's control. Women are commodified and treated only in ways that are profitable to men. The commodification of femininity demonstrates how a feminine gender identity is not a characteristic that all women are born with, but rather a product produced by commercialization.

Children were the glory of men and their possessions in African societies, according to Lindorfer (2007), and women were also regarded as valuable commodities owned by their male family members and later by their husband and their families (126). Daughters were obligated to make their parents' lives easier in general. Moreover, as Lindorfer explains, women are viewed as income producing agents in some communities at a young age. Since a child is still in her father's house, she is seen as an investment and when she marries, she becomes an asset to her husband and his family.

Ngcobo (1988), a South African writer states that an African girl child is born to fulfill a specific role, for she is trained to be a suitable wife from a very early age. This was done in order to make sure that the girl child would become a "Valuable" commodity as seen in most African societies. The above quote shows that a young girl whose destiny is determined by a man and that older people have

no chance of rejecting what has been promised. Since she was a child of a married family, the girl child is in a disadvantageous position, causing her to struggle to pursue her dream in life and develop her own capacity for independent self-expression.

A woman is a good wife if she respects the status quo, according to African rites, if she follows the rules of the day. For example, not challenging her husband and looking after the children. This leaves women in a situation in which they are not able to support themselves because their primary role in life is that of a wife and mother. They become the property of men, thus making them commodities that men can treat in any way they choose. As rightly pointed out, this state of affairs can encourage selfish, irresponsible behaviour on the part of African men.

In the past, the groom's family sent bride-wealth to the bride's parents as a form of contract that recognized a relationship not just between two people, as is the case in the West, but also, and notably, as an alliance between two extended families. Furthermore, bride-wealth served as compensation to the wife's family for her labour. Denbow and Thebe (2006) assert:

“the bride-wealth was also intended to acknowledge the wife's family for giving away their daughter; in addition, it “placed the marriage on firm ground if questions later arouse about the position of children within their father's lineage, their rights to inheritance, and the rights to property on the parts of the husband or wife if the marriage ended in divorce” (136).

In other words, bride-wealth served as a mechanism for the people to acknowledge and accept marriage. The bride-wealth has, however, become increasingly commercialized in recent years as a result of the advent of a monetary economy; for example, the better educated the lady, the more expensive the bride-wealth. Because of this, a man who spends an excessive bride-wealth may believe that he has "purchased" his wife (Green 1999). Parents who hold such views consider their daughters to be little more than commodities who must comply with their wishes. One could now ask why females are unable

to object to their father's choice. Arranged marriages are a patriarchal tradition that undoubtedly strengthens male domination while denying girls the ability to make their own decisions. The following are some of the explanations provided by Steven Goldberg (1993) in his anthropological study on male dominance, *Why Men Rule*, on why men engage in such violence: He notes that males often turn to physical violence in the quest of dominance, using physical aggressiveness as a means to a goal.

Observing arranged weddings in Zimbabwe, Kambarami (2006) notes that they are common in Shona traditions and other parts of Zimbabwe. Parents give their elder daughters in marriages to wealthy neighbors in return for cash or grain to grow. In severe situations, Kambarami observes, some parents would wed their daughters to their debtors if they can't pay their loans back. All in all, the young ladies in question are not asked for their consent but are instead made to follow cultural tradition. This is reminiscent to young Binetou, in Mariama Ba's *So long A Letter*, who was reluctant to marry Modou, a man so much older than herself, but her mother who wanted to escape from poverty encouraged her to abandon her education in order to give the mother access to higher Socio-economic status quickly via marriage to Modou. African parents have strong belief in the authority that patriarchy has bestowed upon them, and they utilize this belief to control their daughters.

According to Kate Millet (1970), a young girl may only engage in patriarchal socialization processes inside the boundaries of her household. The notion of male entitlement and dominance that is encouraged by the bride price is frequently linked to complete possession of the woman and justification for a man to do as he pleases without getting her permission. A gender-equal marriage is more challenging to attain if a man must spend anything to wed a woman. In the heat of misunderstandings it is a major reason men utter a thing like: "I paid your bride price, you have to obey me..." Women are expected to be subservient in marriage because the man paid a sum to marry her. The practice of bride-price legitimizes the power of men to treat their wives as acquired objects. As

Irigaray(1985) posits, even though:

“The paths marked out for the two sexes” are dissimilar, the woman refutes her relations in obedience to social and cultural laws of marriage. So that she can be inscribed into those of men which will become the “Origin” of her desire (33).”

