WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND SEXUAL REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS: A CASE OF AFRICAN APOSTOLIC INDIGENOUS CHURCHES OF TANGWENA AREA IN NYANGA, ZIMBABWE

By

LINDAH TSARA

216062204

Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Religion and Theology, Classics and Philosophy

University of KwaZulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

October 2019

Supervisor   Professor Lilian Cheelo Siwila

Declaration

I, Lindah Tsara, PhD candidate, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Faculty of Humanities, Religion and Social sciences, School of Religion and Theology, hereby declare that unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is my own original work and shall only be submitted for the purposes of the above mentioned degree.

Signature of Student:

………………………

Lindah Tsara

As the supervisor, I hereby approve this thesis for submission

Signature of Supervisor:

…………………………………

Pietermaritzburg   October 2019

Dedication

In loving memory of my beloved father, the late Patrick Tsara, who always encouraged me and had enthusiasm to see his children succeed in education, which motivated me to pursue a PhD degree however, he died before I started the programme. My dear father, I have fought the good fight, I have won the race and fulfilled your wish of succeeding in education. I really wish you were there to witness my last graduation with a smile on your face as usual. May your dear soul rest in eternal peace and until we meet again, Amen.

Acknowledgements

Acronyms

AAC	African Apostolic Church
AAICs	African Apostolic Indigenous Churches
ACCZ	African Christian Council of Zimbabwe
AIC's	African Indigenous Churches
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
BAFC	Bonagesi Apostolic Faith Church
HIV and AIDS	Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women's Studies
JMAC	Johane Marange Apostolic Church
SDG's	Sustainable Development Goals
TSAC	Topia Sungano Apostolic Church
UNESCO	United Nations, Science, Culture and Education Organisation
WILSA	Women and Law Southern Africa

Abstract

This study uses a post-colonial feminist theory and African cultural feminist hermeneutics to investigate whether the teachings of the African Apostolic Indigenous Churches of Tangwena area have any influence on the girl child's limited education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This study was a qualitative empirical research where data was generated from both fieldwork and secondary sources. The study found out that the teachings of AAICs covered in this study though not stated precisely on the ground, have a role to play in the limited education and poor sexual and reproductive health rights of most of the girls who drop out from school and get married young in Tangwena area. Tendencies such as the teaching of a girl child to preserve her virginity before she gets married and how to be a good mother as taught in these churches prepared the girl child only to be destined for marriage. This made some of the girls powerless and end up lacking power over their sexual and reproductive rights. This study also found out that although AAICs teachings have a role to play in most of the girls' limited education; there were other factors that have nothing to do with the church teachings that were also responsible for the girl child's limited education in Tangwena area. These factors include lack of exposure to social and economic activities, failing of the major grade Seven and form Four National Examination which screens who is proceeding with education and who is left behind, and parental influence. This study concludes that it only requires social commitment of all the stakeholders of AAICs indicated in the study to uplift the girl child's education in their teachings as a form of empowerment, and the only way that will delay girls from getting married so young and desist from getting married to people who are older to them, who will force them to be voiceless in the marriage as far as reproductive health rights are concerned.

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Although health and education are a basic human right in Zimbabwe, many girls in African Apostolic Indigenous Churches (AAICs) of Tangwena area still struggle to access western formal education and modern medicines. Informed by the scenario, this study seeks to investigate whether the theological teachings of AAICs of Tangwena area have any influence on most of the girl children's[1] limited education and the extent to which their limited education contributes to lack of power over their sexual and reproductive health rights. This chapter provides the general introduction of the entire study. It starts with providing an overview of the location of the study. It describes both the geographical and academic location of the study as both are significant to the study. After this, a fleeting description of the African Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ), where the three selected AAICs of this study are affiliated is presented. This chapter also discusses the settings of the study. This setting locates girl child education as a subject of common interest world wide. Furthermore, the chapter provides the impetuses to undertake the study. It also presents the statement of the problem; the key research question; the sub questions and the objectives of the study. Lastly, the chapter presents the limitations and scope of the study. The chapter ends by providing the general outline of the study.

---

[1] A girl-child is a biological female offspring since birth to eighteen (18) years of age. In this age one is not yet a young adult. This period includes crèche, nursery or early childhood. During this period, the young child is completely under the custodian of her parents or guardians. It consist of childhood, early and late teenage years of the stages of development. At this stage, the young adult is flexible to form and build her character and attitude. Throughout this period the girl is dependent on others, especially those she took as role models for her behaviour. In this study limited education is referring to those girls who drop out from school before acquiring secondary education which is basic education for one to become an adult.

1.2 Background to the study

According to the United Nations Science Culture and Education Organisation (UNESCO) report of 2015, the education system in Zimbabwe was declared a constitutional right in 1980 and re-enforced in the constitutional amendment in 2013 by Robert Mugabe (former President), who transformed the constitution to make primary and secondary education free and compulsory.Although this claim was made by the president, this is not what is happening on the ground, education is not free, people are struggling to pay fees especialy in the rural areas.Chikoko (2008) states that the system of education in Zimbabwe incorporates 13 years of primary and secondary school and it stretches from January to December. One of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) in Zimbabwe, was to achieve universal quality education for all students. Despite the government's efforts to priotise this inclusive education, Chikwature (2016:15) postulated that the struggle of the girl child's access to education has become a serious concern in most AAICs, especially considering the fact that most girls are dropping out from school and end up married. Statistically, Chikwature argues that out of the 10 000 girls who enrolled in the first level in 2010 in Marange District of Manicaland province, only about a third completed Form Four (below matric in South Africa's system) in 2013 and these girls who did not finish school belong to Johane Marange Church (JMC), one of the AAICs in this study, since it is one of the dominant churches in this district.

  Chikwature further postulates that most of the girls who left out school are coerced into involuntary marriages at a very young age before their bodies are mature enough for sexual activities. Scholars such as Sibanda (2011), Sachiti (2013) and Vengei (2013) concur with this idea when they argue that the young girls who drop out from school get into early marriages that increase their vulnerability to sexual and reproductive health risks as most of them will be in polygamous marriages. Such marriages will make them prone to a number of sexually transmitted diseases and other social ills. In the same line of argument, Nour (2009) argues that early marriages tend to put the girl child's sexual and reproductive health at a high risk, especially during pregnancy and child birth, due to the underdeveloped biological status of her body. She further argues that due to this status, society ends up having more children giving birth before their Pelvic bones are developed enough to deliver a baby.

Additionally, in a report by Sibanda (2011: 5) of the Research and Advocacy Unit, the author argues that:

> The Holy Spirit in JMC is used as an intimidating tool, instilling fear in members not to do certain acts as they are threatened with curses. The same Holy Spirit is used to validate child marriages as prophets would have been directed by the Holy Spirit to marry young girls. They also believe that girls should have only minimum schooling, and therefore, as soon as a girl reaches puberty they are married off. The lack of education often disempowers the girl child. Due to limited education they do not question certain harmful practices in the church such as the practice of not taking children to health institutions. The cross-generational nature of polygamous marriages in the church is also problematic because young girls cannot stand up for themselves in the marriage to demand safe sex or take part in decisions that affect their reproductive health such as child spacing (2011:50).

Similarly, a Harare based International Organization known as Women and Law Southern Africa (WLSA, 2009), carried out a research which revealed that the girls who are involved in early marriages are likely to experience problems during child birth which cause some of them to die during the process. This particular study revealed that the girls who drop out from school and get married young are prone to cervical cancer, suffer psychological trauma and encounter a number of problems such as failing to deal with social pressures that are associated with polygamous marriages. Following this background, a lot of critical questions that required critical answers were raised. For example: (i) What are the circumstances behind the dropping out of school of young girls in AAICs of Tangwena area who get married young? (ii) What do the AAICs teach about girl child education? (iii) How do AAICs perceive western formal education?

These questions are also driven by a dominant opinion, especially from the international community, as well as from a body of scholarship, that the AAICs are responsible for influencing the girl child's limited education in Zimbabwe. However, these questions made this study more important for it investigated whether the AAICs hold accountability for the girl child's limited education and her sexual and reproductive rights.

1.3 The Geographic site of the study

This study is situated in Tangwena area of Nyanga District in the Eastern Region of Manicaland province in Zimbabwe, bordering Mozambique. Nyanga Region lies in region 1 which receives

above 1200 mm of rain per year at a height of 1100 to 1600 meters above sea level with good deep soils for farming however, is very mountainous. Settlements are sparsely populated on mountaneous areas resulting in difficulties in the collection of water and food for children and women since they have to struggle with steep slopes (Burrett 1960:5). The people of Tangwena are part of Manyika dialect which is largely spoken in the District of Nyanga in Manicaland province. The study was constructed on three selected AAICs in Tangwena area of Nyanga in Manicaland province, Zimbabwe. The AAICs covered by this study include Bonagesi Apostolic Faith Church (BAFC), Topia Sungano Apostolic Church (TSAC) and Johane Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC). The Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe is responsible for these churches to as presented below in section 1.4.

1.3.1 Academic location of the study

From an academic perspective, the study is located within AIC's movement where Christianity is syncretized with some African traditional practices in-order to make it more appealing to African Christians. Moreover, this study took a multi-disciplinary approach in the sense that it addresses issues of education, health and religion. The study uses post-colonial feminist theory in analysing the theological teachings of the AAICs on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

1.4 AAICs Representative Board

The Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ) is a body that represents the Apostolic and Zionist churches in Zimbabwe with an estimated membership of about 350 Apostolic and white garment churches led by its president, Johanese Ndanga. The organisation was formed on the 12th of September 2010 at Stodart grounds in Mbare,

Harare. The thrust of the formation of this organisation was to acknowledge and standardize the long unregulated AAICs and facilitate the regulation of these churches spread across the country. This organisation seeks to educate the AAICs under its ambit about the essential nature of indigenous churches which were called derogatory names during the colonial period (Matikiti 2014). The churches in this study are affiliated to this broader body. The background of this organisation is useful to this study because the study focused on some of the selected churches that belong to this organisation to address the challenges of girl child education and further investigate whether there are any policies laid down by these churches about the subject matter.

Matikiti (2014) notes that more than 200 Apostolic indigenous churches have been registered by the ACCZ since its launch in 2010. This body also aims at encouraging Apostolic churches to become active in empowerment programs and not become objects of poverty. The ACCZ has noted the discrimination of women in most AAICs and advocated for the economic empowerment of the girl child by encouraging them to go to school and to join the formal employment sector. This being the case, this study hoped to find out the extent to which such claims of women empowerment have been carried out by member churches.

The ACCZ maintains a balance between Christian and traditional values as opposed to embracing values brought by missionary Christianity and education. This depicts syncretistic religion in contemporary Zimbabwe where traditional and Christian values come together in order to make Christianity more indigenous. The idea of syncretistic religion involves recognising indigenous people's reclaiming of control over their religious and cultural identities. The theory of syncretistic religion assumes the reconciliation of the spiritual ancestral world and Christian beliefs. According to Bourdillon (1993:25), the missionaries who introduced the gospel to Zimbabwe were associated with the conquering colonialists, even if they did not always agree with the colonial government. It is important at this juncture to note that the introduction of Christian churches during the colonial period brought with it a particular mentality which encompasses a belief in the inferiority of the inadequacy of traditional religion. Thus, scholars like Oosthuizen (1992:9) explain that AAICs emerged as a reaction against missionary teachings and colonial domination. They explain that AAICs emerged in order to revitalize African traditional values in Christianity.

The ACCZ also recognizes the traditional values as evidenced by the appointment of some traditional leaders as patrons of Apostolic groups in their respective areas. Scholars such as Matikiti (2014) postulate that there is limited or little conflict between Apostolic churches and traditional institutions since the churches are founded on traditional values and their style of worship resonates with indigenous traditions.

1.5 Brief summary of western formal education and the girl child

Ocho (2005:17) described western formal education as the process of imparting knowledge to an illiterate individual to help him/her to acquire the skills to develop mentally, socially, emotionally, politically and economically. He further elaborates that when one acquires western formal education that means the individual has learnt sufficient approaches and morals in order to have the abilty to operate as a normal person. These manners are at the core of western formal education that aims at coaching people in organisations of recognized formal learning. In these organisations, the curriculum is prepared, scheduled and methodically offered to impart knowledge to an individual. For Ocho, education is the process through which individuals are made useful members of their society (Ocho, 2005). It is a development through which the young acquire knowledge, realise their potential and helps them to self-actualise for the benefit of others in the community. It is a way of conserving, transferring and cultivating the thinking of humanity. In every culture, acquiring education infers to acquisition of somewhat good or a little valuable. Western formal learning is one of the essential right of human beings in general, and the girl child in particular.

More so, Ocho (1988: 34) states that:

> There are many reasons as to why it is important for a girl child to have a right to education. Some of the reasons he outlined include that: the child is born helpless and has to rely entirely on parents and other older members of the society to survive and satisfy her needs in all their complications. Secondly, the degree and quality of participation in the life of the society depends to a large extent on the degree and quality of her education. This will enable her to perform her political and other citizenship duties and exercise the rights pertaining thereto effectively. Thirdly, since every citizen benefits from the results of the education of her fellow citizen and since every generation receives its education from an older generation, every generation has a duty to reciprocate by educating the generation that comes after it.

Despite all the importance of education highlighted above, AAICs still find it difficult to allow the girl child to receive a western formal education. The section below discusses AAICs understanding

of the Bible for they claim to base most of their teachings and theology from the Old Testament and this is also their basis for limiting the girl child's education.

1.6 African Apostolic Indigenous Churches understanding of the Bible

Kealotswe (2014:20) argues that, "Although modern theology does not necessarily derive its content from the Bible or any scriptures, the Bible still remains the source of AIC's theology in the 21st century". Kealotswe seems to refer to AIC's in general, but the same also applies to AAICs in this study where these churches derive their teachings basing much on the Old Testament (OT) (Kealotswe. Nadar (2003:4) explains about the power of the Bible among the communities faith where she commends that, "many modern churches considers the Bible as the basic literature upon which those who belong to it and the church base many of its beliefs." In this case, the Bible should be read with a post-colonial feminist and African cultural feminist hermeneutics lenses that seek the liberation of women from the patriarchal tendencies of the Bible and the colonial texts that were used to subjugate women.

According to Kaiser (1975:5), scripture can be understood in a fourfold sense. The meaning is that scripture can be interpreted in four ways, that is, literal, allegorical, moral and an anagogic sense. The AAICs in this study used all these four senses. In the literal sense, they believed that Moses literally hit the waters of the Red Sea with his rod and separated the waters to let the people of Israel go free, because of this reason they always carry rods to use for different purposes. This literal interpretation of the Bible by the AAICs form the basis for the struggles of women when it comes to accessing western formal education. The fact that these churches do not look for a deeper meaning when studying the Bible has influenced them to treat women as second class citizens compared to their male counterparts. Particularly referring to the issue of education, it is preferred that boys go to school than girls because they believe the literal meaning that women were created as helpers for men, hence men are to be the ones responsible for taking care of women.

 The allegorical interpretation is very popular with AAICs, for example, they are not allowed to play football because the ball symbolizes the head of John the Baptist who was killed, so playing football would lead one to participate in the beheading of John the Baptist by Herod (Matthew

14:1-12). There are many similar stories in AAICs which show allegorical interpretation and understanding of the Bible. The moral interpretation of rituals such as those pertaining to pregnancy and good hygiene, Holy Communion and all other festivals of the AAICs are all conceived from the Bible. The Bible provides the moral standard for how one should live in this world. Allegoric interpretation plays an important role when it comes to healing in AAICs. The healing methods of the AAICs contain both mystical and physic experiences. These healing experiences have contributed to the poor sexual and reproductive health of women, especially when they are pregnant and during giving birth. The churches keep on urging their members not to go to hospital but to use makeshift clinics in the churches.

The above information clearly elaborates that the Bible plays a central role in shaping the theology of AAICs, for they claim to solely rely on the Bible for their teaching and theology. For instance, during the interviews for this study, many of the participants confirmed that most of the AAICs teachings such as JMAC and BAFC are largely drawn from the Bible. In JMAC the practice of polygamy which subjects the girl to poor sexual and reproductive health risks has its roots in their understanding of the Bible where they constantly refer to Abraham and Solomon who married more than one wife but still found favour in the eyes of God. This study employs African cultural feminist hermeneutics to critique some of the patriarchal tendencies found in the Bible which seem to be used as a tool of oppression of women in AAICs. However, it is crucial to also note that, not all AAICs use the Bible for their teachings, and some AAICs such as Johane Masowe though not part of this study do not use the Bible for their teachings as they regard the Bible as history

1.7 The Impetus for undertaking the study

1.7.1 My particular motivation

My interest in conducting research into aspects of girl child education in AAICs of Tangwena area in Zimbabwe comes from both personal and academic experiences. The personal motivation for undertaking this study comes from my growing up within Tangwena area. Secondly, the fact that previously was an adherent of Topia Sungano Apostolic Church, one of the selected AAICs in this study. The AAICs are dominant churches in Tangwena and they command a huge following of congregants compared to other mainline denominations. My experience of this area is that many

girls drop out of school as early as primary school level and get married at a young age. My further observation was that the majority of the girls who did not complete school belong to JMAC where polygamous marriages are practiced unlike in the other two churches.

In line with the above observations, Sibanda (2011:9) highlights that AAICs oppress young girls by making them receive limited education which forces them to get married prematurely to men who are almost as old as their fathers. Sibanda's idea is evidenced in Tangwena area where many girls do not come back to school after attending the churches' annual Passover feast that takes place every mid-year. One particular example of this incident is a story of a young girl with whom I was in the same class who dropped out of school and got married when she was in Form 2 at about 15 years old. This girl went to attend the annual Passover that took place every mid-year and one of the senior male members of the church proposed love to her and she accepted the proposal and got married and dropped out of school.

This man who married her had five other wives, so she was the sixth wife. What made this girl accept the proposal of this old man was that getting married to older men was like a norm in the church because most young girls believed that these older men are more responsible than younger men. The young girl died during child birth. This was because the girl was married very young and her pelvic bones were not strong enough to deliver a baby, hence she suffered enormous bleeding after giving birth. This story concurs with a research conducted by Vengei (2013) which shows that the prevalence of the girl child's limited education causes her sexual and reproductive health to be at a high risk of sexually transmitted diseases and maternal health problems. As a young African theologian, this story intrigued me and made me ask many questions such as what AAICs teach about western formal education in their churches. What might have influenced the AAICs theology and perception of girl child education? What is the basis for marriage in AAICs?

1.7.2 Academic motivation

My motivation also comes from my Master's research on the African Apostolic Church (AAC) of Paul Mwazha (Tsara, 2013) which revealed that women in the AAICs experience different forms of oppression resulting from the theological teachings of their churches. This research also

establish that even though women form the bulk of members in AAC, they are marginalized when it comes to management roles and decision making in the church. In line with this, Russell (2011) also claims that women in AAICs are mostly seen where labour is needed and not where important decisions are being made. The same can also be seen in the three selected churches in this study. Despite women forming the majority membership of these churches, men are involved in decision making including the decision that forbids women to go to hospital during pregnancy and designing the teachings that do not promote girl child education. Instead, the teachings are for men's advantage where girls are constantly taught to preserve their virginity which in turn leads them to leave school and get married young. The church constantly insisted that it is better to get married if one feels that she can no longer preserve her virginity, thus, the need for a post-colonial feminist inquiry and African feminist cultural analysis on the status of the girl child in these churches.

1.8 Statement of the problem

Despite education and health being a constitutional human right in Zimbabwe, the girl child in AAICs still finds it difficult to access western formal education and modern western medicine. This is evidenced when considering that many girls failed to complete school and finally get into marriage at a very young age before their bodies are mature enough for sexual activities and marriage. The struggles of the girl child has become a serious concern in most societies, especially considering that many girls who did not finish school finally got married. This research therefore investigates whether the theological teachings of AAICs and ACCZ contributed to most girl child's limited education in these churches and how limited education contributes to their poor sexual and reproductive health rights.

1.9 The key research question

To what extent have the theological teachings of AAICs' on women and education influenced the girl children's limited education and their sexual and reproductive health rights in Tangwena area in Zimbabwe?