Hence, the man positions himself as the only available source of origin to the woman. Irigaray (1985) argues that the exchange value of women built Western Culture. Women resemble commodities displayed for sale. Their exchange value depends on their bodies and their descriptions by language, and patriarchal society compels them to accept definitions that language imposes on them. Irigaray reiterates a similar scenario in her rhetorical diatribe on the values placed on women: they are “products” used and exchanged by men. Their status is that of merchandise, “Commodities”. How can such objects of use and transaction claim the right to speak and to participate in exchange in general?” (84). In Bressler (2003), the woman cannot be elevated to fill her rank due to the traditionally held notion that she is the weaker sex, “mindless, weepy, passive, and helpless creatures,” who must look up to the man to make her life meaningful. According to Irigaray:

“The law, commodification of women that orders our society is the exclusive valorization of men's needs/desires, of exchanges among men... Men make commerce of them (women), but they (men) do not enter into any exchanges with them (women) (172).”

For there to be an economic system in which women are commodified, there must be an underlying patriarchal power structure from which the Objectification and Commodification of the feminist disseminates. Patriarchy demeans and oppresses the female gender. Females are not allowed to make family decisions. In Oyono Mbia's *Three Suitors One Husband*(1974), Juliette's father decides to give her out in marriage without her consent. This is to show that women are viewed as human capital in the patriarchal world.

African women must band together and fight against patriarchal power and authority in all spheres of their lives, not just within the confines of their families and societies, in order to free themselves from the oppressions, subjugations, and subordination that they endure. Since suffering is a common denominator that they share together, women need to unite so that they can put an end to it. As D' Almeida (1986) rightly points out, "a greater solidarity among women is needed to alleviate the agony women go through in marital and social situation" (162).

However, as Mutunda (2007) observes that, this solidarity cannot flourish without a good understanding on the part of women themselves that, in a patriarchal society, all women are second class citizens.

Synopsis of the Plays

The Marriage of Anansewa

The play tells a story of how Ananse, a wretched poor man gets rich through cunning and fraudulent means. Ananse has an only daughter called Anansewa who is a student of E.P.'s Secretarial School. He is so poor that he can't pay her school fees; so, Ananse devises a means of paying his daughter's school fees and feeding himself. In his plans, he visits four chiefs (Chief of Sapaase, Chief of Mines, Chief Togbe-Klu and Chief-Who-is-Chief) and promise to give each of them his only daughter, Anansewa in marriage. He returns from the trip and begins to dictate letters for Anansewa to type and send each letter to the chiefs assuring them in the letter that their discussion on the "object of their interest" is still as planned. Anansewa types the letters, oblivious of the fact that she is the object being referred to in the letter. However, when she realizes that the letters are for choosing a husband for her, she protests. She feels that her father wants to sell her "like some parcel to a customer" (20).

However, Ananse convinces her of the necessity of such plan.

In addition, the chief has already given Ananse some money with which to pay Anansewa's school fees. Consequently, Anansewa becomes interested and actually falls in love with one of the chiefs. Ananse receives gifts from all the chiefs, he improves his lifestyle considerably, renovates his house and buys new clothes. All the chiefs are interested in marrying Anansewa. Ananse is in a fix. He decides that Anansewa should "die". He invites his mother (Aya), his aunt (Ekuwa), his friend (Christie) to an outdooing ceremony for Anansewa. This ceremony was cut short to enable him carry out his next plan successfully. He bundles his mother and aunt home on the pretext that "...enemies have set fire to our hope, our cocoa farm at their home town, Nanka". He connives with Christie to announce that Anansewa is "dead". The news gets to the chiefs and they send their condolences with gifts and inadvertently reveal their intention/motive for deciding to marry Anansewa. The last messengers to come are from Chief-Who-is-Chief. It is revealed that he wanted to marry Anansewa for true love and devotion. Ananse then goes into a trance and invokes Anansewa to resurrect. At that invocation, Anansewa awakes and claims that she could hear Chief-Who-is-Chief calling her. The play ends on a happy note as the power of love ostensibly triumphs.