Sub questions

1. Discuss the teachings and perceptions of AAICs on the education of the girl child in Tangwena area?

2. What are some of the factors that lead to many of the girls in AAICs dropping out of school and getting into marriage at an early age?

3. How has precolonial traditional education in Zimbabwe influenced the AAICs understanding of girl child education?

4. What kind of theologies can be developed in an attempt to reshape the AAICs understanding of girl child education and her reproductive health rights?

1.10 Study Objectives

1. To assess the teachings and perceptions of AAICs and ACCZ on girl child education.

2. To analyse the factors that lead to girls dropping out from school and ending up married at a young age in AAICs of Tangwena area.

3. To ascertain whether precolonial traditional education in Zimbabwe has any influence on the AAICs understanding of girl child education

4. To suggest ways in which AAICs can reshape their teachings of girl child learning and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

1.11 The study limitation

In an attempt to investigate the teachings of AAICs on girl children's limited education and her lack of power over her sexual and reproductive health rights, this study was restricted in a number of ways. Firstly, most of the AAICs members, particularly from JMAC generally didn't want to give out information about their church teachings. They were not ready to give information because they were afraid I would report them to the police if I found that what they were doing was against the law. Furthermore, when approached in some of the homes, women were not at

ease to be interviewed because they were afraid of their husbands. In most of the households, I was asked to first talk to the husbands in order to get permission to interview their wives. As I approached the men, some were eager to know more about the research whilst others were very dismissive in their responses. In some instances the husbands denied me the opportunity to talk to their wives. They said they were busy and gave me an appointment to come back on another day.

Another barrier was the fear of confidentiality. Some participants were not at ease to disclose information when I first approached them. The informants kept on asking questions such as, "What are you going to do with the information when you find that what we are doing is contrary to the laws of the government?" In order to overcome this challenge, I assured them confidentiality through the use of anonymity of their names and guaranteed that the information was to be treated confidentially and no other person was going to see the work until it is published. Again, I emphasised on the use of anonymity so as to guarantee the interviewees confidentiality.

The other limitation encountered was of lack of adequate scholarly written works on the history, origins and the teachings of the specific AAICs covered in this study. Hence, this study relied heavily on oral information from the participants and discussions from focus groups with the ACCZ leaders, church leaders, senior members and the young women who dropped out from school to arrive at certain conclusions.

More so, there was also a general tendency among those to be interviewed to expect monetary gains after the interview hence, some refused to give information voluntarily. The idea of paying participants is against the ethics of the university for it affects the quality of the data collected. In most cases when participants are paid, it is difficult to get objective information. Due to monetary gains, people will tell you what you want to hear and not the original data asked for. To overcome this challenge, I kept on explaining to those who were anticipating payment that this research will enhance their churches archives and this will assist them in the planning of the future whenever they want to make some reforms on issues studied.

Lastly, my involvement in the research as a well-known member of the community and as someone who was once a member of TSAC, one of the AAICs in the study, indirectly or directly affected the participants' responses to the interview questions because some of them generalised information as they assumed that I knew some of the things in the church since I had background

knowledge. At the same time, this also compromised the objectivity of the study. However, a balance was achieved through employment of the theory of reflexivity and this helped participants to open up and trust me with the information that they would not share with a stranger.

1.12 Importance of the study

In a the world devoted to ending poverty and the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) of 2016-2020 specifically in Zimbabwe, number 3-5[2] which emphasises the importance of girl child education as a priority. There is evidence that reveals strong benefits of girls' education which includes maternal and child health, reproductive health and social stability together with environmental benefits and economic growth. AAICs teachings on a girl child's education and her sexual and reproductive rights are an important aspect affecting their education achievement and future opportunities. A woman who attained education is likely to encourage her children to also attain education. In light of the above, this study aimed at suggesting ways in which AAICs theological teachings can be reshaped in such a way that they promote girl child education for most of the girls in Tangwena area in the Nyanga District of Zimbabwe.

This study gave light as well as responsibility in helping to check negative theological teachings of AAICs that encumber human growth and development, especially connected to girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. It is my hope that this study is immensely helpful to the AAICs in general and ACCZ in particular in its planning process, especially when formulating the theologies that govern AAICs. It is also my credence that this work adds to the body of knowledge and also becomes the pioneer of studies and research on raising awareness in the importance of how a girl child's education improves her power over her reproductive health rights in AAICs of Tangwena area of Nyanga District in particular, and the nation as a whole.

1.13 Outline of chapters and conclusion

This thesis comprises of seven chapters. The first chapter introduces and gives the circumstantial information of the entire project. It consists of the geographical location of the study, describing

---

[2] Good health and well-being, 3?
4. Quality education and 5 gender equality

its climatic conditions, academic location of the study, circumstances behind the study the study, the motivation and the statement of the problem. It also gives objectives of the study, the main key research question including the sub questions to be answered by the research, the limitations of the study, as well as outline of the study chapters and conclusion.

Chapter Two discusses the historical background of African indigenous churches narrowing its discussion to African Apostolic Indigenous Churches of Tangwena area. A brief historical discussion on the origins and emergence of AAICs in Zimbabwe is given exploring issues of typology, characteristics of AAICs, and colonial, missionary and African cultural influences. The chapter also presents the history and origin of specific AAICs in this study which include Bonagesi Apostolic Faith Church (BAFC), Topia Sungano Apostolic Church (TSAC) and Johane Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC). This chapter also discusses factors that led many people to be attracted to these churches and a conclusion for the chapter is given.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework used in the research highlighting its origins, relevance to the study, and critics among others. It also discusses African feminist hermeneutics. In chapter four, pre-colonial and colonial education system in Zimbabwe and its implications for the girl child's education as well as her sexual and reproductive health rights is dicussed. This chapter first problematises the concept of education as understood by westerners, describes the nature of pre-colonial education and discusses the pre-colonial understanding of girl child education. The nature of colonial and missionary education, post-colonial learning and the understanding of the education of the girl child are also discussed. It also discusses the perceptions of the missionaries and colonialists on traditional education in Zimbabwe, and a conclusion is given.

Chapter Five discusses the methodology used to meet the objective of the study, highlighting tools for data collection, the study design and method of analysing the data collected for the study. Chapter Six presents and analyses the key themes that emerged from the findings from church leaders, senior members and ACCZ concerning the teachings and understandings of AAICs on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. These responses from church leaders and senior members also gave insights into the church's perceptions of girl child education. This

chapter also presents the results concerning the reasons why girls in AAICs failed to complete school and end up into early marriages. The responses were from both young women and senior members of the churches from this study. This was done to affirm and test the validity of whether the limited education of most of the girls in AAICs is a result of church teachings or not.

Chapter Seven presents an analysis of the findings, focusing on major themes that emerged from the study. The chapter also outlines the new knowledge from the study concerning the teachings of AAICs on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This chapter further revisits the key research question, motivation for the study and the research problem. Lastly, an overview of the analysis, findings of the research, suggestions and the conclusion of the whole thesis is given. The next chapter explores the history and emergence of AAICs in Zimbabwe and the selected AAICs covered in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY AND EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN APOSTOLIC INDIGENOUS CHURCHES (AAICs)

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one, a general introduction of the whole thesis was given, outlining the key objectives of the study, motivation for undertaking the study and a summary of chapters in the whole thesis. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the history and emergence of African Indigenous Churches (AIC's) in general and the three selected AAICs investigated in this study, which are Johane Marange Church (JMC), Bonagesi Apostolic Faith Church (BAFC) and Topia Sungano Apostolic Faith Church (TSAC). The chapter also presents a typology of AAICs which justifies why this study uses the term AAICs instead of AIC's. The characteristics and the factors that enabled these churches to attract many congregants in Tangwena area are also given. The chapter also presents the status of women in AAICs. Lastly, the chapter presents the colonial and missionary influence on the emergence of AAICs and a conclusion of the chapter.

2.2 The origin and emergence of African Indigenous Churches

This study is using the term indigenous churches because the AICs are largely embedded in African culture in their teachings. Before looking at AAICs in particular, I start by defining AICs which is a broader term that has been used to refer to churches that originated in Africa as a whole and to churches that have no foreign attachment to their day today running of activities. These churches do not rely on external influence for funding; the members generate their own income for the day to day running of the church. In this study, I am using AAICs, narrowing down my research to African Apostolic Indigenous Churches.

Scholars such as Sundkler (2000:47) summarized African indigenous churches as those churches that have emerged in Africa through African initiatives with a wish to change existing missionary protestant Christianity and revitalise African culture under the guise of Christianity. Matikiti (2014) further describes AICs as churches that are aimed at exclusively African converts, use local

traditions more extensively and have a healing focus on African issues like barrenness and bewitchment. Mapuranga (2013) and Ruzivo (2014) have written a number of works on the emergence of AAICs. They share the view that AAICs emerged due to a quest for liberation from the missionary teachings. Other scholars with similar perspective include Ositelu (1998:35) and Bourdillon (1987) who outlined some of the factors that led to the emergence of these AICs. Other factors outlined by these scholars include the need for an indigenous church that would liberate Africans from missionary bondage and address the needs of the local people. Daneel (1987) and Hastings (1971) highlight that the major common characteristic of AICs in general and AAICs in particular is that they arose as a common protest to the Western forms of expression of Christianity and their major concern was to develop an indigenous expression of Christianity. Suffice to say also that AAICs embrace a kind of theology that is more relevant and contextual to the local people by encompassing indigenous systems in their churches, such as allowing polygamous marriages.

Furthermore, Chitando and Mapuranga (2005:124) discusses AAICs as movements in Africa that seek to ensure that Christianity is not practised as a foreign and isolating religion in African settings. In Zimbabwe, they give Johane Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC), one of the AAICs in this study, as one of the examples of such a movement. They further argued that JMAC emerged in Zimbabwe in 1934 in order to oppose the interpretations of the colonial Christianity. The AAICs movement as a whole has sought to infuse indigenous beliefs and practices and Christianity to formulate a peculiar African Christian identity. In the same line of argument, Anderson (2001:102) also explained that AAICs are grounded on socio-economic protest and political outcry especially to colonialism and apartheid. Daneel (1987:67) identifies several factors which includes social, cultural, economic, political and on top of all, he pointed out the religious factors as the one that have led to the growth of the Zionist churches in Zimbabwe. Basing on these similar models, I managed to explore the emergence of AAICs in this study among the Tangwena people of Nyanga District.

In summary, Shoko (2014:4) elucidates that the reasons given for the emergence of AIC's in general and AAICs in particular, are normally narrowed down to political, social and economic deprivation and racial discrimination of Africans by the white missionaries and colonialists. Centring on the current research, it can be argued that spiritual hunger is the main cause of the

17

emergence of the AAICs. In these churches, Mapuranga (2013) explained that the religious needs of healing, divining, prophesying, exorcising and visionary interpretations are fulfilled by Christian means in AAICs. Thus, spiritual experiences in most AIC's such as healing, prophesying and divining revolve around this important idea of spiritual possession. Kealotswe (2004:77) highlights that the most crucial and distinct aspect of these churches is to fulfil that which is lacking among missionary churches, which include providing African way of worship that satisfy Africans both spiritually and emotionally.

2.3 History of selected African Apostolic Indigenous Churches

2.3.1 Johane Marange Apostolic Church

This section reiterated only a brief history of JMAC for the sake of this study. Bourdillon (1987:298) elucidated that the JMAC emerged in 1932 with its founder Muchabaya Momberume who later changed his name to Johane at baptism at a Methodist mission. Bulla (2015) echoed that, in 1917, Muchabaya received the Holy Spirit which revealed to him that he was to be called John the Baptist. She said this happened when he was herding cattle. Furthermore, Bulla states that the Holy Spirit enabled Muchabaya to speak in English about Basil Bridge's journey coming into Zimbabwe, thereby convincing the missionaries to register his church (2015). On realising that the missionaries liked the boy, Chief Marange confessed that Muchabaya was his son resulting in Muchabaya carrying his surname. He was to be called Johane Marange from then on. This saw the birth of his church- *Sangano re Mapositori* meaning (The Apostolic Church of Johane Marange) (Bulla, 2015). Johane was a member of the American Methodist Mission before he formed his own church. According to Daneel (1971:119), after Johane received his call, he had experienced numerous visions and dreams indicating his direct calling from God. Similarly, Turner (1976) regarded the origin and growth of JMAC as directly related to the work of the Holy Spirit.

According to a book called *Humboo utsva hwava Positori* (The new revelation of the apostles), in one of Johane Marange's visions, he received two books written in foreign language which he could only understand with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and not through education he had attained at the European mission station. Relating to this point, what is of great psychological value was his ability to interpret the book without the knowledge he attained from the missionary schools, a fact which clearly reflects the urge to propagate Christian messages free from European

influence. However, this has been very interesting to my research for it seems to trace the reasons why JMAC seem not to encourage western education, probably because their leader was able to interpret these books without western knowledge and this again addresses the important part the Holy Spirit played in the church. Following the above proclamation, it appears therefore that the Holy Spirit played a crucial role in shaping the teachings of JMAC in general. Based on this background, it is highly probable that the background of JMAC, especially considering the fact that it broke away from the Methodists, might have influenced the way they perceive western formal education.

2.3.2 Bonagesi Apostolic Faith Church

It is worth noting from the outset that I relied heavily on the information from the study participants from the BAFC concerning the history and background of this church. Not much, if anything, has been written about the church. I obtained this information from the field work by interviewing both male and female senior members and the church leaders. The above participants narrated the history of the church as presented below:

The church initially began under the leadership of two brothers, Robert and Wilson Kruger, who were under the name Apostolic Faith Church later known as the *Positori Yekutanga* in the Shona language in the early 1960's. According to L1: These white leaders did not allow any black person to receive the Holy Spirit and lead the church as they feared that they would revolt against the white led government. The fear was that if they encourage the blacks to lead and receive the Holy Spirit, they would then be given spiritual wisdom to emancipate themselves from colonial rule. Robert Kruger who had strong ties with the knowledge of the Roman Catholic and Methodist movements which also followed in their steps and practices, especially of baptising new converts during the night. This was done in fear that if they were seen, they will be punished by these missionary churches (L1, 2018).

The Apostolic Faith Church under the Kruger brothers started in Masvingo at Rufaro Mission and then spread to Gadzema, Chegutu, Rufaro Stadium (Mbare, Harare) and Marondera. Robert later returned to South Africa leaving behind Wilson with the responsibility to lead the church (L 2, 2018). The participant further postulates that black people revolted against Wilson and formed their own church which they simply named the African Apostolic Faith Church *(First Apostolic*

/First Positori) with no specific leader but under the leadership of Cephas Njenje, Habakkuk Mugodhi and one only identified as Kachembere.

The main group under Njenje and Mugodhi continued to pray and evangelise without clear leadership until they were hit by a leadership crisis. Elijah Mugodhi was perceived to be more intelligent and wise hence, people preferred him to become their bishop of the main African Apostolic Faith church. This move hit a stumbling block when one of the senior prophets known as Chiorora Chigwida from Uzumba (*North eastern Zimbabwe*) told the leadership that the Holy Spirit had instructed him to tell them to wait for 10 years before appointing a bishop. This led to another split of the church. Celebrations for Mugodhi becoming a bishop were prematurely stopped when Mugodhi's wife became blind. He was given a daughter of Mugodhi's wife's brother to assist her. Mugodhi took the opportunity and married the daughter (*muramu*). He literally become polygamous with two wiveswhich made congregants from Hwedza and Rusape to also practice polygamous marriages. This literaly mean the breaking of the crucial laws that prohibit the practice of polygamy. Mugodhi's first wife miraculuosly regained her eye sight during a confession session at Chiparamhembwe. (L 3, 2018).

One of the members of BAFC known as Maoko elucidates that Machakaire prophesied that Mugodhi's church was destined for polygamous marriages. Thus he could not become a leader. Then Njenje re-visited their covenant of the church which stipulated that one wife, one husband, and Mugodhi had broken the covenant. Another prophetess known as Mbuya Shambare emphasised that if one felt the need to have another wife, they were supposed to be identical in the way they look including the physical structure, voice projections, complexion etc. This proved to to be unattainable and made Mugodhi to admit to his failure. Consequently, there was a major division of the church necessitated in a peaceful manner. He also says that, after the separation, people were asked to choose the side and leader they wanted to follow between Mugodhi and Njenje, putting the one wife one husband law in existence. Many people with spiritual gifts chose to follow Mugodhi as they felt the opportunity to have polygamous marriages including the great prophet known as Gono. However, whilst at Chiburiri, Gono now under Mugodhi's leadership, prophesied the error in leadership simply as, "you have made the tail to lead leaving the head" which literally mean that they had made a mistake by following Mugodhi as their leader. Instead, there were supposed to have followed Njenje who had the gift of ledership (Maoko, 2018).

Cephas Njenje assumed the role of leadership of the other group as the Holy Communion giver, known as Paseka (Passover). A prophecy from a boy and a girl who had not been converts, herding cattle from Madziwa (north of Zimbabwe) that the ten days prayers undertaken during the period with Mugodhi were finished and there was a new system of three gatherings per year. The Holy Spirit certified that Habakkuk was not supposed to prepare Passover ceremonies and in 1960 Bonagesi had their first Passover after splitting from the African Apostolic Faith at Chiburiri before Mugodhi had his gathering and the Holy Spirit emphasised that only Njenje was to preside over Passover and not Habakkuk. After one year, Habakkuk was hit by the Holy Spirit and was admitted for resuscitation at the shrine rooms because he had touched the holy utensils for Passover. It is believed that a miracle occurred when members of Habakkuk planned to kill Njenje and he drove away in a car (Bedford model) without diesel and he went into exile.

One of the church leaders, further highlights that Nyakachirenje, a convent in Mutoko near Chikwizi in an area known as Kumapombwo, is the one who instructed people to make bricks to start the building of a church after Njenje had failed to come for Pentecost celebrations in fear of his life (L1, 2018). Njenje was then declared the bishop by prophetess Mbuya Shambare in Mutoko. Njenje became the Bishop of BAFC before he got married after the Holy Spirit certified him as the legitimate bishop. A ball of fire came down from heaven in three pieces, and officiated the new church of the BAFC and a trademark of clapping hands using wooden planks was introduced. However, today it's now done by hands but it remains a significant distinction between the two churches.

2. 3.3 Topia Sungano Apostolic Church

Again not much has been written about the historical background of Topia Sungano. I relied heavily on the information from the general secretary of the church and other senior members of the church. The participants narrated the history as it is presented below.

In 1956, they used to pray in a church called Topia African Methodist Episcopal before Sungano was founded. When Mr. Chakonza, his wife (now Mbuya Chakonza) and their son were burning maize stalks in the field, they started a discussion as they asked one another if any of the Johane Marange prophets who had the tendency of getting into the fire when possessed by the Holy Spirit would ever enter such a huge fire they were using to burn the maize stalk and not burn. As they were discussing this, the power of the Holy Spirit took Mbuya Chakonza and she got into the fire,

the first time she entered, she came out without a burn and went back the second time and came out again without a burn but when she went the third time, she then disappeared whilst the husband and son were watching.

The church's general secretary said that she went home and took her head gear which was white and she went to a mountain because when the father and son reached home they found that the white piece of cloth was no longer in its usual place and could not be found. They started a search in the whole Tangwena area but they could not find her, although she later claimed that she could see them but could not talk to them as she was tongue tied by the Holy Spirit. She had been instructed to spend 14 days in the mountain known as Nyahuruva by the Holy Spirit but because her family was now using different means to search for her, including traditional healers, she came back home after only 7 days. She told the family that she had been instructed to start a church which would put on white garments for men whilst women would put on white veils known as *girorias* and white garments with white belts. She also said that she had been told that they were not supposed to go to hospitals and clinics, but only to rely on the work of the Holy Spirit.

Before Mbuya Chakonza was taken by the Holy Spirit, she was a member of a church called African Methodist Episcopal (AME). After Mbuya Chakonza was filled with the Holy Spirit, their main church AME denied following the dictates of the Holy Spirit in every matter affecting the church including healing purposes and decided to remain as a mainstream church like Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. A group led by Mbuya Chakonza went to the mountain and another small group of congregants like prophet Gora who happened to be the bishop at the time of this interview, also received the Holy Spirit. The group that received the Holy Spirit included Gora, Mbuya Satombo and some children of the Satombo family, Chikanya and Nyamaropa. Their total number added up to seven. An interesting point to note from the general secretary was that"

> Gadza, who was the provisional leader was later denounced by the Holy Spirit in this mountain and they gave the leadership to Mr. Chakonza who stayed in Tsatse area known as Nyahuruwa became the Bishop because Mbuya Chakonza could not lead the church as she was only a woman (Mukanya, 2018).

However, Gora became a senior prophet and the seven who were in the group that received the Holy Spirit including Justin Tombo, Chikanya and others were given other senior leadership positions within the church. They started the church at Nyagomo area where annually, Pentecost is celebrated by the church in the month of August up to the present day. They started to move around preaching, healing and delivering people with the Holy Spirit with very strong and powerful work in their gospel. They visited areas like Nyanga, Gotekote, Sanhani and Ruchera commanding a huge following from these areas. The church secretary further highlights that:

> *The church is growing and it is now established in these other areas like Bulawayo, Dare, Chinhoyi, Karoi, Cape Town and Johannesburg in South Africa. There are very strong branches of the church now. The church now is celebrating 4 years of Passover gathering in Johannesburg, South Africa. Bishop Chakonza later died in 2002 after suffering from kidney failure and me as a general secretary of the church, I became a congregant in 1985 whilst I was in Grade 5. In 1990, I first became a secretary for Nyahuruwa sect where the headquarters is and became general secretary of the church effective from 1993. Successor to the late bishop Chakonza is now Bishop Gora and the son of Mr. Chakonza who is the overseer is supposed to succeed from bishop Gora (Mukanya, 2018).*

The above history of TSAC is very crucial to this research for it seems to have impacted on the church's teachings on women's education. The fact that the founder of the church was Mbuya Chakonza who was not allowed to lead the church as she was a woman and instead, her husband became the leader also points to the fact that women in AAICs are treated as second class citizens compared to their male counterparts, even when it comes to the issue of women education. The section below is a discussion of the typology and factors that attract people to these AAICs.

2.4 Typology of African Indigenous Churches

According to Isicheri (1995:21), there are many different types of AIC's today. AIC's varies from churches that are similar to mission churches and those that are more rooted in African ideologies. Basing on the above explanation, some of the AIC's use Christian language but most of their practices are similar to African traditional religions. These churches in most cases base on one or more African belief systems combined with Christian values. Hayes (2005) identified that the the

problem of terminologyas the most common problem that defines African Independent Churches (AICs) in general as it is mirrored in the world. He further scrutinises whatthe meaning of the letter 'I' as some people insist that it should be 'independent' or 'instituted' or 'indigenous'. Scholars such as (Shoko 2014:1) prioritized the word "African Independent Churches" instead of "Native separatist churches" that are clearly associated with the traces of missionary churches.

However, he further defined the terms as follows:

> Firstly, African Independent Churches that have originated in Africa and are not dependent on any religious groups outside Africa for its funding, leadership and control. Secondly, African Initiated Churches as those that were started as a result of African initiatives in African countries, but may be affiliated to wider bodies that include non-African members. Thirdly, African Indigenous churches as those that have and retain an African ethos and whose theology has developed a distinctive flavour. Lastly, African Instituted Churches are those churches whose establishment and growth have taken place on African soil (Hayes 2005: 1-2).

After having all the above connotations of the term AIC's, this study focused on African Apostolic Indigenous Churches (AAICs), popularly known in Zimbabwe as 'white garment churches,' as suggested by (Machingura 2011:2). The term 'white garment' is well suited for this study for all the churches covered in this study wear white garments although the term cannot be universally used as not all AAICs wear white garments. These churches share very common characteristics although they have slight differences. The three churches were selected because they share very close beliefs and teachings, especially pertaining to girl's education and her sexual and reproductive health rights and they fall under one typology of white garment churches, and they are located in the same geographical area where the issue of girls dropping out from school and getting married young is dominant.

More so, the churches were selected because they are dominant churches in Tangwena area with at least three quarters of the entire population as their members. Among the three selected churches, BAFC and TSAC are closely related in their teachings, except JMAC which Maguranyanga (2011:15) referred to as 'ultra-conservative' in as far as their teaching on girl child education is concerned and their emphasis is more on African cultural traditions that allow the practice of polygamy. Although they have similarities in their teachings with JMAC, the BASF and TSAC do not allow polygamy. They believe in 'one man, one wife' system except those who joined the church when they were already polygamous. These polygamous marriages would have be allowed but they were not given any position in the church, especially leadership positions will

come out clearly as this study discusses the characteristics shared by these churches. Furthermore, it has been proven from the field research of this study that each of the three selected churches in this study had its own maternal, spiritual and health system where young women would go for both pre-natal and post-natal counselling till they give birth. The members from the BAFC go to Mbuya Mabvudza homestead, TSAC members go to Chakonza homestead, and JMAC participants specified that there are many designated places in their church where members would go for divine help when pregnant and for any other diseases.

2.5 Characteristics of selected AAICs under this study

AAICs have mushroomed at a tremendous rate in Zimbabwe. Machingura (2013: 7) discussed that the overall number of the adherents of the Apostolic churches amount to approximately three million, revealing a sharp rise in the African Christian demography. While AAICs have different features which separate them from mainline/missionary churches, they still have some slight differences among them in the sense that some wear white garments while a few do not and not all of them carry some spiritual rods (Ayegboyin, 1997: 38). Similar traits that can be deduced from AAICs are that they all represent "a place to feel at home," as noted by Daneel (1987:68) since they protest against missionary Christianity and their belief is centered on the work of Holy Spirit (Sibanda and Maposa, 2008:56). They are biblical movements drawing largely from the OT. For these indigenous AAICs, the Old Testament prophets such as Elijah, Moses and Isaiah remain the supreme subjects of devotion. The practice of polygamy in JMAC is largely drawn from the Old Testament where they constantly quote Abraham and Solomon who had many wives but still experienced the favour of God (Maguranyanga 2011:16). These churches are well known in Zimbabwe by the following characteristics:

> Most of AAICs are charismatic, lay, egalitarian and voluntaristic in contrast to the prescribed, professional, hierarchical and established religion of the missionary churches. The leadership of these churches tends to be charismatic endowed with supernatural powers. The members are regarded as the channels through whom the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit is transmitted to help others at their moments of knowledge, faith, the working of miracles prophecy, the discerning of spirits, tongues and interpretation of tongues or the gift of healing, in fact all the nine charismatic gifts listed by Paul in Corinthians are all attributed to these churches (Kubi Torres, 1977:118).

Ayegboyin (1997: 38) claims that AAICs also believe 'in the priesthood' of all believers. As a result of this, every member is encouraged to preach to his/her neighbours and friends. The members are encouraged to enter the valley of human sin and suffering with the compassion of Jesus, bringing supernatural help to those who face problems without knowing that God loves them and desires to meet their needs. Kealotswe (2014) suggests that the Bible is regarded as central to their religious and daily lives. They have great zeal for reading the Bible, a zeal that is rarely found among the religious people of missionary churches; members are quick to state that their religious practices are truly Christian, justifying themselves by the Bible. They read the Bible so eagerly, showing souls hungry for the word of God, devouring and listening to every word of God. According to these churches, the Bible is not just a historical book, but also a blue print for life. For them, the biblical message is simple, direct and an eminently personal message from God. The members are urged to listen carefully to the voice of God through the Spirit in prayer which seems to say, "God knows all your problems and will provide for all your needs in due season" (Kubi and Torres, 1977:74).

Another common feature among the AAICs in this study is their stress or dependence on prayer. It is remarkable that prayer does not only form the foundation of their church doctrine and practices, but they also believe that prayer is the foundation for all their sanctifications and victory. In other words, prayer is seen in AAICs as the shield or sword they use to fight against the devil and all evil spirits that cause diseases. According to Daneel (1987:39) in Yoruba, these churches are called the 'Aladura' meaning praying people and in Zimbabwe they are popularly known as '*chechi dzemweya*' or 'Spirit type churches' meaning they put a lot of emphasis on prayer and the control of the Holy Spirit in church administration and everything. This name points to the fact that these churches are not there for other business but only prayer.

Apart from relying on prayer, these churches emphasise the Holy Spirit. Several of these AAICs are commonly known as *chechi dzemweya* meaning their churches are led by the Holy Spirit. The greatest number of the initiators of these churches are men and all of them have attributed their calls from spiritual contemplation and direct motivation for the founding of their churches (Sibanda, 2008: 5). Among the churches in this study, all the leaders claim a direct contemplation with the Spirit directing them to form their churches. During the period when this study was carried out, the leaders of JMAC and BAFC were men, except for TSAC where the church is said to have

26

begun with a woman who received the Holy Spirit while she was in the field with her husband. However, due to the patriarchal nature of these churches, today they claim that the founder of TSAC is bishop Chakonza, the man. For them, it was a good idea to associate the founding of a church with a woman.

Moreover, the Holy Spirit is regarded as the central figure in most of the AAICs under in this study. Scholars such as Maguranyanga (2011:13), Dodzo and Mhloyi (2016:3) note that AAICs give spiritual understanding to all happenings and interpretations, especially misfortunes and failures in life such as barrenness, poverty, illnesses, unemployment, and pronged pregnancy, and disappointments in life among others. Similarly, Ayegboyin and Ademola (1997:21) agree with the above scholars when they say this underlying belief in spiritual causation explains why spirit induced-services, faith healing and exorcisms feature prominently in their deliverance services. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit is also believed to feature prominently in their worship as the Holy Spirit manifests through visions, interpretation of dreams, ecstatic behaviour and prophetic utterances. Ayegboyin and Ademola add that it is for this reason that members in these churches are encouraged to wear white garments. This was also noted by Machingura (2011:7) who argues that for them, white as a colour symbolises purity or holiness and the spirit-like white gear.

Furthermore, AAICs have portrayed an interest in divine healing. This concept of healing is the most significant benefit to the majority of their members, as one of them confessed that:

> *The major reason for them to join an Apostolic church is because they were sick or their relatives were sick. It is after the church managed to heal them that many followers decided to join these churches (L1, 2018).*

In Tangwena area where the study was conducted, there are very few clinics and the price of medicines is beyond what the majority can afford. Therefore, many people are attracted to these AAICs to receive divine healing as sickness is the most common reason which some members of AAICs gave for joining their current Apostolic affiliations. Confirmations of healing and miracles are heard from most of the members as a result of their answered prayers. In most cases, people claimed that they first went to the hospitals and consulted traditional healers but nothing positive has come out of their situations and then resorted to going to indigenous churches where they finally received their healing. This view was supported by one woman from BAFC who narrated how she had joined the church.

This points that there is no other crucial reason that many people joined AAICs besides divine healing. Asking many people why you have joined these churches, the answer was it was because of sickness, therefore they were healed or their relatives who were sick were healed and attracted them to join these churches.

Moreover, these AAICs set special days specifically meant for healing purposes, usually on Wednesday's or Fridays. In the three churches, they have set some days where healing services are conducted; it is not a daily thing except in the case of an emergency. In most cases, the sick will be expected to stay in the church, in the "faith homes" nearby or in some room in the pastor's house while they receive treatment. In these churches, particularly from this study the 'spiritual or faith homes' serve as makeshift clinics and maternity centres for pregnant women in the church.

2.6 African Apostolic Indigenous Churches and women

Another quite interesting characteristic of these churches, though sometimes controversial, is the way they view women. The position given to women is one of the elevated distinctive features of these churches. Ayegboyin and Ademola (1997:15) postulate that despite the fact that missionary churches preached the principle of equality of sexes, men usually held the principle positions of authority. The Archbishops, Reverends, Ministers, Pastors, Priests, Choir leaders among many other high ranked positions in the churches are all filled by men. However, women have been highly involved in AAICs through prophecy and even founding and leading churches. Scholars such as Hackett emphasised the contributions of women in new religious movements where women founders are not a current phenomenon. He further cites one of the most legendary of African founders and prophetesses' is a young woman of Congo known as Dona Beatrice of Kimpa Vita, whose death and resurrection experience extended the belief that she was the reincarnation of St Anthony resulted in the formation of a movement known as the Antonians in the Congo (Hackett 1995:262).

Daneel (1987:59) postulates that women are influential in some AICs and points out that women play a significant part in many spirit-type churches. He further highlights that in more than one instance, women have been in a leading position. For example, as noted by Kutsira:

Mother Nku of the St John's Apostolic Faith Church in the Witwatersrand, Mai Chaza's City of God near Umtali (Mutare) in Zimbabwe, Christina Abioduns' Cherubim and Seraphim Society in Nigeria, Alice Lenshina's Lumba Church in Zambia and Gaudencia Aoka's Maria Legio Church in Kenya (2013:18).

This therefore, points to the fact that women have been highly recognised in some of the AIC's in general and AAICs covered in this study in particular, especially when they have founded the Church. In the case of this study *Mbuya Chakonza* was the founder of TSAC, though the husband was recognised as the Bishop, she was highly honoured as a great prophet and healer in the church.

As highlighted by Fischer (2013:101) when explaining female harassment and sexism, "Men commonly defended their superior position by appealing to the laws of nature and natures of God". She further claims that men were naturally created by God with natural gifts that were not different from that of women. Such gifts include that of acting as leaders in the home, church and in a broader society, in return women must conform to that. She also explains that females are subjugated by the use of the Bible in some AICs and patriarchy is experienced in these churches Fischer (2013:101). This was the case with TSAC, one of the AAICs covered under this where inspite of a woman being the founder of the church, the secretary general of the church still said that, *"she could not lead the church because she was only a woman".* This allowed her husband to be recognised as the bishop of the church.

Contrary to missionary churches and what the general secretary said, some AAICs have been extraordinary in inspiring women to partake in the ministry of the church. They offer them chances to get into leadership hierachies and use authority for women who frequently outstrip the number of men who are always present in these churches. Some of these churches though few are founded by women as noted by Moyo (1988:138) when he mentioned Guta raJehovha was led by Mai Chaza.

This gives women more liberty to participate in the church, thus promoting the emergence of AIC's in general and AAICs in particular, making a home and a sense of belonging for Africans (Daneel 1987:68, Oostuizen, 1992:101 and Kealotswe, 2004:54). See also Mapuranga (2013) on AIC's as Gendered Space and Mukonyora (2007) Wandering a Gendered Wilderness.

2.7 Factors that attract people to these particular churches

The teachings of AAICs have attracted many adherents among the Zimbabwean people in general and the Tangwena people in particular, who trust that for any faith to be important, it must be real, energetic and addressing the problems of the people (Kubi and Torres1981:120). Despite the negative criticism of being regarded as misinformed and uninformed, the churches are growing in numbers and strength. Therefore, many researchers always ask the participants what attracts the general public who flock to their doors, what the common denominators are in these healing churches and what they are really reacting against in the imported western models found in missionary churches. These are indeed crucial questions that require a serious analysis. Some of these questions have already been answered above when I explained the reason for the emergence of AIC's in general and AAICs in particular. Other queries raised in this study will be addressed in due course where I addressed the impact of missionary and colonial education to AAICs teachings on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

2.7.1 Social attractions

Since AAICs include elements of Christianity, worship in these churches is quite familiar to converts from mission churches. At the same time, the African essentials, mostly the mystical influences of the fortune-tellers and the health-giving miracles that stabilise the powers of evil, sicknesses and magic, are pursued by those calamitous and frustrated with the strict western nature of the missionary gospel that follow a strict liturgy (Mapuranga 2013). Furthermore, there are also social reasons that attract people to these churches; especially in urban areas where loneliness reigns and the church provides solace to the lonely. There is a fraternity where individuals are encouraged to regard one another in a certain sense as siblings, hence the use of the terms such as 'brother' and 'sister' by members who are not related in any way but they are brethren in Christ. Members are always encouraged to behave as a family in order to support and sympathise with one another. The churches stress traditional practices such as respect for age and obligation towards family members. The followers are also persuaded to found their life partners to join in matrimony from within their congregations.

Moreover, the churches meet the strong need for small groups of people who support the disadvantaged and the disappointed. In this regard, the AAICs are very important for the societal and emotional well being of individuals since their congregation provides small reference groups in relation to wider society for their members. Scholars such as Shoko (2014:7) highlights that in order to keep their members intact and protect them from being victims of night clubs, the churches allow for full expression of emotional outburst through drumming, clapping hands, dancing and spirit possession. The spirit of comforting people in despair is one of the guarantees of the churches' attraction.

2.7.2 Spiritual factors

AAICs offer divine and mystical defence to members from the help of diviners or spiritual leaders. They attract people with needs such as employment, promotion in business, education, marriage and a political career. They do not only attract members but even outsiders who came '*kunoshandirwa*' and most of the outside clients are women. Most of the participants interviewed believed strongly that these churches offer the essential spiritual resources to help them achieve a satisfactory life destiny which is crucial to every person, regardless of education or social standing. They speak to African indigenous beliefs in many aspects such as healing, prophecy (divination), wealth, children and freedom from the fear of evil powers and witchcraft.

The most reason why many people join these churches, particularly AAICs, is for healing purposes (Machingura, 2011:6). This came out clearly when I conducted my field research when many people who are members of these churches quickly responded that they had been sick for a long period and they tried everything that they think would cure the illness but it was of no help until they were then directed to, for example, prophetess Mabvudza of BAFC in Tangwena and behold they were healed and became fit without any intervention of western modern medicines (Interview from a focus group with BAFC members).

2.7.3 Psychological factors

Pobee and Ositelu (1998:24) note that AAICs are very successful in dealing with psychosomatic problems through endowed leaders and members. They further state that these churches are also able to cure chronic diseases considered incurable by western modern medicine. From the churches researched, one of the members confessed that, she suffered from a pregnancy complication for a

year and all the doctors were hopeless because the baby was not growing as expected under normal circumstances. It was after almost a year when the doctors were now planning to operate on her to clean the uterus when she was referred by one of the members from BAFC to visit prophetess *Mabvudza* who is well known for dealing with pregnant issues in the church, especially those with complications. She testified that her problem disappeared after visiting her and she was only given holy water for nineteen days, the baby and her stomach started growing. From then on, she was instructed to start counting from one month of pregnancy and ignore the eight months she had spent visiting doctors who continued to instruct her to have rest without an productive results from it. Miraculously speaking, she was pregnant for two years and gave birth to a normal baby girl who was now in Grade Six in 2018. As a result of this type of occurrence, many people are attracted to these churches.

2.7.4 Indigenisation of the gospel

Another reason that why these churches attract a large following is the indigenisation of worship. The AAICs have made a breakthrough and great deal to attract people from the missionary churches through careful and concrete adaptation of certain cultural elements into their worship, have made Christianity real for African adherents (Pobee, 1979:27). For instance, the AAICs recognise the traditional system of African marriage. Instead of employing rings, wedding cakes, gowns and other expensive necessities used in mission churches, the AAICs use simple things such as their white garments and the Bible as symbols through which the couple could make their vows.

The hymns and songs of AAICs are remarkably short and simple; they tend to be one, two or three line refrains of 'Amen' 'Halleluiah' and 'Praise God'. Examples of some of the songs include:

> Tokumbira masimba, Jehovhah (we ask for power God)
>
> Tokumbira masimba, Jehovhah (We ask for power God)

Another song is:

> Tirapireiwo mambo wemudenga (Heal for us God in heaven)
>
> Tirapireiwo mambo wemudenga (Heal for us God in heaven)
>
> Murapi wedu Jesu wemudenga (Our healer, Jesus in heaven)
>
> Murapi wedu Jesu wemudenga (Our healer Jesus in heaven).