Wedlock of the Gods

The play tells the tale of Ogwoma, a young widow whose family forced her into an arranged marriage to secure funds in order to obtain medicine for her sick brother. Two months after her husband, Adigwu eventually dies (still within the required three-months mourning period enforced on widows), she becomes pregnant for Uloko, the love of her life. Ogwoma, oblivious of the bounds of tradition, feels free to live a happy life having been released from the chains and pangs of being married to a man she does not love, nor wanted to do anything with in the first place. Ogwoma's mother-in-law, Odibei makes it her mission to punish both lovers (Uloko and Ogwoma) for disgracing her dead son. Likewise, Ogwoma and Uloko's parents urge them to abandon their love to

avoid bringing shame to their families. The community on their part tries to broker peace, but they have to confront the two lovers who see nothing wrong in their action, but rather, they see it as an act of the gods. Amid their defiance, the families of both Uloko and Ogwoma blame each other as being responsible for the calamity that is befalling the two lovers.

However, with the aid of an incantation, Odibei puts Ogwoma under a spell to adhere to her villainous plans. Odibei prepares a poisonous drink and instructs Ogwoma to drink it. Ogwoma dies of the poisonous concoction. This made Uloko to be angry and he vows to avenge the death of his lover and the mother of his unborn child by killing Odibei to complete the cycle of death, as the play is termed "a tragedy which finds its roots in the ritual of deaths and mourning". Uloko after keeping to his vow takes his own life by drinking the same poison that killed his lover: declaring that "...ours is the wedlock of the gods..." with the firm belief that their union will continue in the world of the dead.

Analysis of the Play Texts

Commodification of Women

The commodification of women can be seen in situations in which men believe that women are the property of men. Women are perceived and treated in an objectified manner, and women's images and bodies are exposed to practices of commodification. Women become commodities within a patriarchal economic system and their identities are thus derived from their value to men. There is a link between the commodification of women through the bride price system. The feeling of male entitlement and dominance, as fostered by bride price can enable men to treat their wives as acquired objects. Because the bride-price paid is often related to total ownership of the woman. The whole idea of bride-price is detrimental to the well-being of women in a society that is striving for the advancement of gender equality.

In most African societies, marriage is seen as the most common means by which women are commodified. Traditionally,

some African communities have practiced arranged marriage, in which the daughter is married to a man chosen by her parents. The lack of choice is one illustration of how hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy affect women. This kind of marriage practice that deprives a woman of her right to choose a partner of her choice is a way of commodifying her. Women's right to choose and influence the events that affect their lives, desires, and bodies, continues to be a central component of feminist. Patriarchy especially in traditional African Societies mostly gives more privileges to men folk than womenfolk. According to feminists, patriarchy is the source of women's oppression. Efua Sutherland and Zulu Sofola in their plays displayed how women/girls are oppressed, subjugated and being treated as mere commodity by their parents.

In Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa*, she uses Ananse as a typical African man who used his daughter as a way of improving his financial status in the society. In Sofola's *Wedlock of the Gods*, she upholds the view that marriage is supreme according to custom and tradition. Ogwoma is unjustly treated by the male folk. She is forced to marry a man she does not love. Sofola therefore, sees this as an unfavorable African cultural practice that affects the women emotionally and psychologically.

The prevalence of early marriage tends to further impoverish the women folk in the society. Women have also been analyzed to be part of those bundles of things paraded, bided for, sold, and traded off despite the fact that they are making huge contributions for the development of their countries in different aspects; still women are seen as commodities. Women folks are limited in the choices they are able to make because they do not have the opportunity to choose the men they love by themselves; this applies to Ogwoma in *Wedlock of the Gods*. In the play, Ibekwe decides to marry off his daughter without consulting her or listening to her opinion. Also, in Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa*, Ananse was eager to have his daughter married to one of the chiefs not for her happiness but for the opposite reason, despite the age difference between the chiefs and his daughter. Motivated by self-interest, Ananse wants to elevate

himself from their poverty-stricken life because this elevation will make him to be respected in the society. Ananse's family would also gain materially from giving out Anansewa's hand in marriage to one of the chiefs.

Eustace Palmer (1982) degrades women to the status of goods and chattel, while allowing husbands to dominate their wives and thus ensuring a system of perpetual subjugation of women. These are kinds of beliefs that make Ibekwe and Ananse think that their daughters are mere properties and should, therefore, submit to their will. This patriarchal practice of arranged marriage gives male folks the power to control the female folks. And this alone deprives them (female folks) of the power to choose and control their body, as they are most times forced to comply with cultural tradition. This is evident in Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa*. Ananse sold his daughter (Anansewa) out without her consent. Although, she cried when she realized: Anansewa: How exasperating! Oh my father is selling me... (p.19).

In Solola's *Wedlock of the Gods*, Ibekwe married Ogwoma off to Adigwu without her consent.

Ogwoma:

“No, it is not the way others are given away to their husbands that you and father threw me away to Adigwu. No, mother, you and father were so hungry for money that you tied me like a goat and threw me away to a man I hated (p.18).”

Although, both girls cried in their voiceless and powerless tune, still it did not stop them from complying to their fathers demands.

Social Struggles of Women in African Societies

Sub-Saharan Africa has the world's highest mortality rate among women in child birth. Behind these figures lie shape-fitting forms of violence that sometimes accumulate, especially for the poorest women. These include early or forced marriages, marital and sexual violence and the appropriation of economic resources. In Nigerian culture, men, can mete out any amount of ill-treatment to women and get away with it as there seem to be no structures in the

traditional system to check such ill-treatment. This is evident in most of the plays written by African pioneer writers. Umoren(2004) notes that, feminism decries in very strong terms the subjugation of women by men and demands for the authenticity of the liberation, both in the institution of marriage and the large society (4).

Hence, in African society, the girl child is at a disadvantage because she is brought up to be married off young. Marrying off Anansewa to the old chief (Chief-Who-is-Chief) contributes to the oppression of the girl child. Also, by forcefully marrying her off to the old chief, she (Anansewa) ceases to have a life of her own. Ananse has his daughter's future decided for her and she has no say in her father's decisions. Marina Deegan(1994) comments further on the boundaries that surround women such as Anansewa:

Confined by their low position in society, their social and economic powerlessness, and most importantly by the restricting definitions of womanliness, women are forced to repress all their natural ambitions and inclinations (43).

Having examined the ways in which Anansewa and Ogwoma are perceived as a mere commodity by their parents. The next form of oppression within the marriage leading to failure of feminism will be discussed from the outset, the marriage of both girls are based on a non-egalitarian relationship. Their parents believe in the power patriarchy has granted them, and they used it to subdue the girls (Ogwoma and Anansewa) by persuasion and by physical force.

Women are seen as subordinate to men. Their roles are primarily a domestic one. They are not expected to concern themselves with matters outside the home that was more properly the domain of men. Economic activity beyond the home was acceptable, but not considered 'feminine'. In African societies women were expected to undertake agricultural tasks as well to help feed the family. Njoku(2001) asserts that:

Women conditioning in Africa is the greatest barrier toward a fulfillment of self, due to the fact that men use "the ideology of patriarchy which emphasizes

male importance, dominance and superiority” to enslave women and make them second-class citizens (195).

Patriarchy favors men, and subjugates women. Ogwoma and Anansewa seem to have no voice and no say for themselves. “They cling to the ways of the tribe passively and uphold the patriarchal structure unchallenged” (Ogunde1999, 110). To these submissive women, however, men are unkind and non-responsive and if there is any response, it is often violent and aggressive. In *The Marriage of Anansewa*, Ananse is a good example of this where he uses patriarchal power to influence his daughter, Anansewa into marrying one of those chiefs.

Chinweizu (1990) claims that not all women go into marriage “voluntarily” and “eagerly”. In traditional society, some young girls are used as pawns by their fathers who consider them as properties. This accounts for forced marriages where female children are given out in marriage and the bride-price is used to educate the boy child, because female education will be an asset to the husband's family. In *Wedlock of the Gods*, Ogwoma was given out in marriage against her own will in order for her parents to use the bride-wealth (money) to treat her sick brother.