2.8 Missionary and colonial influence on the emergence of African Apostolic Indigenous Churches

According to Moyo (1988:147), the mission churches in Rhodesia were seriously compromised considering the churches' efforts in education particularly, which had unintended side effects that equipped some blacks to analyse the situation and to struggle against it. Moreover, the churches were racist, destructive of African culture and even in the face of legislation, it was designed to exploit the 'black majority'. Moyo (1988) further highlights that the mission churches 'dined and wined with the devil' and insists that the church, far from being at odds with oppressive setterism, was a faithful chip off the colonial block. Moyo (1988: 150) states that JMAC is one of those independent churches which is very traditional in as far as their practices are concerned. From the church's founder until the 1980's there were very few modernising influences. However, some of the members within the church who tried to alter some of the practices to suit those of mission churches were expelled from the church for they were viewed with suspicion. By so doing, it is a clear indication that AAICs emerged as a reaction against mission churches that sought to use religion to oppress Africans. The education they claim to have brought to Africans was also used to oppress the Africans. Their education sought to see everything that was African as evil, primitive and backward. Hence, Africans found it necessary to form their own churches that were more relevant to the African cultural values and traditional education system (Chitando, 2005:124).

According to Moyo (1988:152), AAICs leaders used the Bible and education, the very objects that had been used to dispossess them of their land tools to fight for their liberation from their exploiters? It was never the intention of the mission controlled education system to produce Africans who would question the status quo (Dube, 2006:64). Through the little education Africans acquired and the subversive message found in the gospel, Africans discovered a liberational motif which they radicalised as appropriated to suit their context and set them free.

However, it is probably the situation set by colonialism in Zimbabwe which led to the emergence of AAICs and influence their teachings in general, and that of the girl children's education and her sexual and reproductive health rights in particular. AAICs leaders seem to react to everything that had to do with colonialism especially western education and western modern medicines. They despise their members using western modern medicine and rather opt for their makeshift clinics where cure for all diseases are provided with the control of the Holy Spirit. This reaction was

33

perpetuated by the treatment they received during the colonial period. This was exclusively elucidated in the aims of the ACCZ as one of its intentions was to re-align Christianity with African values.

Huggins (1982) reiterates that when the missionaries came, they had serious misconceptions about Africans that they were barbaric and could only be saved through its destruction. The late eighteen hundreds saw an entry of white gold prospectors, poachers, hunters, fortune seekers, explorers and missionaries in Africa. Most parts of Africa were already in the hands of European colonisers and the Ndebele state was proving to be a nuisance, frustrating colonial expansion. Wallis (1758 -1858: 145) argues that most colonial historiography paints a picture of Africa that was still 'dark' and unconnected in the global world, but in reading primary material such as diaries, journals and newspapers, a different story emerges. This points out that the 'dark continent' discourse is a colonial strategy constructed to justify their invasions.

A critical re-reading of the colonial history makes it clear that ideologically, the missionaries were aligned more to the centre of power which was the colonial administration than to serve Africans (Dube 2006). The missionaries simply substituted a traditional system of living with western values, designed to serve the interests of the communal system of living to serve the interest of the white settlers. This again meant a shift in the distribution and location of power, production and wealth from these communities to a colonial and now globalised world.

In his luminous work stressing the role played by Africans between the periods of initial instruction of colonialism to the emergence of the Nationalist movement in Zimbabwe, Ranger (1967), a distinguished African scholar, declares that no one has yet studed the initial products of missionary learning, or even on the mission schools that prepared future African leaders. He thus further postulates that:

> This is, indeed, one of the major gaps in Rhodesian historiography, especially by comparison with the careful studies which have been made of the same problems in Malawi and East Africa. Without such work, we are at a loss to document the beginnings of what was to become a very important process for the African political history of Rhodesia (1967:312).

Judging from Ranger's concerns, two things are evident: firstly, the positive and negative part contribution of missionaries in both founding and shaping of Zimbabwe cannot be under estimated

for any modern understanding of the challenges facing the African villages, the role of the Zimbabwean church in general and AAICs in particular. Secondly, that Christianity was used as a tool to counter African resistance against colonialism and Christianity therefore became an agent to colonisation and its consequent oppression of Africans (Moyo 1988:52). As a result of this reality in contemporary dialogues, the AAICs had the opportunity to develop a theology that is socially and politically responsive. Many contemporary studies asses the role that mission churches played in providing education to Africans which in turn, prepared Africans to enter an economically driven world (Packer 1975). What is still under research is the extent to which this mission education crushed the spirit of resistance to education among Africans. Those who rebelled against the missionary system may have utilised the language and tools they gained through their missionary education however, as evidenced in this study, the main motive behind the emergence of AAICs against colonialism was driven by a recovery and appreciation of their own African culture and heritage. Although AAICs sought to replace their own African cultural tendencies in Christianity, it was also oppressive to women, hence this study used African feminist hermeneutics to analyse some of the African cultural tendencies that are oppressive to women such as patriarchy in as far as issues of education are concerned (Kanyoro 2001).

The resistance to colonialism was sustained because the relative agricultural prosperity enabled the great majority of 'Africans' to continue their traditional rural life (Kenyatta, 1961). In other words, Africans were content with their way of life and had no reason to forsake their traditional life styles and adopt the western worldview. Formal education and Christian teachings which are summarily called the Christian solution proved to be the most effective tool in breaking African resistance. Since the church was responsible for teaching Africans, the missionary schools and the church were forces that prepared Africans for the modern economic age. Moyo (1988:59) highlights that while Terence Ranger devotes a substantial amount of space to the Christian solution appraisal, two things are lacking from his treatment of the subject; he failed to demonstrate what this solution was intended to do or does he hint us on the possible roles if any, played by colonial administrators in the formulation of the Christian solution. He further highlights that there is no doubt that a subtle link existed between the missionaries and colonial settlers. Many scholars agree that, it was part of the missionary plan to produce Africans who did not oppose white domination and oppression and who did not mix religion with politics. Rhodesian missionaries had reasonable success with this solution and why we have Zimbabwean Christianity that is socio-

politically deficient. In Marxist terms, Zimbabwean Christianity has served as the opiate of the people as Archbishop Desmond Tutu puts it:

> The religion I believe in is not what Marx castigated as the opiate of the people. A church that try to pacify us, telling us not to concentrate on things of this world but of the other one to come, the next world, needs to be treated with withering scorn and contempt as being not only wholly irrelevant but actually blasphemous. It deals with pie in the sky when you die, and I am not interested in post mortem pies. People around the world want their pies here and now (2004: 98).

Examples of songs that resemble ambulance theology include the following:

> Hatina musha panyika (We don't have homes on this world)
> Hatifari kuva pano (We are not happy to be here)
> Zvinorwadza mweya wangu (It pains my soul)
>
> Kutsvaga musha unouya (To look for a home to come)
> Musha unerunyararo….. (Home with peace…….)

Another popular song to pacify the people is:

> Jerusalema musha wangu (Jerusalem is my home)
> Musha wakanaka (A beautiful home)
> Kune dzimba dzendarama (There are homes built of gold)
> Jerusalema musha wakanaka (Jerusalem a beautiful home)

In light of the above, the missionary teaching of ambulance theology[3] influenced the AAICs teachings and up to present day, the congregants seem to regard riches as a sin and found poverty as a pre-requisite for one to go to heaven. Moreso this ambulance theology also impacted on the education system where Africans were taught bottleneck education only to serve the colonial masters. Only few blacks would qualify to attain higher education that enable them to be independent in life. They were never taught subjects that would enable them to do their own things but to depend on the whites for survival for the rest of their life. However, this ambulance theology of the missionaries laid a good foundation for the emergence of AAICs for Africans were in need of combat theology (a theology of fight) that addresses their problems in the here and now. This

---

[3] Ambulance theology is a theology that teaches and gives people hope that they will enjoy when they die. Here on earth they are supposed to endure suffering they are encountering.

is the reason why most AAICs are culturally oriented in nature as Africans are aware of their problems that need exorcism and they always need deliverance from evil spirits. (Pobee, 1979: 68).

2.8.1 A Christian solution - A catalyst to the emergence of AAICs

Africans used the very objects that were meant to destroy them to make tools for surviving the inhospitable society they were thrown into without preparation. Who would have known that Africans would use that very same Bible that had been used to dispossess them of their land as a tool to fight for their liberation from their exploiters (Moyo 1988:60)? It was never the intention of the missionary controlled education system to produce Africans who would challenge the status quo. Through little doses of education acquired and the subversive message found in the gospel, Africans discovered a liberational motif which they radicalised and adopted to suit their context and set themselves free (Dube, 2006: 73). However, this undermining of the Christian solution precipitated the emergence of AAICs with a gospel that was contextualized and later on set Africans free from missionary domination.

The abject poverty and evident injustices committed against the reserves became an impeachment that forced even some of the white population to oppose some aspects of colonial policies. The obvious realities of African poverty, especially created by the influence of white society could not be ignored by any reasonable person (Dube, 2006:74). It is probable that the situation set by colonialism in Zimbabwe led to the emergence of AAICs and influence their teachings. This is so because the founders of these churches reacted to everything that had to do with colonialism and missionary activities due to the brutal treatment experienced during the period.

2.9 Conclusion

The chapter presented historical background and the emergence of AIC's in general and the three selected AAICs of Tangwena in this study. The thrust in this chapter was to explain the history and emergence of TSAC, BAFC and JMAC and how colonial and missionary Christianity influenced the emergence and the teachings of these selected churches in general and girl child education in particular. In an effort to effectively discuss the history and background of selected AAICs under this study, this chapter started by discussing the origin of AICs in general, the

typology of AIC's and then the specific AAICs from this study. This chapter has presented the characteristics of AAICs which made them distinct from missionary churches and the factors that attracted people to these churches. The other crucial point to take into consideration is that the three selected churches in this study broke away from missionary churches with the intention of redressing their gospel with more African values. This seek to address the problems of the African people here and now. This has been discussed above in the section on factors that led people to be attracted to these churches where we learnt that most people joined these churches because of healing purposes and a few other reasons which include the quest for belonging and the need for a place to feel at home.

Having looked at the broader picture of the background and emergence of AIC's in general and AAICs in particular, focusing on the historical background of the selected churches in this study. The next chapter explores the theoretical framework used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two presented the history and emergence of AIC's in general and the three selected AAICs in this study. Chapter Two also showed that there are many typologies used to refer to these AAICs and demonstrated the characteristics that made the AAICs in this study distinct from other typologies. The sub themes of the origins of AIC's and AAICs in particular, typology of AIC's, and the characteristics of the selected AAICs were discussed. The chapter also argued that there are many factors that lead people to be attracted to the AAICs and a conclusion was given.

This chapter focuses on post-colonial feminist theory as the main theory of the study. This theory analyses the oppressive tendencies of colonialism which may have influenced the AAICs teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. The key proponents of this theory include Moraga (1981), Anzaldua (1987), Huggins (1994), Mohanty (1999) Spivak ((1990), (1991), and (2010)) and others. These scholars argue that post-colonial feminist theory emerged as a fight to counter all forms of domination, as well as patriarchy and imperialism. The theory is devoted to interrogate the majestic texts and expose the subjugation of both males and females. It further problematises gender use in the discourse of colonialism (Dube, 2001:39).

This study has proposed this theory because of the following reasons: Firstly, this study sees the limited education of the girl child in AAICs as a product of the effects of colonialism and male 'pre and post-colonial' critics who underestimate the differences in gender, concerns of women and how they have contributed to the process of liberation henceforth, the necessity for a post-colonial feminist method to a study that promotes the liberation of women in AAICs. Moreover, this study is constructed on the assumption that the AAICs teachings on women were influenced by the background of their founders who are a product of the mission churches with a colonial background and patriarchal influences. In order to address the concerns of post-colonial feminist theory, this chapter first discussed the origin and the historical background of post colonialism and the definition of post colonialism and feminism as these terms are very crucial when studying post-

colonial feminist theory. It is also within this chapter that the concern of post-colonial feminist theories was discussed as it relates to this study. This chapter presents the criticisms of post-colonial feminist theory and explains the relevance of the theory to this study.

The study is further based on the theologies of African women who address the exact situations of the experiences of women. Some of these specific issues of importance to this study include, women's struggle with culture and patriarchy, their participation in colonial critiquing, the outcome of missionary Christianity, health and education, and many others. Due to these struggles, Oduyoye (2001) and Kanyoro (2002) have developed theories that address women's experiences. African cultural feminist hermeneutics will be employed as a theory to scrutinise how culture and the Bible have been used as oppressive tools in the context of African women. This theory was employed to uncover and evaluate those facets of biblical and African cultures that are not life giving to women and to regain those facets that give life to women and to imagine a world in which differences are celebrated and enjoyed and work for social, cultural, economic and religious freedoms for women (Mishra 2013:9; Crowley, 2006). In relation to this, this study advocates for the religious freedom of a girl child from the African cultural practices that are patriarchal in nature that have influenced the AAICs teachings of a girl child's limited education.

3.2 Definition of key terms used in the theory

3.2.1 Post-colonial feminism

Mohanty (2003:23) describes post-colonial feminism as a discourse that emerged as a critic of the homogenising trends of feminism from the west. She further highlights that contrary to western feminism, post-colonial feminist theory as a new wing wishes to bring into light the typical problems of women of Third world nations which mainly include the initiative of those activists, and academics who belong to fully or partially once colonised countries. By so doing, post-colonial feminists are advocating for the amelioration of the condition of women of post-colonial origin. In addition, Nayar (2008:24) contends that post-colonial feminist theory is predominantly apprehensive with representing women of countries that were once colonised by the western countries. She further highlights that it concentrates on the construction of gender difference, in the colonial and anti-colonial discourses with particular reference to the work of women writers.

This idea was also emphasised by post-colonial feminist critics like Mohanty (1991) who increases a number of theoretical, operational and political problems involved in the study of representation of gender.

Scholars such as Anzaldua (1987), Moraga (1981) and Clifford (2001) summarize the history of the feminist movement in three phases which are as follows: The first wave feminist movement covers the generation of the suffragette and is in favourof the rights of women. Most women in industrialized countries gained the right to vote from 1880 to the beginnings of 20th century. The second wave movement desired the involvement of women in abortion and sexual equality. The third upsurge of feminism is the new group aiming to accomplish a greater vision about the concerns of women with the emphasis on each group's particularities and cultural, spiritual, communal, racial and sexual diversity that is very much a part of women across the whole world. Thus, third wave feminism could be understood as the continuation of the two earlier phases of the movement, but also a response to their failures. In summary, first and second wave feminism did not take into account the views and needs of Third world women. In support of this view, Shadallah (2004:24) explains that:

> In an effort to define the third wave of feminism, one may also want to re-define feminism as feminism must be demarcated by emancipatory activism rather than by an ethno-specific ideal type.

In line with the above, Mohanty (1991:12) also adds that post-colonial feminist theorist have accused post-colonial male scholars not only of ignoring the role of women from the struggle for independence but also misrepresenting them in agency and also in discussing very few female writers. Subsequently, Bhabha (1990) on the ambivalence of colonial discourses explores the relationship between a 'colonising' subject and a 'colonised' object without reference to how the specifics of gender might complicate his model In this study, post-colonial feminist theory was used as a lens to analyse what influenced the teachings of AAICs on a girl child's limited education.

Post-colonial feminist theory emerged out of the gendered history of colonialism. According to Bhabha (1990: 261) the history of colonialism is largely the history of the exploitation of non-white, non-western people and as result of this, colonised countries have been deeply affected by the exploitative racist nature of colonialism. Furthermore, scholars such as Suleri (1992:34) argue

that colonial oppression, particularly racial, class and ethnic oppression has largely overlooked women in post-colonial societies.

Post-colonial feminists' explore women's lives in different contexts, work, identity, sexuality and rights in the light of colonialism and neo-colonialism related to gender, nation, class, race and sexualities. This field of study is mainly based on the works of feminists of once colonised nations who have contributed greatly in their writings, such as Mohanty (1991), Spivak (1988), Narayan (2006), Suleri (1992), Mani (1993) and Sungari (1991). This again finds space in this study for I investigated the reasons that led the girl child to drop out from school and marry young in order to find out whether it's a church teaching or not?

Post-colonial feminist criticisms are necessarily selective because Third world writings respond to different, regional, social, and national groups whose ascetic values are very diverse. Post-colonial feminism challenges traditional white western feminism for the later association with political liberation movements. Women around the world have very different histories with respect to their post-colonial inheritance, involving such experiences as imperial conquest, slavery, enforced migration and even genocide (Tolan, 2006:25). Hence, post-colonial feminists have argued for the re-writing of history based on the specific experiences of formerly colonised people, and their various strategies for survival. In summation, Theim (2003) suggests that first analysis in the 1990's evolved in response to the challenges posed by ethnic and post-colonial studies to white western feminism.

Post-colonial feminists such as Gandhi (2003:63) elucidate that one crucial point to make is that, 'women' do not comprise of a coherent group solely on the basis of gender and status, and roles of women vary according to complex interactions between factors such as culture, religion, class and ethnicity. Therefore, based on this view, this study investigates the extent to which AAICs reacted to the oppressive tendencies of western culture which include formal education and missionary education that was used as a tool to pacify African resistance to colonialism (Dube 2006:64), for in this research, I seek to, though indirectly advocate for the freedom of the girl children from the cultural oppression of the church teachings in AAICs that enforced a limited education which later cause her to have a lack of power over her reproductive health and sexual rights. In an effort to understand more on post-colonial feminist theory, it is better to define first the meaning of post-colonialism and feminism.

42

3.2.2 Post colonialism

Saadallah (2004:226) postulates that 'post-colonial' is a term that surrender to contest to colonial domination and its speeches that carry on to nature many societal beliefs, as well as those revolts that have conquered formal ties to their colonial rulers. In light of this, post-colonial theory therefore focuses on subverting the coloniser's discourse that attempts to distort the experiences and realities, and inflict a sense of inferiority on the colonised people in order to exercise total control. Mishra (2013:9) further states that, it is also concerned with the production of literature by colonised people that pronounces their identity and regains their past in the face of that past's inevitable otherness. Dube (2002:100) explains that the obligation of a post-colonial theorist is to introduce the frequently 'absent' colonised people into the prominent treatise in a way that it repels or undermines the power of the colonist. Post-colonial feminist theory has its roots in a secular discipline, namely feminist theories and post-colonial studies. Firstly, the attention will be given to post-colonial studies and then found its association with feminist theories and other liberation discourses. This will optimistically point to us a possible meaning of the term 'post colonialism' as it is used in this study

Said (1988:2) further highlights that the colonised started to improve forms of confrontation in a chain of responds that include economic, an immense political and military resistance that was carried forward and informed by a challenging and provocative culture of fighting. Therefore, colonialism gives the structure of reference for the word post-colonial. In this study, this information is very useful because I found the current status of girl child education in AAICs to have been influenced by the colonial background of its founders who seem to resist everything that has to do with the colonisers and at the same time, remain with the patriarchal tendencies of colonialism and return to African cultural practices where women always assume a subservient status. As a result of that, Chitando (2014:15) notes that they discourage members from attending to western education and access to modern medicines in a bid to resist the colonisers from all angles. Thus, this study investigates the extent to which colonialism influences the development of AAICs teachings on the limited education of the girl child and her reproductive health and sexual rights.

According to Sugirtharajah (2002:2, 2006:63) the starting date for post-colonial theory is not fixed. It includes two periods of history, that is, the era of colonization and its repercussion which is

presently the age of neo-colonialism (Segovia, 2005:27). Segovia is useful in tracing the growth of the theory of post colonialism and how it is related to other liberation theories. Moreover, according to Segovia's (2005:25-39) perceptions, Sugirtharajah's (2002, 2006) works and Kwok (2005)we get the general information about when the term post-colonial began which is estimated to be adopted from around the late 1970's, although post-colonial studies were being undertaken in the early 1990's. The term was functional to the literature of the commonwealth that was written in and after colonialism by the former British colonies authors from Africa and Asia who were western scholarship products. They were highlighting the composite relations of subordination and domination between the colonised and colonisers and they start by examining how the images of the colonised were constructed by the colonisers

Furthermore, they were learning how the colonised deconstructed, in response to these images in their effort to recover or articulate their empowermen, identity and self-worth (Sugirtharajah, 2002:11). Their writings were also an assessment of those administrations that continued with western domination. Some of the literature was to 'read back', the colonial text which has been used to legitimise colonialism by the coloniser. It included interrogating or provoking these discourses colonialism and making new systems of representation. Hence, the literary works of post-colonial critics like Edward Said's *Orientalism.* (1978), Spivak's "*Can the Subaltern Speak*?" (1988) and Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) gave the impetus to post-colonial studies.

The term post-colonial was just an expansion. The term started to be used by a British newspaper known as the Daily Telegraph, in 1959 to refer to India which get its independence in 1947 (Sugirtharajah 2002:2). According to Sugirtharajah, ever since, the word is used to refer to countries, wich have already gained their independence that were formerly colonised. Taking it from Segovia's point of view, we learnt that the ideas on the scope of the colonial era have been broadened from a constraint to the historical component of western colonisation to a wider apparition. Similarly, Surgirtharajah (2002:3) notes that, the meaning of the term has been a shifted recently from it being understood as linear chronological sequence to a much more diverse and universal sense. The term 'post-colonial' has been used in my research along this same line of thought. In the actual sense this study does not claim that AAICs' teachings on the education of the girl child and her sexual reproductive health rights is post-colonial. Post-colonial theory was used to analyse how the impact of colonialism has influenced the emergence of AAICs and the

shaping of their teachings on the education of the girl child and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This is so because their theology seem to be formulated as a reaction against colonialism and missionary teachings.

From the 1940's to 1970's, the word post-colonial has been used by historians in chronological terms to refer to the post independent epoch after the Second World War. From the late 1970's critics such as Said, Spivak and Bhabha developed a communal understanding of the word 'post colonialism'. Their writings analysed various ways, how the power of representation in colonial discourse impacted on both the colonies and metropolis alike. This focus gained depth in this research study as it also deals with the period after colonialism where this study sees the current status of women's education in AAICs and her reproductive health rights to be products of colonialism.

Critics from the Commonwealth use the term 'post colonialism' to refer to cultural interaction in literary circles of colonial societies. These scholars use the term in order to politicise commonwealth literature and new literatures in English produced since the1960's. Some critics never used the term 'post-colonial to refer to the historical period of the aftermath of colonialism. Recently the term is used without a hyphen to refer 'post colonialism 'to the political, linguistic, cultural, economic and even the psychological experiences of the former colonies of Europe (Sugirtharajah, 2002:13). In this study, the term was used without a hyphen to refer to the whole field including the textual practices, psychological conditions and historical processes. Thus, the meaning is dependent on how one is using the term. (Sugirtharajah 2002:3).

Scholars have not yet reached a consensus on the definition of the term post-colonialism due to its complex composition and its interdisciplinary nature. Sugirtharajah himself states that the term 'post-colonial 'is highly diverse and hence, difficulty to define since it covers a multitude of intellectual and textual practices (Sugirtharajah, 2006:65). As shown by its historical background and the idea above, post colonialism is a discourse of resistance to all forms of imperial domination. However, scholars define the term in the way he or she likes/wants to use it. Kwok adds the human element in defining the term as she argues that the colonised are also referred to as the post-colonial and proposes that even the coloniser should be post-colonial because he or she also requires decolonisation of the mind. Nausner and Rivera (2004:8) also described the term as

"active interrogation of the hegemonic systems of thought and symbolic practices which the West constructed during its domination of colonial subjects."

In light of the views of the above scholars, this study also used the term 'post-colonial' to refer to the period after colonialism. Based on the above, my working definition will take into account the views of scholars such as Sugirtharajah (2006), Kwok (2005:36) and Dube (2002: 24) with regards to the setting, use and classification of the term 'post-colonialism,' I, therefore, define the term 'post-colonialism' as a technical literary term that enquires into the complex relationships of its definition and subordination, dependence and independence, resistance and collusion as they occur within the factors behind the emergence of AAICs and the shaping of its theologies on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This study therefore, used post-colonial feminist theory towards exposing and challenging the oppressive tendencies of colonial imperial ideologies and the continued use of biblical texts to construct gender power relations in AAICs in general and of Tangwena area to be more particular.

3.2.3 Feminism

The term 'feminism' is diverse in its scope. According to Loads (1998), there is no single meaning that can be attached to the term feminism. The most basic definition of the term was given by Cross in (Donaldson and Kwok 2002). He defines feminism as the conviction that women really do inhabit the human realm and are not 'other'; not a separate species, (it) is the radical proposition that women are human beings. As a result of its effort to restore both men and women to full humanity, Okure (1995:59) defines feminism as "a human revolution that surpasses all other major revolutions in history, such as the industrial and scientific revolutions." Feminism has become a world-wide movement manifested in diverse forms that seeks change for the better in terms of justice for women, and hence pays particular attention to women's perspectives. According to Ruether (1983), feminism points out patriarchy as the root cause of oppression against women in all spheres of life. Therefore, feminism seeks to liberate women from all forms of sexism and oppression. It also seeks to demystify the androcentric view that maleness is the normal or neutral standard by which human beings, both male and female, are defined. Feminists call for an inclusive culture, especially in human power sharing.

As a critical discipline, feminism has its origin in the secular movement of women in the 1960's, which was a political movement. Dube (2002) highlights that this movement constitutes of both men and women. It seeks to understand the construction of women as secondary citizens in their societies and to implement change that will redefine them as whole beings with full rights in their given contexts. Feminist theology is, therefore, traced to this movement. It originates from the work of middle class white American and European women (Clifford, 2005). Feminist theology has assumed many forms and names in different parts of the world as women continue to localize their experiences of oppression by race, class, culture, gender and colonialism. Thus, the reason for using this theory is to investigate the extent to which colonialism, missionary teachings and African culture has contributed to influencing AAICs teachings of girl child education and sexual and reproductive health rights.

3.3 Post-colonial feminist theories

The key proponents for this theory include Moraga (1981), Anzaldua (1987), Huggins (1994), Mohanty (1999) Spivak ((1990), (1991), (2010)), and others. These scholars argue that post-colonial feminist theory emerged in the struggle against all forms of oppression including patriarchy and colonialism. Post-colonial as a term suggests resistance to 'colonial' power and its discourses that continue to shape various cultures, including those revolutions that have overthrown formal ties to their colonial rulers (Saadallah, 2004). Post-colonial theory, therefore, focuses on subverting the coloniser's discourse that attempts to distort experiences and realities, and inscribe inferiority on the colonised people in order to exercise total control. Mishra (2013) further states that, post-colonial feminist theory is also concerned with the production of literature by colonised people that articulates their identity and reclaims their past in the face of that past's inevitable otherness.

The task of a post-colonial theorist is to insert the often 'absent' colonised subject into the dominant of a discourse in a way that it resists or subverts the authority of a coloniser. Mohanty (1991) elucidates that post-colonial feminist theory examines how women are represented in the colonial and post-colonial literature, and challenges assumptions which are made about women in both literature and society. She further postulates that, colonialism and patriarchy have closely intertwined historically but post-colonial feminist theory calls for an end to the oppression of

women in the former colonies. Post-colonial feminists point out the ways in which women continue to be stereotyped and marginalised, ironically sometimes by post-colonial authors who might claim to be challenging a culture of oppression (Mishra, 2013:10). Thus, this theory has been used as a lens to assess the extent to which missionary/colonial teachings on women's education, which is a colonial project, could have an influence on why the girl child in this context has a limited education.

Among the best known key proponents for this theory include Anzaldua (1987), Mohanty (1991), and Spivak (1988) and Moraga (1981) among others. These critics reject earlier feminist approaches which assumed that women shared a common identity based on a shared experience of oppression. They reject the assumption that white middle class women should be considered the norm, arguing that the concerns of such women are not necessarily those of all women and that differences in the social positions of women produce different problems and responses, even in relation to the same broad issues (Spivak, 1988; Moraga, 1981; Mohanty, 1991 and Anzaldua (1987)). Post-colonial feminist theory is primarily concerned with the representation of women in once colonised countries and in Western locations.

The groundwork for this new feminist criticism developed over several years though a number of anthologies of the work of ethnic women authors such as Boyce, Davies and Anne Adams edited *Nyambika: Studies of women in African literature* in 1986, where they referred to African feminism. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua edited *This Bridge called my Back*: Writings by radical women of colour in 1981, in which they claimed in the second edition, that they had bridged the gap between American women of colour and Third world women. The aim was to make the writings of post-colonial women visible and intelligible to the west. However, the term 'post-colonial women' has turned out to be as problematic as other phrases related to colonialism. For some theorists, the term has led to oversimplification and unthinking assertions of oppression, an approach which is an impediment to a reading beyond obvious questions of 'good' and 'bad'.

Post-colonial feminist theory involves incorporating the gender dimension into both feminism and post-colonial theory though operated separately until recently they come together and have a common concern for the defence of the marginalised 'other' by the existing structures of domination. Gadhi (1998: 83) states that they all began by making attempts to reject the prevailing

48

hierarchies of gender/culture and race and have both embraced the post structuralist more "to refuse the binary oppositions upon which patriarchal or colonial authority constructs itself." Moreover, despite the common concerns, feminists have observed that gender issues remain for male post-colonial theorists (Kwok 2005:80-81) hence, the need for post-colonial theorists to address gender within AAIC theologies on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

As a method of inquiry, post-colonial feminist theory is still defining the parameters of the field. As highlighted in Chapter One, post-colonial feminist theory was used in this study, not only because it includes the concerns of the amelioration of women in general and AAICs in particular, but because they go further to include the gender dimension which also forms the basis of my research where the research investigates what influenced AAIC theology of girl child education. Thus, in a bid to find out, one needs to establish why girls are treated as second class citizens to their male counterparts in AAICs for the research also seeks to establish the extent to which colonialism and African culture with its patriarchal tendencies have influenced AAIC theology of girl child education.

Post-colonial feminist theory or hermeneutics is a fairly new approach to the theology of religion. It focuses on feminism within the framework of post colonialism or rather a focus on the concerns and strategies of two-Third world feminists within post colonialism. It takes into account most of what feminism and feminist hermeneutics stand for. It has its main focus on the interactions among colonialism/imperialism, gender and Christianity in one intricate web, an aspect that previous feminist theorists have not seriously tackled. Donaldson and Kwok (2002) argue that even feminist scholars who are interested in post-colonial studies are likely to address issues of race, gender and sexuality in the context of colonialism without paying heed to the critical significance of religion to these dimensions (Kwok, 2005). Hence, this research also analyses how the Bible has been used as a tool of oppression of women and girls by AAIC leaders, especially considering their teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. Post-colonial feminist theorists seek to fill this gap without which "feminist scholars in religion have the danger of replicating the colonial gaze in the name of serving a feminist agenda" (Kwok 2005).

Post-colonial feminist theory is one of many approaches that empower women scholars to engage in hermeneutics of liberation. At this juncture, post-colonial feminist theorists tend to be asked questions such as, what are the concerns of post-colonial feminists. What strategies do the Two-Third world post-colonial feminist's use for decolonisation and depatriarchalisation? How do they advocate for the amelioration of women that has been undermined by colonialism/imperialism and patriarchy? These questions are responded to in the following section.

Post-colonial feminist theorists seek to disengage themselves completely from colonial practices. Post-colonial feminist theory therefore does not only strive to analyse colonial discourse or deconstruct western dominant regimes of knowledge (Kwok, 2005) but it examines the intricate relationship between colonialism, gender and religion and in particular, Christianity in justifying and disseminating imperialist ideologies. This engagement of post-colonial feminists is taken with an idea to decolonize the ideologies that continue to undermine the entire post-colonial enterprise (Donaldson and Kwok, 2002). Thus, this research investigates the extent to which the colonial and missionary background of AAIC founders influenced its theology of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

Post-colonial feminists have also been able to identify the link between colonialism, Christianity and gender as a key factor underlying the mapping and naming of explored lands. Donaldson (in Donaldson and Kwok, 2002:22) cites examples of how explored lands like Europe, America and Asia were given feminine names. This process of exploration and naming does not serve to popularise women but uses them as a symbol of the colonised (Dube, 1998). Therefore, in my research I see the current status of the girl child's limited education in AAICs as a product of colonialism where women were treated as second class citizens to their male counterparts. Post-colonial feminists note that western Christianity robbed women of their significant traditional religious roles. In Africa, for example, although African cultures suppressed women in several ways, women's divinely asserted roles were traditionally recognised and respected.

In pre-colonial Zimbabwe for example, women participated in worship as spiritual leaders, healers, diviners, mediums, medicine people and herbalists (Mbiti, 1989). Such women were respected because of their possession of super natural powers. According to Magesa (1998), they owned deities, cults and shrines in the Matopos. Mbiti (1989) and James (1996) state that western

missionaries condemned African ways of worship and sacrifice as, "a denial of the efficacy of the 'Great sacrifice." Among other factors, this condemnation robbed women of their divinely respected traditional roles. Thus, the need for a post-colonial feminist lens for I am also looking at how African culture influenced the AAICs leaders in robbing women of their rights, especially considering their theology of a girl child's education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

Although it is difficult to generalise about post-colonial feminism, one can foreground Third world women as a broad category, within which we can explore the histories and struggles of post-colonial women against colonialism, racism, sexism and economic forces. Mohanty (1991) suggests the concept of an 'imagined community' of post-colonial oppositional struggles. She emphasises the abstract meaning of this concept which suggests potential alliances and collaborations across divisive boundaries, and the opportunity for a deep commitment to sisterhood. Not only post-colonial feminist women are challenging the ideologies which have deprived the status of women, but they are also challenging the prevailing assumption that white, western middle-class women are the norm. At the same time, they are struggling to eradicate stereotypes which define them as subordinate, and pointing out that in spite of the decline of imperialism they are still subject, in many ways, to the pressure of neo-colonialism. That is even today women are still struggling to eradicate those stereotypes. However, this has also been a bone of contention for my research to investigate the extent to which colonialism still impacted on the current status of women in AAICs even during this neo-colonialism period.

3.4 African cultural feminist hermeneutics

Modern post-colonial feminist' critics do not simply highlight the works of women from the developing world, but allow for multiple approaches drawn from many disciplines. In this study, African cultural feminist hermeneutics pioneered by Oduyoye and Kanyoro (2001) was also used. It challenges western academia by showing that it had tended to treat the third-world as an 'other', denying their subjectivity and imagination. It takes into account changes in the modern world by questioning assumptions about what is the 'core' or the 'norm' and what lies at the periphery designated as 'other' in a post-colonial world characterised by migration. In this case, the girl child's education in AAICs in general and that of Tangwena area in particular, was treated as the

'other' compared to their male counterparts and this seems to have caused the girl child to have lack of power over her reproductive health rights and it is so life denying in the long run.

Moreover, this study was based on African women's theologies which address the specific situations of women's experiences. Some of the specific issues that African women's theologies addresses which are also of paramount importance to this study include, women's struggle with patriarchy and culture, their participation in colonialism, missionary Christianity and its aftermath, health and education. As a result of these struggles, African feminist theologians such as Oduyoye (2001) and Kanyoro (2002) have developed theories that address women's experiences. African feminist cultural hermeneutics will be used as a theory to analyse how culture and the Bible have been used as oppressive tools to women in the African context. The theory is used to expose and critique those aspects of African and biblical cultures which are life denying for women and to reclaim those aspects that are life giving to women, a world in which differences are celebrated and enjoyed and works for the social, cultural, economic and religious freedoms for women (Mishra 2013:9; Crowley, 2006). See also Anzaldua (1987), Moraga (1981) and Mohanty (1991). In relation to life affirming factors for women, this study advocates for the religious freedom of a girl child from the African cultural practices that are patriarchal in nature that have influenced the AAICs teachings of a girl child's limited education.

African feminist hermeneutics is used as one of the lenses in my research to analyse the oppressive tendencies of African culture which also seem to have influenced AAICs theology of a girl child's education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This claim emanates from the idea that AAICs' emerged as a reaction to colonial and missionary teachings, thereby seeking to redress Christianity with African values that are more relevant to the African people. By doing so, some of the African cultural values were very patriarchal in nature and seem to not promote the education of the girl child. The term 'African feminist hermeneutics' is so problematic due to its various meanings.

African feminist hermeneutics is formed from African women's theologies, which belonged to the wider family of feminist theology, a form of liberation theology (Phiri 2004). It emerges within African enculturation and African liberation hermeneutics. It focuses on gender and mainly on the oppression of women by patriarchy, an aspect that is usually overlooked by male liberationists. Like other forms of liberation hermeneutics above, it uses the Bible as a resource for the struggle

against the subordination of women in contemporary society but unlike enculturation hermeneutics, it is unsuspicious of both biblical texts and African culture, which, due to the influence of patriarchy, subordinates women to men.

African women's reading of the Bible has taken various approaches. The most typical example of African women's hermeneutics can be found in the book, '*Other Ways of Reading*' (Dube, 2001). This book profiles a number of African women who as biblical scholars read the biblical text from a variety of perspectives. For example, Nadar (2001) uses feminist theories, applies a literary approach to read the character of Ruth contextually, showing how her character can provide a positive example for South African women. Masenya (2001) based her beliefs in the Bible, calls her hermeneutics 'Bosadi' (womanhood). Using this approach, she reads Proverbs 31 to show what ideal womanhood should be for a South African reader. Dube (2001) using theories of post-colonial feminist hermeneutics, applies a divination approach to diagnose the health of international relationships between Moab and Judah, represented by the two women, Ruth and Naomi, using divination, she comes to the conclusion that international relationships were not healthy since Ruth was exploited by Naomi in a slave master relationship. However, this information is relevant to this study for I looked at how some biblical texts have been used in AAICs to influence their theology of a girl child's limited education which in turn, leads to a lack of control over her sexual and reproductive health rights.

African feminist hermeneutics have some critics such as Maluleke (2001) who criticises Nadar and Masenya for failure to problematize the patriarchal nature of their text of focus. He further criticizes Dube for her failure to critique divination, a deeply rooted cultural practice in many parts of Africa through which women are often blamed for poor relationships in the community (Maluleke 2001:247).

An important factor in African feminist cultural hermeneutics is the role played by African culture in the process of women's reading and interpretation of the Bible. Owing to the fact that the culture of a reader in Africa is influenced more by the way the Bible is understood and used in communities than the historical facts about the text (Kanyoro 2002). Kanyoro (2002) therefore, uses a framework for analysing culture which she refers to as 'feminist cultural hermeneutics'.

These hermeneutics enable women to view the Bible through African eyes and through using skills of critical examination in order to extract from the Bible that which is liberating.

However, a major challenge of African feminists in cultural hermeneutics is that women are the custodians of culture and as such, apply even oppressive cultural practices to other women (Kanyoro 2002). African women are not always in solidarity as to which aspects of culture are to be ignored, for example, while some disregard female circumcision such as female genital mutilation; others embrace it as a useful rite of passage. Thus, African feminists are caught between their efforts to abolish female genital mutilation and cultural practices that oppress the girl child. Similarly, in this study we find that some cultural practices such as doing household chores have been designated for the girl child. This in turn, acts as a contributing factor to the girl child's limited education in AAICs and her lack of power over her sexual and reproductive health rights.

In short, African feminist hermeneutics focuses on African women's experiences with religion, culture and the Bible. As such, it shares elements of enculturation hermeneutics, but its point of departure is different in that African feminist hermeneutics problematizes the treatment of women by these cultural institutions. On the other hand, due to its suspicion of the Bible and it is a strong stance on the liberation of women from all that dehumanises her, African feminist hermeneutics share elements with liberation hermeneutics.

In conclusion, African biblical hermeneutics employ more indigenous forms and, as such, the latter do not take African feminist hermeneutics seriously. The skills of African women's hermeneutics will equip me to analyse AAIC theologies of a girl child's limited education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. Their approach, however, can benefit from post-colonial feminist tools which expose how women are subjected to double oppression by culture and colonialism, not only at the level of appropriation of these texts but also at the level of their production.