Male child preference, female victimization, oppression and marginalization in Africa have remained a global concern. Oguoma's parents preferred to save their son's life first before anyone else. Her feelings and self-hood are of no value to her parents except she complies with patriarchal expectation otherwise, she is disempowered and denigrated to a worthless being. It is in a most undignified and savaged manner that Ogwoma is forced into marriage she utterly rejects. An attempt to resist this form of injustice lands her into more serious troubles with her father as she is tied, dragged and whipped along the village path to Adigwu's house. “The brutal and near animal method” (Double yoke, 59) of subjugating and humiliating Ogwoma show the chauvinistic tendencies of male superiority over the female.

Ibekwe and Ananse are male Chauvinists in both plays.

Ibekwe brutalizes Ogwoma into “silence and submission” to his will. While, Ananse on the other hand, manipulates and puts Anansewa under pressure to submit to his will. However, Anansewa on realizing this protests and declines her father's interest to get married in her statement thus:

Anansewa: My father is selling me,
Alas, alas!
Whoever thought he would?
Alas, alas!
But let me tell you bluntly,
I'll never comply.
I will not let you sell me Like some parcel
to a customer (p.19-12).

Anansewa makes frantic and desperate efforts to demand for her freedom noting that she will not comply with her father's scheme to sell her like a commodity in the market place. The onus for this action and liberty lies on her to take decisions that concerns her freedom. Despite Anansewa's actions, the superior and powerful Ananse, must fulfill his selfish inordinate desire of “resting his bones on bouncy Dunlop, attending burials in fine clothes, making open donations in church inside the gleaming collection plate” and Anansewa is the only means to achieving this end, hence the subtle pressure, mendacious fine-turning of her emotions by the trickster Ananse, to ensure his daughter's compliance with the duties of his wishes. Resorting to emotional blackmail is a manipulative dictate of the patriarchal system often deployed by men against women.

The Negative Effects of Female Commodification.

In African societies, considering welfare impacts of marriage payments, women are disadvantaged. A disturbing and prevailing attitude remains that when you have paid a price for a wife, she becomes your property. Also, early and forced marriages of girls and women can contribute to their being placed in a cycle of poverty and powerlessness. Most of them are likely to experience mistreatment, trauma, domestic violence, frustration etc. This cultural practice of early and forced marriage opens the door for gender-based, domestic,

and physical violence where the men who marry these girls are often older and take advantage of them and may even sexually abuse them. Once young girls are forced into marriage, they lose their right to education and their right to freedom of choice. Also, they are deprived of the normal range of opportunities and experiences available to their peers when they are pressured into marriage against their will. The risks of emotional abuse through being stigmatized by family and the wider community are also present. However, Nigerian women face a lot of discrimination and this will in turn limit their opportunities to develop their full potential and basis of equality with men. They are far from enjoying equal rights in the labour market, due to their domestic burden. Ojo (1982) asserts that:

Women in Nigeria are harder-hit than men by poverty due to the non-challant emphasis placed on female education, and the prevalence of early marriage which tend to further impoverish the women folk, and subject them to statutory discrimination (126-127).

However, marrying at such a young age means that these young girls are forced into sexual relations and often get pregnant when they are not ready. Most times they face high risk of sexual and gender-based violence. Some tend to drop out of school or even attempt suicide at a younger age as a result of early and forced marriage.

Conclusion

This study, however exhaustive it may seem, has focused primarily on the theme of early and forced marriage as present in *The Marriage of Anansewa* and *Wedlock of the Gods*. Both works of literature portray the lives of women in patriarchal society. The study concludes that women will do better and contribute more positively in the society when they are given freedom to live as humans not as commodities.

For further researches, this researcher opines that other themes such as poverty and ambition, love and materialism, culture and tradition, to mention a few, should be given an equally sustained and detailed analysis. In addition, aspects of aesthetics such as the writers' language, symbols, characterization, etc., should be delved into so as to achieve a better artistic version.

Recommendation

- Awareness should be created by triggering dialogue through theatre. This approach opens a unique space to build awareness on the effects of forced marriage as well as for open discussion on how to address the issue.
- A platform for women to articulate their issues concerning all forms of gender violence should be created.
- Sensitization should be done with a wide variety of stakeholders, from parents, teachers, community and religious leaders as well as the girls themselves. This will not just give them information about their rights but also encourage them to have the confidence to speak up for themselves.
- Government should hold public symposium on the elimination of early and forced marriage as this will help create awareness for everyone in the

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