3.5 Relevance of post-colonial feminist theory to the study

Post-colonial feminist theory is relevant to this study because I see colonialism and imperialism as having heavily impacted on and inevitably playing a key role in influencing AAICs teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. Post-colonial feminist theory is very much concerned with knowing how imperialism/colonialism impacted on the current status

of women's education in AAICs and their sexual and reproductive health rights. This theory enables me to analyse the extent to which colonialism influenced AAIC theology and how the imperial and patriarchal systems continue to influence the unequal gender power relations in AAICs. This theory has makes it clear in chapter 3, 6 and 7 the ways in which colonialism and its patriarchal tendencies such as girls only being taught household chores and subjects like dress making and catering while boys went to higher institutions to study sciences and other professional jobs results in the subordination of women, not only in the church but also in society at large. This study agrees with the above argument that the British imperial construction of women was transported to the founders of AAICs where women were already subordinates.

It was, therefore, productive in this research study to use post-colonial feminist theory to enquire how the AAICs understanding of a girl child's education was influenced by the colonial and mission church's view of girl child education. Furthermore, post-colonial feminist theory helped to expose how the theology of the missionary era was very discriminatory towards women and how this has continued to influence the present context as an authority. Kwok express it as a "repetitious citation and continuous interpretation using the same framework (Kwok, 2005: 17). Both Kwok (2005) and Dube (2000) postulate that colonialism involves the contest of male power in which "patriarchal ideology is constantly reshaped and reformulated on the colonial process." This process subjects a women to double subordination by colonialism and patriarchy. Therefore, there was a need for this study to investigate how these systems have shaped the teachings of AAICs on a girl child's education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

In order to address the concerns of the post-colonial feminist theory, this chapter first discussed the origin and the historical background of post colonialism and definitions of it and feminism, for these terms are very crucial when studying post-colonial feminist theory. It is also within this chapter that the concerns of post-colonial feminist theories were discussed as it relates to this study. This chapter further presented criticisms of post-colonial feminist theory and explained the relevance of the theories to this study.

Post-colonial mind set reviewed how the colonial background of the founders of AAICs have influenced their theology of girl child education since these churches emerged as a reaction against colonial and missionary teachings. It is highly probable that even though leaders of AAICs sought to bring African values in the church when they broke away from the missionary churches, their

teachings had already been influenced by both the African traditional culture and colonialism which did not promote education of the girl child.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the post-colonial feminist theory and located it within three broad areas of academic inquiry. These include post-colonial studies, feminist theories and African feminist hermeneutics. The section has also discussed the relevance of post-colonial feminist theory to this research as a lens used to investigate the teachings of AAICs of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This chapter has found that the production of the new modes of interpreting the teachings of AAICs has been forcefully brought about by the current situation in which the Bible is interpreted in our churches today and particularly the three selected churches in this study. As mentioned in Chapter One that AAICs solely relied on the Bible, particularly the Old Testament for most of their teachings and practices, this study argues that Christianity, whether early, modern or post-colonial is a direct product of European colonialism and needs a post-colonial approach to analyse it for imperial and colonial ideologies. It is evident that the imperially coded biblical texts continue to influence the lives of AAIC leaders, right from the time of their breaking away from the colonial missionary churches to date. As such, it is my contention that AAICs continues to promote, sustain and transmit gender-biased and patriarchal ideologies from one generation to another.

Again, there is need for cultural shifts which have created new experiences, requiring new ways of understanding and teaching of the girl child since the old ones no longer work for it only subjects girl to be second class citizens to their male counterparts. As far as this study is concerned, this research has shown that, although this study drew from established methods and theories such as liberation theology and African feminist hermeneutics, none of them is more suitable to this study than post-colonial feminist theories for all other methods fall in this category which seem to fight for the liberation of women from double colonisation which is patriarchy and colonialism. This research addresses a context in which the girl child has a subservient status by the church teachings which limits her education and results in a lack of power over her sexual and reproductive health rights. This was done by the interpretation of the Bible by the church leaders in its patriarchal and imperial context. Such interpretations and church teachings that dehumanize the girl child long term calls for post-colonial feminist hermeneutical theories to interrogate AAIC teachings in a way

that offers a theology which is life giving to the girl child for her foreseeable future. The following chapter streamlines the focus and examines the implications of pre-colonial and colonial education in Zimbabwe in relation to the education of the girl child and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRE-COLONIAL AND COLONIAL EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON AAICS TEACHINGS ON GIRL CHILD EDUACTION

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical framework of this research. It defined the term post-colonialism, traces the origin of the term and highlights the major issues covered within post-colonial feminist theory. It also looked at the critics of post-colonial feminist theory, discusses African cultural feminist hermeneutics and the relevance of post-colonial feminist theory to the study and a conclusion was given.

This chapter focuses on discussing how education was understood in Zimbabwe, from pre-colonial, colonial and modern perception. It objects at contributing towards an understanding of the history and contemporary insight of the education of the girl child in Zimbabwe. This is intended to answer the research sub question which says: *Discuss the implications of pre-colonial and colonial education in Zimbabwe.* The chapter proposes that in order to understand the extent to which pre-colonial and colonial education influenced the AAICs teachings and perception of girl child education in Zimbabwe, it is essential to critically evaluate how girl child education has been traditionally understood. The chapter is organized under three major sub themes which include: Problematizing the notion of education; understanding of girl child education in the Zimbabwean context from a precolonial viewpoint, and the understanding of girl child education from a colonial and current perception, focusing perspectives on girl child education in chosen AAICs in this study.

4.2 Problematising the concept of education

Zotwana (1992: 10) asserts that colonialists have a serious misunderstanding that the indigenous people of Africa were in darkness with no education and religion before their arrival. Moreover, Loram (1975:43) ascertained that any sign of African intelligence in the nineteenth century was credited to the interference of the white colonialists.This conception of education by the westerners

caused the founders of AAICs in this study to have a negative attitude towards western education. They saw the formal education system as a tool that was designed to devalue their African indigenous education and they longed to value their own African cultural education.

Zotwana (1992:11) further claims contrary to the mistaken belief that Africans had no education and religion. He upholds that education and religion were the foundations on which the black nations were built. Barker (1994:12) defines education as:

> A process of learning which enables a person to acquire skills, behaviours, knowledge, values and norms which are considered necessary to live a happy and successful life in the society to which he /she belongs.

Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2002:5) further define education as:

> A procedure of conveying the values of humanity from one age group to the other, a technique by which the adult mebers of one culture brings up the immature ones.

Rodney, (1972:34) reiterates that, "education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure". From the above definitions, it is evident that Africans had an education and although it was not formal like that of westerners, they had their own way of leaning and imparting knowledge from one generation to the other.

Furthermore, Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003:18) trust that education is the passage of cultural communication and rejuvenation, the method whereby the adult members of a society prudently guide the growth of infants and young children, introducing them into the presumed culture of that society. The idea of preservation of cultures, norms and values of different societies among the young, in the context of educational practices seems to be a common thread linking all the definitions of education. In other words, the cultural future of a people is based on the kind of education that such people provide for their children passed down from generation to generation.

Furthermore, Malinowski (1923: 13) further highlights that education is greater than schooling because in every culture, modest or multifaceted, the child has to obtain not only assistances and concepts, he has to be imparted the moral standards, societal behaviours and the spiritual views of his/her communal. In South Africa, Neville (1990:32) recognises the determination of education in the same position with Malinowski where education is characterised to as the term assumed to

those official and casual ways in which the older age group of a culture passes on their accrued information to the newer age group of society.

Basing on the definitions above, it is vibrant that no humanity can survive deprived of education. Education only refers to the entire procedure of growth through which a humanity passes from early stages to adulthood. According to Haingura (1992: 55) education denotes those inspirations which are conveyed to the young generation by the section of the adult community for the benefit of upholding the level of cultural fulfilments. Education, then, does not means literateness, nevertheless, the transmission of information and culture from one age group to the other even verbally. What seems to be a common thread linking the general definitions of education by various scholars over time is the idea of preservation and perpetuation of the cultures of different societies through the inculcation of the norms, values, and practices of the particular societies among the young, in the context of educational practice. In other words, the cultural future of a people is based on the kind of education that such people provide for their children. Thus, AAICs as a religion originating from within African society and the African context, have means of teaching the child the religious beliefs, morality, ideas,the valued skills and social attitudes of the community. However, following the above description of education, this study also discussed the oral tradition as a valid source of pre-colonial education as used by AACs in their teachings of girl child education. Before looking at oral tradition, the features of pre-colonial education will be discussed paying particular attention to both formal and informal education.

4.3 Pre-colonial or indigenous education

Scholars such as Suminguit (2005:2) and Warren and Navarro and (1995: 479) have defined indigenous education in various ways although there are overlapping similarities in their definitions. They have defined traditional education as an integral part of the culture and history of a local community, which is stored in various forms and transmitted through various modes. Kothari (2007) suggests that traditional indigenous education entails the codified wisdom, linguistic, songs, proverbs, mythologies, falk tales, oral tradition, and traditions of local groups of people that were conveyed verbally from generation to generation. The last delineation emphasizes the conveying of this information, connected to the concept of traditional education. Traditional education safeguarded the continuity of culture from one age group to the next and was important

to the continuance of the survival of the mental, spiritual, emotional, and intellectual health of the cultural unit and its environment. Alan (1997:54) also stresses that indigenous education focuses on the universal growth of the complete child.

Moreover, Mbamara (2004:23) reiterates that:

> Traditional education within local communities during the pre-colonial period involved the oral histories of the group, tales of heroism and treachery, and practice in the skills necessary for survival in a changing environment.

Mbiti (1981:7) highlights that informal education in pre-colonial society entails that the life of an African was based on religion and type of education, whether formal or informal. Informally, the growing child was taught that a person does not exist as an island and a person lives amongst people. He or she exists in terms of the community and that her extended family plays an important role in the life of an individual. There is a mutual relationship between the members of the clan. As a result, the child is considered to have more than one father, mother, sister, brother, uncle, aunt and cousin. Moreover, the terms father and mother in the African context do not refer to those of the extended families and clan only, but to any older person who is of the age of the actual mother and father. The respect a child shows to his or her mother, father, older sister, and brother applies to anyone of their respective ages. As a result, respect was one of the leading features of an African child taught by the community. The same can also be seen among the AAICs when church members are informally taught the church rules and regulations. Any older person who saw the child doing wrong had the absolute right to punish that child in the absence of the parents. Accordingly, African children knew very well that one could not violate a societal rule in front of any older person. The chiefs, as guardians of law and those responsible for social harmony were respected by the community. They were believed to have been chosen by God (*Mwari*).

In addition to the above, Leshoai (1981: 242) commented that, "this mode of education has by and large been used as a way of acquiring lifelong learning". He further suggests that contrary to the widespread belief held by early foreign observers in Africa that Africa was a dark continent before their arrival; the continent had already reached a high level of educational development, which had evolved over time. The introduction of European (Western) education from the late 15th century onwards disrupted the traditional system and brought the formal school system that is the primary, secondary and tertiary levels which included the learning of European culture. The Christian

missionaries were later supported by the colonial administration in using the new educational system as a means of cultivating the mind of the Africans to accept European values and practices. The African response to this development was influenced by the reward system and the incentives provided by the acquisition of the new educational provision.

Nevertheless, scholars such as Sifuna and Otiende (2006) note that in the beginning stages of western formal education, Africans continueto value indigenous education, which emphasized the the pursuit of excellence and inclusion of all. In the Zimbabwean indigenous cultures there were institutions that were educational, for instance *kwatete[4]* (aunt's place) and *sekuru[5]* (grandfather). Comparing with the modern formal western education, written literature was the only thing that was missing in these initiation schools.

According to Zotwana (1990:11), "although Africans had oral literature, that literature was 'written' in the hearts and minds of the people and passed from one generation to another generation". This implies that very rich literature exists. This literature included proverbs, songs, and myths (Mbiti (1975). Oral tradition as a form of literature will be discussed in the following section with particular focus on its role in religion and pre-colonial education. However, it is essential to first note that black education was both informal and formal in Zimbabwe during the pre-colonial period. This included the initiation period when boys who had reached puberty were referred to the circumcision or initiation schools whilst girls would go to *kwatete* (aunt's place). The same initiation schools still exist and preferred in AAICs. This was clearly stated by one of the participants who reiterated that in these western schools girls are taught to disown their culture

---

[4] *Kwatete* was a place where girls go when they reach puberty stage and they were taught what it means for a girl to be a grown up person. Tete was a close relative usually the father's sister or cousin's sisters. It was upon the mother to choose where she wants her child to go and taught amongst the aunts. It was kwatete where girls were also taught about menstrual periods. They were told that when they reach that stage it was a sign that a girl had grown up and therefore they were not supposed to sleep around with boys. They were warned that once one reached the menstrual stage, it was a sign that a girl was now an adult and she could become pregnant anytime if she had sex with a boy. Before reaching puberty girls will be taught how to respect elders and to do house hold chores that every girl was expected to do. It was also the duty of tete to check whether the girl was still a virgin or not. This was done in order to make sure that girls keep their virginity until they get married. It was a shame to the family if one's child was found to not be a virgin in marriage; hence the *tete* plays that role to make sure that the girl maintains her virginity until she got married.

[5] *Kwasekuru*, just like *kwatete*, teaches a boy from the grandfather when they reach puberty. This teaching was specifically meant for boys. Boys were also taught about their manhood and how to deal with certain situations of life. It was *kwasekuru* where boys were also taught about wet dreams. They are told that it was dangerous to have sex with a girl when one starts experiencing wet dreams because they will impregnate the girl and also bring shame to the family. Boys were also taught manual jobs and also how to solve disputes among themselves.

and are encouraged to adopt a western culture that are not acceptable to their own African culture such as premarital sex (L1, 2018). These two types of education systems are discussed in detail below as they were practised by the indigenous people of Zimbabwe.

4.3.1 Formal education

Sifuna and Otiende (2006) describe formal education as that which includes the initiation schools that are rooted in African culture. These same initiation schools also existed among the Manyika people where the initiated were exalted to the advanced adulthood phase. In the initiation schools, morality and sex education were taught, but only the initiated were responsible for teaching sexual education and the other morality related issues. Moreover, traditional education unfolds in formal stages. One is taught about sex and reaching puberty; prior to this nothing is taught on this subject (Leshoai, 1981: 242). Although, in these 'schools' sex education, morals and what is taboo are taught, another aspect of life which were included was religion. Mbiti (1975) explains that in both rites of passage, cattle or goats were used as a medium of communication with the ancestors and their living descendants. The sacrifices of the living were required because when anyone climbed up the social ladder, he or she has to keep the ancestors informed and at the same time, give thanks to the ancestors for taking good care of them. In these informal schools both education and religion were taught and were inseparable.

The Manyika people believed that the rites of passage mentioned above are a process of formal education that needs to be done for every child. If the ritual is not carried out, misfortune follows. Soga (1930) observes that if the rituals are not correctly undertaken, misfortune will happen. Similarly, Ter Haar (1988) also asserts that among Africans, the formal 'curriculum' grew out of the immediate environment, and consisted not only of moral and civic instructions, but also on-the-job training in skills for boys and girls in their respective roles. Therefore, formal education in traditional times was very practical and pragmatic. It aimed at preparing the children and young people to take up their responsibilities as adult members of society. Practical skills, such as making mats, blankets, or pots, were taught to children. This was supported by Soga (1930) when he claims that, initially people were able to make blankets out of animal skins, but that skill no longer exists in the present day due to land legislation and laws protecting the killing of animals. Chitando (2014:14) holds the same view with Soga that most AAICs leaders discourage their members from

getting into formal employment and instead, they encourage them to be self-employed which is more practical to the indigenous life systems of Zimbabwe. Such practical areas of self employment included pottery, carpentry, weaving of reed mats among others.

4.4 Sources of pre-colonial education

4.4.1 Proverbs

Fasokun (2005:19) explains proverbs as rich sources of African wisdom and philosophy. According to him, Africans use proverbs extensively and are usually expressed in words, but they are also expressed in the language of the drums and the sound of the horns blown by the attendants of chiefs. In addition, proverbs convey how to treat people with respect, dignity, empathy and kindness. They enshrine wisdom, beliefs and the accumulated experiences of past and present generations. In support of the above, Thomas (2005: 109) argues that in most African traditional cultures, the use of proverbs is a common feature of African religion. The 'entire worldview of the people' is 'rooted within proverbs and wise sayings', and many of these 'proverbs govern religious and social behaviour'. The same can also be witnessed in AAICs in this study where education was provided to girls in the form of proverbs in formal their education. This was confirmed by one of the participants who said that, "*Yes, in our church girls receive education such as mukadzi anovaka imba yake kana kuputsa nemaoko ake SM6, 2018)"* meaning a wise woman can build or destroy her house with her own hands.

4.4.2 Myths

Parrinder (1967:7) defined a myth as a vehicle that conveys a certain fact or a certain basic truth about people's experiences in their encounter with the created order and with regard to their relation to the supra-sensible world. Myths seek to explain what brought about the present uncomfortable order and to indicate that man is destined to overcome the present discomfort. Structurally, a myth is timeless, extra-ordinary figures and enjoys general acceptance in the culture in which it originates. Myths provide the cultural and social history of the African people. They tell how some things came into being, and talk of supernatural beings. They are the stories of people's origin and religion. They are stories that are the product of fertile imagination, sometimes simple but often containing profound truths. Myths are not meant to be taken too literally.

However, most of them express serious beliefs about human beings, eternity and God (Parrinder, 1967:18).

These serious beliefs have been accrued through the knowledge of adult members of the society, as a result of their religious authority and morality, which had power to impact their societies in attaining objectives which require behavioural transformation. Mazonde (2001:29) states that in order for one to have a long life, to be blessed and to be protected in African culture teaches, one must respect elders not only of one's own family but also those of society who belong to other families. Children were are taught good social manners.They learns in what manner should one greet people using proper ways, to establish good relations and to thank someone for a good deed. Children are encouraged to express their appreciation and respect by giving gifts. In a non-literate society, accumulated knowledge and wisdom is stored in the heads of the adult members of that society. As Ki-Zerbo (1990:22) argued:

> When an old person passes away, it is a whole library which disappears. Parents, older relatives and others play a very important part in the lifelong learning process of the individual. Wherever possible, however, the focus is on learning within the home environment. This helps to close the 'generation gaps' that so often result from formal education.

Rather than despising older relatives for their illiteracy, AAICs members are expected to recognise the elders as holding valuable knowledge, and to acknowledge their contributions at the back of the completed workbook. In addition to their role in teaching, community elders are also included in the assessment process. Everyone is taught the value of respect for elders and reverence for old age.

Balogun (2008: 117) emphasizes the view that education in "traditional Africa" goes beyond mere schooling because it is holistic and thus, worthy to one's life circumstances. He further suggests the African worldview of person who is regarded as educated as:

> ...the modern idea of an educated individual should neither be an example for Africa nor can an African be a model for the West. Education is diverse in its content and technique, as there are different societies in the world. Hence, the superimposition of a Western conceptual model on the African notion of an educated person is bound to be pointless and one of the major avenues for this superimposition has been our form of education tailored towards the Western model Balogun (2008: 121).

Following the above quotation, in this study, AAICs such as JMAC claim to closely follow the African cultural form of education that they regard as more important even to impart to their children than the western type of education. The JMAC members claim that the western form of education came with the motive of destroying their own culture hence, one of the participants noted that sending their children to attend western formal education is like delivering their children into the hands of their enemies. In this case, missionary oriented and colonial schools were the ones referred to as enemies.

Marah (2006: 53) postulates that pre colonial education in Africa was not detached from other spheres of life, rather, it was closely unified with the societal, traditional, art, spiritual, and entertainment of the indigenous group. Nevertheless, this leaves the definition of education in dispute since the approach the Eurocentric used to understand and define education is meant to eliminate the systems education of the colonised people from what the colonialists view as genuine education. This explains why AAICs have a negative attitude towards western education. For them, this type of education came to disrupt the order of their society, to treat the African population as the "other" thus, the need for a post-colonial theory that rebelled against the notion of Africans being treated as 'the other' during colonialism. Therefore, the AAICs have designed their teachings in such a way that the girl will be discouraged from acquiring western education by all means necessary. This was because, as claimed by some leaders interviewed, education brings enlightenment to the girl child and once the girl is educated she will reject some of the church's traditions such as polygamy and not going to hospital. Thus, according to these leaders, discouraging a girl child from accessing western formal education is like a weapon of fighting resistance from the girl child in following church taditions that are detrimental such as that of accepting polygamous marriges at a young age.

The above information is sufficient to support the idea that Africans had a formal education before the missionaries and colonialists arrived. This formal type of education is still vital in AAICs where information is still passed from one age group to another verbally, for we seem to have very little written sources in the churches. This was also evidenced when I interviewed the participants on the history of the selected churches in this study as there was no written information to trace the

66

history of these churches. Much of the information was written in peoples' hearts (Mbiti 1975) as they were able to recite the history and emergence of their churches orally. Thus, oral tradition becomes the crucial source of traditional/pre-colonial education as discussed below.

4.4.3 Oral traditions

There is no universally acceptable meaning for the term oral tradition. However, Vansina (2011: 1) defined it as:

> historical sources of a special nature in that they are transmitted through the word of mouth and their preservation is dependent on the ability of successive generations to memorize them.

The same with this study, the teachings of the AAICs and the history of their origins was narrated by the church leaders and senior members successfully who were able to memorize them. One of the key features of oral tradition is that it entails information that is delivered from one generation to another verbally (Vansina, 2009). The fact that oral traditions entails the passing of information through listening points to one questioning its dependability as a historic basis given the opportunity of alterations and distortions that might typify it. This was witnessed in my research that some of the information on the same question will vary from one person to the other depending on the memory and interest of that person in the subject matter. In order for me to get reliable answers I compared the facts from various groups of people interviewed.

Pecker (1970:54) elucidates that "the absence of written sources among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe were considered as one sign of their state of barbarism". The same can be said of AAICs who have no written sources and they are always looked down upon by the colonial and missionary churches. In addition to this, Brown claims that:

> Were we to be consistent and hold that traditional African thought cannot be philosophical, because philosophical thought is thought that is written or is non-sagacious in character, we could not count Socrates, Buddha, or Jesus as having engaged in philosophical thought? 2004: vi).

Following the above statement it must be taken into consideration that oral traditions have significance within a given cultural context. According to Oluwole (1997) oral tradition remains

67

an authentic gap over which the the past of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe can be understood and reconstructed. In this understanding, the learning, thinking and knowledge of the pre-colonial ethnic people of Zimbabwe can be recreated by referring back to education, their oral tradition. Bourdillon (1993:10) emphasises that rebuilding is essential since the culture, epistemology, philosophy and the indigenous people of Zimbabwe's have undergone changes primarily because of the unfair obligation of the colonialists' epistemology, culture, education and philosophy. In light of this, this chapter aims at showing the impotance of oral tradion to AAICs as a source of African formal indigenous education. This made AAICs to put little emphasis on girl child attaining western formal education, without recognising that sending the girl child to school will empower her and increase her chances to have power over her sexual and reproductive health.

Moreover, (Ba, 1981: 166) is of the view that:

> African 'tradition' or history can be equated to oral tradition. For, no attempt at penetrating the history and spirit of the African peoples is valid unless it relies on the heritage of knowledge of every kind patiently transmitted from mouth to ear, from master to disciple and down through ages.

Basing on the above, oral traditions can be given as evidence to demonstrate the actuality of education among the indigenous people of Zimbabwe even if oral traditions are often disbelieved as honest sources of the history of people compared to sources that are written. This can also be seen as one of the reasons why AAICs of Tangwena still hold on to their traditional education system where they do not to promote the girl child's access to modern western education which they regard as responsible for destroying the good ethical values of an African girl child such as the preservation of virginity among others.

Similarly, the field work for this study, discovered that the condemnation of oral traditions as undependable history sources is not wholly vindicated since other sources of a people's history such as archaeology and written sources which are prominent share similar limitations with oral traditions, and that oral traditions are reliable because they give room for one to judge the information as people narrated the events.

In an effort to defend the reliability of oral traditions, Ramose (2004: 145) make the following sentiments:

> ...the fundamental point is that all writing, that is, the sign used by the signifier, is ultimately the representation of thought. In this sense, writing is like the spoken word or language since the many languages that exist do not have the same sounds yet each one is capable of grasping, interpreting and communicating its experience.

The most surprising thing is that while oral traditions are recognized as valid and genuine sources of history in ancient Greece, oral traditions in Africa are terminated as unreliable sources. M'bow says that:

> Although the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were rightly regarded as essential sources for the history of ancient Greece, African oral tradition, the collective memory of peoples which holds the thread of many events marking their lives, was rejected as worthless (1981: xvii).

It is within this argument that oral traditions can be used legitimately as genuine sources of history to rebuild and show the existence of education sytem among the Zimbabwean indigenous people in pre-colonial times. This was evidenced in my field research where I was able to gather the information from the participants about the churches' teachings and style of worship without any written source available.

4.5 Pre-colonial understanding of girl child education

Lawal (2005) highlights that the African traditional concept of education aimed at character development, growth of intent and physical skills, inculcation of respect for elders and leaders, understanding, appreciating and promoting the cultural heritage of society among others. He further elucidates that western education was received with mixed feelings in most places among African cultures and very few people were willing to send their children to school, to those who did, they did not consider it wise to send the girl child to school because girls were regarded as property and were a burden at the mercy of their husbands. In a similar line of thinking, Adebis (2009) argue that some parents felt that if girls acquire a formal education and have the privilege of working, they would surrender all their money to their husbands and not to their parents and instead, they were encouraged to acquire a functional education which prepared them for

motherhood. However, this might also have influenced the limited education of the girl child in AAICs as Chitando, Taringa and Mapuranga (2005:124) highlighted that these AAICs were influenced by African traditional culture in formulating their teachings and sought to replace everything that was colonial with local indigenous practices.

Mwangi (2004:15) suggests that the African traditional education system was very patriarchal because it seemed to favour boys over girls due to the claim that boys maintain the family lineage. Additionally, he said some of the reasons as to why girls do not have adequate access to western formal education in Africa includes the fact that many have to stay at home to nurse relatives with children and help parents to do household chores such as fetching water, cooking, gathering firewood and washing clothes among others. Furthermore, Mwangi suggests that the fact that their mothers were not educated is another reason that makes them feel that their daughters do not need an education, although this view is not shared by all the mothers who did not obtain a western formal education. According to Plan International in Zimbabwe (2016), child brides face early pregnancy, responsibilities to their children and in-laws, jealousy of their husbands, who are usually much older to let them out of the house. This idea was also stressed by Chitando and Chirongoma (2008:23) when they argued that:

> various factors including female responsibility for domestic chores, generalized conditions of poverty and the overarching influence of patriarchy combined to make women's access to academic institutions an unreachable dream for much of the colonial period.

In Zimbabwe, girl–child education was elusive. Mwangi (2004:48) further postulates that a combination of poverty, disease and backward cultural practices deny the girl-child her right to an education. Even with the introduction of free primary education, girl's access to education remains an unattainable dream to many Zimbabwean children.

Although these scholars refer to the colonial period, it is also critical to note at this juncture that the same reasons that hinder women to attend formal education also apply to the precolonial times which limited a girl child's education. In relation to this, Correll (2001) reiterates that the division of labour due to gender parameters at home overburdens girl children resulting in high absenteeism

or withdrawal from school since girls are not seen as bread winners by many parents in traditional African culture.

Again, the same idea was also held by the World Bank in 1996 in a review of primary and secondary school education in Zimbabwe, when it said that in a situation where Zimbabwean families have limited resources, many parents prefers sending their male children to school over their female children. According to Zindi (1996), only one in every two girls was enrolled in secondary school in Zimbabwe. The evidence of having a limited number of girls in secondary schools is very prevalent in AAICs in this study for they seem to follow the African culture of their church teachings. Their passiveness on girl child education may have been worsened by their African cultural background that seems to not promote a girl child's western education when compared to their male counterparts as presented above.

In addition to the above, Oduyoye (2001), sees African traditional culture and education as full of terminology that allows the society to diminish the diginity of women. Similar to this explanation, Akintunde (1999) opines that African culture has inflicted a long tale of discrimination and injustice against women as there has not been equality in the opportunity, dignity and power between men and women. She further states that in African culture, women and girls are often regarded as part of men's property. Although Oduyoye and Akintunde (2001) focused on Yoruba women, their insights were of great importance to this research for their views are similar to those of traditional culture in Zimbabwe where AAICs such as JMAC, TSAC and BAFC seem to have been established.

Furthermore, Oduyoye (2005) highlights that the fact that the traditional culture did not promote the girl child to have a western formal education leaves the girls' level of education and development at a disadvantaged and vulnerable position. She further suggests that girls are left with no other option except to wholly depend on men for survival, hence subjecting themselves to patriarchal oppression. For her, lack of formal education also contributed to the girl's lack of power over her sexual and reproductive health rights (See also Siwila, 2011). Girls bear the heaviest burden for household responsibilities, including the care of sick parents and siblings, and are the first ones to drop out of school whenever there are challenges experienced at home, be it lack of

school fees or any other things that need attention. In African culture, having girls attending western formal education is not important because girls are seen as commodities for the family that are sold and bring wealth to the family. The main destiny for a girl in an African traditional set up was marriage (Siwila, 2011). Marriage was highly valued and if a girl is not married, it was shameful to the family, hence most parents preferred to arrange marriages for their children, even if they were young.

In traditional African culture, there was no room to refuse an organised marriage by the parents because since birth, girls were always prepared through the knowledge obtained from the elderly members of the community and their parents and that they were there for men and when they grow up, they should get married and expect nothing else. The same scenario is also experienced in AAICs today for they seem to have reacted to the missionary colonial culture of education (Chitando 2014:16) and revised their gospel with African cultural practices that allowed them to oppress the girl child by choosing husbands for them and also continuing to give them an education that will always leave marriage as the only option for the girl child.

As a result of these struggles, African theologians such as Kanyoro and Oduyoye (2002) have developed a theory where they seek to analyse African culture for its patriarchal nature that promotes the oppression of the girl child that includes denying a girl's access to an education and giving her limited power over her reproductive health and sexual rights by choosing a husband for her. In African culture, as noted by Oduyoye (2005:13), a girl was delivered from the hands of the father to the hands of the husband. There was no room for a girl to have freedom as she was always under the custodian of men.

The same also happen to girls in AAICs, as confirmed by Vengei (2013) when she says that the girls are at high risk of having no rights over their reproductive health and sexual rights since getting married young to men who are as old as their fathers. She further highlights that most of them are indoctrinated from birth and have come to a point where they accepted the church teachings as a norm and they do not see any wrong in the practice.

4.6 The colonial/ missionary perception of pre-colonial education

The imposition of the colonial education system was based on the assumed absence of education among the indigenous people. In support of the argument of the existence of education in Zimbabwe, as discussed above, this study reached a conclusion that education is part of any given culture. Lebakeng (2010:56) states that the colonisers denied the presence of education among the people of Zimbabwe which was at par with their education system. However, the position of scholars like Ramose and Lebakeng is debatable for the colonisers seemed to regard Africa as a dark continent so there was a good chance that they supposed that education in Zimbabwe was absent. The introduction of the colonisers' education system was interpreted into the forceful introduction of the western formal education system and the destruction of the traditional educational system of the people of Zimbabwe (wa Thiong'o, 1981).

Bourdillon (1976) elucidates that the presumed primitive stage of the native people of Zimbabwe allegedly prohibited them from generating information that was equivalent to that of the colonisers. In view of the above, Gelfand (1981: 41) comments that the colonisers consider themselves as their 'burden' to 'civilize' the native people of Zimbabwe by means of forcing their own system of education. Scholars such as Huggins (1953:65) reiterate that the colonial experience benefitted the colonised people. The supposed superiority of the colonial educational system continue to be upheld into the contemporary Zimbabwe through the curriculum of the school that is still controlled by imitative content of the colonial educational system.

Ramose (2004:59) suggests that the imposition of the colonial education system was constructed on the presumed 'right of conquest' held by the colonizers. This is because of how colonialists/missionaries perceived the indigenous education system that made AAICs in this study not value western formal education for the girl child based on the fact that the presence of the colonial educational system which was encouraged by the colonialists must be prohibited. According to AAICs it must be forbidden since it is grounded on the colonialists' wrong power to describe the meaning of knowledge and that this knowledge has a danger of enlightening the girl child which will automatically cause her to reject some of the church teachings which puts emphasis on the preservation of virginity for the girl child which will only destine her for marriage.

The AAICs perception of western formal education concurs by Devisch's, Okere and Njoku (2005) who say that education is firstly native.

Based on this view of education, it becomes unreliable for the colonisers' own particular claim that education is trans-cultural. The position advanced by AAICs in this research is that of the rejection of the claim of exclusive entitlement to the production of education by the colonisers because it lacks substance. This rejection of the claim would allow the native people of Zimbabwe to regard their own pre-colonial education systems as one among other education systems.

Indigenous people were required to adopt the colonial education system that was regarded as superior to theirs. By denying them an education system, Gelfand, (1968) alluded that the native people of Zimbabwe were regarded as people who cannot reason. (WaThiongo, 1981). In AAICs view, the supposed subsidiarity or absence of a system of education among the native people of Zimbabwe is unsustainable and should be outrightly rejected. This is essential so as to revive the educational system of the native people of Zimbabwe which was previously belittled and regarded as less important or absent by the colonialists. The colonial and missionary understanding of education among the indigenous people resulted in the AAICs having a negative attitude towards western formal education in general and women's education in particular, since these churches formulate their teachings deeply rooted in African culture.

 Presumably, the education system of the colonialists made the impression that the concept of education, originated within the colonial mind set. The propensity was to take such terms as having a trans-cultural appeal from their provincial understanding (Grosfoguel: 2012:19). The colonists viewed their education system as a standard measure upon which all other education systems must be measured. In view of this idea, Zimbabwe's education system was considered inferior and absent (Peck, 1966).

Moreover, the colonists gave themselves the task of describing the meaning of terms such as knowledge and education. They ignored the fact that at times situations give meanings to terms. The way terms are described and given meaning might vary according to the cultural setting surrounding the term. Hence, it come to be unsustainable to cast-off a blind eye to the existence

of education system of the native people of Zimbabwe depending on the colonisers perception of these particular terms. This research, therefore maintain the fact that Africans had their education system, though it was not recognized by the missionaries and colonizers as authentic caused them to have a negative attitude towards Western formal education. The AAICs argue that the indigenous people have contributed to the production of knowledge that can be placed at the level of equity with the educational systems from other education centres. This has been clearly elaborated from my field research when the participants said, "we have our specialist doctors in our church that are experienced to handle different circumstances and situations the same like the doctors at hospitals."

Consequently, P'Bitek & Christie (1970) elucidate that the missionaries helped to break down African culture and they imposed western culture and work patterns. They tried to do that by rejecting all the beliefs and practices of the indigenous people as they believed them to be contrary to Christianity and regarded them as heathen or pagan (Raum 1967: 89). They believed that African culture was evil and had to be destroyed if blacks were to achieve civilisation and salvation. For the missionaries, religious education was deemed synonymous with Christian education. Pupils were required to recite Bible extracts, dramatize them and learn about the whole content of the Bible. Kili (1988) asserts that religious education became identified solely with the teaching of the western Christian faith and therefore, alien to the feelings of a significant section of the indigenous population. In all schools, prayers were conducted in the morning and were based on the Bible.

In addition, Christie (1985:45) suggests that mission education actually divided the African people. She supports her view by explaining that most black people did not go to schools at all. Those who did go to school became an elite, privileged group. The schooled people saw themselves as better than the unschooled ones, a division which was not there before. Thus, AAICs emphasize much on unity, togetherness and love since in their church they call each another brothers and sisters. Again, at the center of their gospel they provided a place to feel at home for everyone as this was also noted by Daneel (1979). There is no distinction in AAICs between the rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated.

The colonisers' supposedly had exclusive power of the production of education and insisted on the fact that the native people of Zimbabwe have no education. According to Ramose (1999), the people who were colonised were not allowed in the class of people who were considered to be rational. The introduction of the colonialists education caused the destruction of Zimbabwe's indigenous education system. This study argues against this unfairness and advocated for its reversal inorder for the coexistence of other education systems in the new syllabus.

4.7 Colonial/missionary education system in Zimbabwe

The fact that both in the colonial and post- colonial times, governments were using education as a tool to realize their political objectives forced the AAICs to develop a negative attitude towards western formal education. Fears over political security led colonial governments to provide or withhold education as a necessary evil. This was their way of checking and controlling the rate of African advancement. The types of thinking and activities children learnt at school were different from the experiences they had at home. The worlds of traditional African thought (home) and that of the west (school) in many cases were found to be absolutely opposite. Their education had the intention of only making Africans understand instructions in workplaces, for Africans to disown their culture and traditional practices in favour of western ones. This resulted in the AAICs having a negative perception of colonial and missionary education for their children in general, and the girl child in particular.

The missionaries' obligation was to convert many indigenous people through schooling so that they could use the 'converted' to translate the Bible and preach to the 'heathen'. Arguably, conversions were neither the achievement of Christian education, nor even what it principally aimed at. Formal education aimed at:

> A change of thought and feeling, any correction of character and founding of principles nurturing in a Christian direction … to do away with the whole lump of … (indigenous philosophy), targeting not directly to save souls but to make the work of saving them more speedy and more certain than it would be without education (Mathew, 1988: 56).

Relating to this quotation, the AAICs see sending their children to missionary schools just as good as delivering their children into the hands of their enemies. The leaders have reached a point where they find that the missionary and colonial education has no genuine motives except for destroying their own culture. Similarly, Shizha and Abdi (2005:59) highlight that underpinning the evangelisation philosophy, which was both theoretically and culturally linked to European colonialism, was the "ethno/religio-centric principle that Africans needed to be autonomous from the evils that surrounded them in their communities …" (Abdi, 2005:43). In this regard, the purpose of advancing education to Africans was for the purpose of proselytisation, and making the African able to read the Bible. In Christian discourse, the notion was that educating the young was necessary to prepare the minds of indigenous people for later receptiveness to the Word of God (Seth, 2007). However, the fact that colonial education was meant to pacify Africans, caused the AAICs in this study to have a negative attitude towards this colonial and missionary education. Rather, they prefer their traditional indigenous education that values Africans and promotes dignity of all humanity.

Colonial education policy makers defined the education system that they deemed necessary for Africans and planned and administered it according to their political and economic agendas. In designing the school curriculum, the colonial policy makers did not make any effort to design an education system that harmonised the needs of different racial and ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. The system was so divisive that it promoted hatred and disharmony between the two racial groups. The origin of this colonial tradition of education was attributed to H.S. Keigwin, the Director of Native Development, whose policy on African education gave rise to two fundamental principles:

> In the first place, a small educational advance by large numbers of African people was to be infinitely preferred to any scheme for the advancement of the few; and in the second place, the emphasis of education should be placed on such agricultural and industrial instruction as would enable African people to develop a more satisfying and productive way of life in the tribal reserves (Atkinson, Gilbert, Hendrikz & Orbell, 1978: 34).

The assumptions on the principle on African education were misleading. A large number of African people were not being taught to contribute effectively to community development but to serve colonial 'masters' on their farms and in their factories, hence the emphasis on agricultural

and industrial skills. The indigenous people who attained minimal formal education were forced to leave their communities to go and work for the colonial administrators, farmers, factory owners and on mines. Not all Africans desired to train as agricultural workers. Some strongly resented industrial training of a simplified kind intended to promote traditional African craftsmanship instead of focusing on the acquisition of technical skills of a western industrialised nature (Challis, 1979). The policy was to deny the indigenous peoples' advancement into the 'modern' industrial economy – the domain of the European settlers. Consequently, Africans were denied advanced skills for self-sufficiency and self-determination in the new socio-economic order. Individuals who attended colonial schools were not exposed to practical knowledge that was appropriate for their community realities. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) observes that the lack of congruency between colonial education and Africa's reality resulted in people becoming distanced from their reality.

According to Challis (1979), the colonial regime was not interested in engaging communities in socio-economic activities that would tend to compete with European economic and political interests. Too much reliance was placed upon schools alone to promote undesirable schemes that were perceived as important for the African population. The advocated and promoted education policy demeaned Africans and gave rise to a separatist racial system, which created a false consciousness among those who were exposed to it. It induced false hope for a bright future within the colonial administrative system. Some of those who obtained a colonial education were recruited as accomplices and collaborators in oppressing their own people by implementing oppressive government policies. Addressing this phenomenon in his speech, Thomas Babington Macaulay, a British baron who served on the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838 and was instrumental in creating the foundations of bilingual colonial India stated:

> It is impossible for us, with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, in morals, and in intellect (Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995: 430).

Most Europeans feared that if Africans were given an education that was similar to that given to whites, the competition for employment would lead to the emergence of a poor-white class. Educationally, they ensured that the criterion of literary excellence was a privilege for white

78

cultural elite. The deliberate attempt to create a class of semi-educated Africans is yet another example of the colonisers' attempt to create colonial citizens who were receptive to their suppression, in a process that Griffiths and Tiffin (1995:425) call "control by consent." Menial education given to Africans was also meant to maintain the class stratification that elevated the European settlers and incorporated Africans in the colonial project to exploit and under develop the African continent. Rodney suggests that:

> Education is vital in any type of society for the safeguarding of the lives of its members and the conservation of the social structure …. The most crucial aspect of pre-colonial African education was its relevance to Africans in sharp contrast with that which was later introduced under colonialism …. The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole …. Colonial education was education for subordination, exploitation, creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment (1982: 263).

In addition, the State used the education agenda to perpetuate its political agenda limiting the participation of indigenous people in the economic arena by denying African students skills that would have led them to demand well-paying jobs. This resulted in the AAICs founders view western formal education negatively and finally resort to African cultural system of education that seemed to not promote the girl child from accessing a western form of education. This was done in fear that when girls access western education they will be enlightened and turn against traditional practices that were described by Kanyoro (2002) as life denying.

Mission schools were developed under various religious denominations. Missionaries saw education as a way of achieving their own aims of converting people to Christianity. In order to be able to preach the gospel, the missionaries saw the need to educate blacks so they could read the Bible (Satyo 1992: 119). So besides literacy, religious instruction was one of the subjects taught. Many denominations from different parts of Europe and America sent missionaries to the different parts of South Africa. As the missionaries had no knowledge of the Bantu languages, they had to study these and put them into writing, translated the Bible and published hymns. Africans were mainly taught reading, writing and arithmetic which were then called "the three R's". More than that they were also taught manual labour as part of the curriculum.

To sum up, mission education was rooted in Christian values and also attempted to teach attitudes like patience, humility, piety, discipline and the value of hard work. (Christie 1985: 75). Mission education was based on segregation by race (Christie 1985: 74). Christie makes an example of Lovedale where black and white students slept and played sports separately. She further explains that although they ate in one dining hall, they ate at separate tables. This clearly shows that although missionaries came to Christianize the Africans (Satyo 1993: 119), this was not the only aim: colonization was part and parcel of their mission (Christie 1985: 63). Since western education came with the missionaries, it is clear that religious education would automatically be based on Christianity as it was their religion, which they believed to be superior. Until today, Zimbabwe's religious education is still exclusively based on Christianity. However, after analysing the above discussion on the aim and mission of colonial and missionary education, I am in a position to say that sometimes AAICs are justified when they do not encourage their children to attend western formal and missionary education for it came with many harmful agendas for the African people. In summary, colonial and missionary education did more harm than good to the African community.

4.8 Missionary education and the girl child

According to Satyo (1992: 119), primary education of the upper class children in colonial days included reading, writing, simple math, poems, and prayers. Paper and textbooks were scarce so boys and girls recited their lessons until they memorized them. The three most commonly used books were the Bible, a primer, and a hornbook. As children grew older their schooling prepared them for their eventual roles in plantation life. While boys studied more advanced, academic subjects, the girls learned to assume the duties of the mistress of a plantation. This colonial mind set of education which allowed girls assume the duties of a mistress might have influenced the AAICs teachings which seem to only focus on teaching girls' household chores and how to be good mothers.

The boys had the privilege to be trained in technical jobs while girls were only prepared to be good mistresses in plantations for they were taught mostly how to do household chores. The school days for girls were somewhat different. Girls learned enough reading, writing, and arithmetic to read their Bibles and be able to record household expenses. They were taught by a governess, who was

usually from England and somewhat educated. They studied art, music, French, social etiquette, needlework, spinning, weaving, cooking, and nursing. The girls did not have the opportunity to go to England for higher education because this was not considered important for them. However, this system of education by the missionaries sowed a seed in the AAIC leaders that girls were only supposed to be given a limited education that was sufficient enough for them to do household chores and become good house wives as noted above by Maxwell (1999:59) since most of the founders of these churches belonged to these missionary churches before founding their own churches. For instance, as noted by Bulla (2015), the founder of JMAC was a member of the Methodist church and TSAC again one of the selected AAIC in this study broke away from the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Furthermore, the work at the girls' school at Hope Fountain also prospered during this period. Zvobgo (1986: 217) says that girls were taught scholastic work in the form of home economics comprising of how to do washing, house wife duties, food preparation, needle work, garden activities and handicraft including (knitting, basket making and ceramic work). Overall cleanliness was introduced at the school as a course and a few girls were taking it as a course for the first time. He further pointed out that some girls were allowed to do some teacher training courses and they excelled.

At Mtshabezi girls' boarding school, an effort was made to enable the girls to acquire a conversational knowledge of English and the effort was meeting with considerable success. Industrial training in laundry, dress making and sewing, knitting, mat making, dairying and general domestic training occupied a prominent place in the curriculum. Zvobgo added that the training given was highly efficient and equal to the best he had seen in similar institutions. All the boarders did five hours of sewing or knitting weekly. The girls took turns at house work, cooking, mat making, laundry work, vegetable gardening, and field work. This training was ideally imposed to improve the life and the outlook of the girls (Zvobgo, 1986:223).

Maxwell (1999:109) believed that the girls' had perception that, joining mission schools would give them with "a new source of meaning for marriage, patriarchy and a sense of choice". Similarly Siwila (2017:1) in her study of Mable Shaw Girls' Boarding school in Mbereshi, Zambia, argues that the missionaries misrepresented the African model of girl child education in their attempt to

incorporate African education systems into the western form of education. She further states that while the missionaries fought for women's rights, they perpetuated the patriarchal ideologies that promote marriage for women. However, Siwila further criticises the Mable Shaw Girls Boarding School saying that, "In a context where marriage was the norm for every woman, the Mable Shaw Girls Boarding School failed to provide the redemptive tools that would challenge that kind of culture" (Siwila 2017:10).

Following Siwila's argument, it became very evident that despite the missionaries introducing girl's education, they failed to add value to the girl child of Africa because of the foreign approach they use which seems to despise African culture as heathen. Thus, instead of this western formal education moulding the girl child to learn to be independent and empowered to feel human without being associated with a man, as Oduyoye (2005) puts it, it did nothing but perpetuate the further oppression of women by the nature of the subjects the girls were taught. Instead of empowering the girls, missionary education rather reinforced patriarchal African beliefs that subjugated and oppressed the girl child instead of empowering them survive without relying on men.

After analysing the above discussion on missionary and colonial education, what education did to the girl child was simply train her to be a good mother rather than empowering her so she could live without depending on a man for survival. The type of education offered in missionary girls' boarding schools was inadequate for girls to resist patriarchy in African cultural society. Hence, this study believes that both the colonial, missionary and African cultural background of the founders of AAICs have influenced the limited education of the girl child in these churches. Through AAICs teachings just like missionary girls boarding schools, girls are groomed to do household chores and only prepare to be good wives; hence as noted by Siwila (2011), marriage was the only destination for many girls.

4.9 Effects of missionary /colonial education on the teachings of AAICs in relation to girl child education

The settlers did not seek to understand the culture and education systems of the indigenous people. Instead, they proceeded from a sense of self-importance by refusing to acknowledge their own ethnocentrism which preceded their misinformation and misconceptions about African cultural lives. Indigenous education and knowledge systems were deemed irrelevant and denigrated by the western colonial system, primarily through its educational and religious institutions. Although the

colonial administrators felt successful in colonising African lives, they overlooked the fact that where there are encounters with indigenous knowledge systems, western certainty cannot survive, and that cultural confrontation demands some degree of epistemological contingency (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). The settlers' colonial mentality did not appreciate indigenous knowledge. By so doing, they created a spiritual hunger of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe in the gospel that would address African problems here and now. AAICs believe that the indigenous people are always followed by evil spirits that needs exorcism as discussed in Chapter 2.

Following the above, AAICs resorted to the gospel and teachings that were more traditionally oriented however, at the same time is oppressive to the girl child. Traditional education never desires to enlighten the girl child as they fear that the girls will reject some of the harmful practices found in African traditional culture such as polygamy and the issue of arranged marriages. Thus, African feminist lenses were used in this study to analyse such life denying practices of African culture as practiced by AAICs in this study today.

4.9.1 Western formal education as a weapon of African resistance to colonial domination

Africans were not taught in their resistance to conscientise themselves through the formal education they received nor did they revolt even after being exposed to political science at school. Instead, the fight against colonialism was rooted in their traditional religion and the African understanding of community, dignity and freedom. As noted by Berman:

> Recent studies dealing with African reactions to various forms of European contact have confirmed previous impressions that missionaries, Africans as well as their European mentors disseminated education neither for its own sake nor to enable Africans to challenge colonial rule (Berman 1975: xi).

Berman further highlights that:

> Africans were no less averse to using missionaries for their own purpose than missionaries were for theirs. African reasons for attending missionary schools were varied, but most were related to a well-defined political, social, or economic goal. The recent studies review that few Africans attended missionary schools for the sake of their eschatological message. The African spiritual needs were well provided for through traditional belief systems (Berman 1975:5).

In other words, the effects and influence of missionary Christianity had implications that remain long after the dismantling of colonialism. Those who came out of its system were to be forever infected with the colonial syndrome. Speaking about the deadly effect colonialism has had on the African mind, Ngugi wa Thiogo refers us back to the 1884 Berlin conference when Africa was whittled out into small colonies by Europeans sitting at a round table making decisions among themselves without paying any attention to the realities on the ground. Ngugi states that:

> Berlin was affected through the sword and Bullet. But the night of the sword was followed by the morning of the chalk and the black board. The physical violence of the battle field was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom. But where the former was visibly brutal, the later was visibly gentle (Ngugi waThiogo: 1986:9).

Ngugi contends that, "the colonial phase of imperialism consisted of knowing how to kill with efficiency and how to heal with the same art" (Ngugi waThiogo 1986:9). He further postulates that:

> Behind the canons was the new school. The new school had the nature of both the canon and the magnet. From the canon it took the efficiency of a fighting weapon. But better than the canon it makes the conquest permanent. The canon forces the body and the school fascinates the mind.

It is the effect of the new school that holds our attention, since it is clear that the people had put up formidable resistance, defended themselves and fought furiously against the invasion. But this next phase was more toxic to the minds of the Africans than the physical war of the revolution, since it managed to divide the previously united African resistance. This phase would turn one African against another African and the worst victims would be the unschooled people (Dube, 2006:57).

Ranger (1967) describes the idea of creating unschooled people as the worst victims of the Christian solution. The Christian solution was a calculated process of dealing with African resistance to colonialism by replacing their institutions and worldviews with a Western one through the systematic use of selective education and moving African Christian converts into model Christian villages away from the dangerous and "corrupting influence of fellow Africans." Like most of her contemporaries, Dube (2006) says that her grandmother eventually left her rural home to work in the city as a house cook and nanny for the new white masters of the land. Throughout her entire tenure as a domestic servant, despite her age and wisdom, she was

considered a minor and was called by her first name, which is an African taboo. Even her age and wisdom were not appreciated simply because she did not have a formal education. Eventually she married according to traditional customs, and was able to raise her children and educate them.

Thus, it is against this background that AAICs have reacted against western colonial education that seems to bring enlightenment to the girl child and conscientise them about the practices of African culture that are detrimental to them since the girl was only prepared for domestic purposes and marriage in African culture. Hence, this type of education was viewed as a tool that would cause resistance among African women. When women are educated they would not want to get involved in polygamous marriages because they will be aware of the consequences of poor sexual and reproductive health rights. Thus, the teachings of AAICs were meant to discourage women's education.

Summers (2002) is aware of the type and impact of colonial education on gender and race among Africans because it was the church that catered for African education since the government was reluctant to educate blacks, especially in the rural areas. The missionary church had a double role of educating and converting Africans. The church was apparently selective in its teaching in fear that Africans would rise up and demand what was rightfully theirs. Moreover, the church did not conscientize Africans because of the fear of offending the church's ally, the colonial administration. Africans unfortunate perception of the church among the colonial community was that it symbolized both progressive enlightenment and western values. Interestingly, as a result of this natural link between church and school, those who had not done well academically felt they had no place in the church (Moyo: 1988:58). Based on this argument, the character of the missionary church that it does not separate education and matters of Christianity might have influenced the AAICs perception on western formal education. Reacting against missionary Christianity by implication was reacting against all western values including education and modern medicine.

More so, those who gathered every Sunday were people of means including clerks, teachers and storekeepers among many other notables. These consist of men and a handful of women who were able to imbibe missionary education, who could afford to work in paying jobs and support the church. Those that are not educated do not fit this profile and remain outcasts from the church. However, having this information at hand, might explain the reasons why most women in AAICs

are not educated. This can be best understood from the claim that most of the people who attend missionary churches were the people with some form of an education and who were employed.

Thus, the task of this study was to investigate why women in AAICs receive a limited education and get married young. Concluding from the above argument, AAICs emerged as a reaction against mission churches where they felt that they needed to feel at home and also have a gospel that relates to their African problems and needs (Daneel, 1979). This probably could be the reason why the AAICs had no tradition of western formal education due to its missionary background which already excludes the poor and the less educated who then became the members of AAICs. Hence, the church might have attached little value to western formal education based on these reasons.

Because African culture was deeply rooted, it took the collaboration of both the church and the government to coerce African Christians to give up their culture through the Christian solution, that is, the colonial government and the church. The colonial government and the church pursued this deliberate policy of westernizing Africans as the solution to the African problem of popular revolt. The church and the mission school became the vehicles of producing new African elites for a modern world (Moyo 1988:59).

 It is appropriate to emphasize that the Christian solution did in the end have some premeditated and undesirable results for the oppressors, when some Africans who were recipients of the western Christian influence and education, instead of becoming obedient servants, subverted the very system that had prepared them and began to question white supremacy and even challenged it. Thus, Chitando (2014) argues that AAICs wanted to resist the Europeans economically, spiritually and socially. He further postulates that they shun their members from attending western formal education and western modern medicine; economically the members of AAICs were encouraged to be self-employed in order to starve the western economy of their labour. Spiritually, some Africans reacted against missionary teachings and formed their own churches that address African cultural values (Chitando 2014:17). Due to this outcome, the AAICs still find it difficult to let the girl child receive a western formal education.

Furthermore, Phiri (2001:23) mentions that, it is also worth highlighting that before the revolutionary war of 1896-1898, Christianity had dismally failed in Rhodesia. Due to this

background, Zvobgo (1986) claimed that the missionaries enthusiastically welcomed, while some even encouraged the destruction of African social and political systems in order to build the church free of the threat from traditional religious leaders. Missionaries who included, the Methodists, Roman Catholics, the London Missionary Society and the Anglicans all rejoiced at the destruction of Zimbabwe and had applauded the implementation of British South African Company rule since in their view, it was only now that the prospects of effective missionisation evolved. Phiri (2001:23) suggests that few missionaries who opposed the maltreatment of the African population did so in their individual accounts, but the official position was that of the Christian solution. Additionally, they did protest against the maltreatment of the indigenous Africans but did not in general question the legitimacy of colonialism itself.

4.9.2 Western formal education and the disintegration of the African Community

Dube (2006:68) elucidates that once the imperialist had set foot on African soil, the next phase was to conquer African soil. Thereafter, Africans world fell apart. The damage done cannot be quantified, save the accounts of horror that mark the social psyche of the communities. It is apparent that the demise of African religion began when African religion was replaced by a new religion that separated spirituality from politics and politics from reality. African customs and values were replaced with European values. A capitalist economy that centralises food production in the hands of a few who sold it for a profit replaced the African economy of food production that guaranteed enough food for every hard working family. Even the very fact that villagers could not feed themselves anymore from their own produce and had to become labourers in order to earn money to buy food are facts worth lamenting. While wealth had previously been measured by the number of cattle and the well-being of one's family and social standing in the community. Now status had to do with who could acquire more than everyone else without considering the social standing of the individual. Before the colonial era, community leaders were linked to the elders and the new system favoured the formerly educated over those who had gained wisdom through years of living and working among their own people. In summary, we can see that the full range of African worldviews was disengaged in favour of a new scientific worldview that lacked theological and religious meaning for the African people.

Dube (2006:61) argues that there is no reason to romanticize the Zimbabwean African past. The intention however, is totally the casualties of the missionisation and colonisation project. The past

has its dark side but the new religion and western culture added the destruction of a people. No culture serves to destroy its own people and there is a need to preserve aspects of culture rather than replacing it with western ones. However, this could be the reason why the ACCZ, the body that governs all AAICs sought to redress Christianity with African values and cultural beliefs as noted by Matikiti (2014). Thus, one of this study's aims is to investigate what influenced the AAICs teaching on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

The missionary Christian solution strategy has three different victims which include the following:

4.9.2.1 The progressive

This group consisted of those who obtained a mission education and accepted Christian teachings and influence, and left their traditional society in favour of modernity. Mission schools produced Africans who became farmers, clerks, court interpreters, clergy and teachers. Later, some turned around and demanded African independence from the colonial governments. This progressive group managed the transition from an African traditional society to a modern market driven economy. The European model of life became standard for them and they became land owners and small business entrepreneurs when the opportunity arose for Africans to own property. Muzorewa (1978:102) stresses that these African elite, started to appear and share the ambivalence of surviving in a white world living in a black skin. It is in this group that we find the clash of missionary attitudes with some advocating for the uplifting of Africans higher while others preferred the Africans to remain as perpetual servants to the white race.

The progressive group became successful entrepreneurs who were both a hope and curse to their communities. Dube (2006:63) described the progressive as a hope to a future democratic Africa that would recover from the severe blows of colonialism and they were a curse for neglecting their cultural world in favour of that of the colonial government, thereby diminishing the power and the will of resistance. Although missionary education proved to be very useful to Africans, especially when it comes to colonial resistance, it might also be the reason why the founders of AAICs seem to discourage their members from attending missionary education or react against everything that has to do with missionaries particularly, western formal education and modern medicine because it had influenced Africans to curse their own cultural traditions in the name of progress and entirely rely on the foreign culture of the westerners.

Following the above argument, one of my research objectives was to determine the extent to which pre-colonial and colonial education systems influenced the teachings of AAICs on the education of the girl children and her reproductive health and sexual rights. It has been clearly stated here that colonial education really impacted on AAICs' teachings for they sought to do away with everything that had to do with colonialism, including education and western modern medicines as highlighted by Chitando (2014:17). At the same time, by seeking to redress Christianity with African cultural values this action might have influenced the girl child's limited education. Thus, one can say AAICs reacted to a white devil, which is colonialism and missionaries and replaced it with a black devil, which is African culture when it comes to girl child education as both seem to not wholly promote the education of the girl child. This is the reason why I used post-colonial feminist theory in line with African cultural feminist hermeneutics to analyse the patriarchal tendencies of colonialism and African culture on girl child education.

4.9.2.2 The radicals

Dube, (2006:64) described the second group as the radicals which includes those who acquired/absorbed the Christian solution but were quick to fall out of favour with it. This group rebelled against the system that prepared them. According to him, among the early radicals were Rev. Magatho of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church which was the mother church where TSAC, one of the AAICs in this study evolved from, Mai Chaza who broke away from the Methodist church (British) to form her own church known as Guta raJehovha (City of God), Paul Mwazha also broke away from Methodists and formed his own church known as African Apostolic Church (AAC). Bulla (2015) and Sibanda (2008), further add that JMAC in this study broke away from Methodist church and other countless AAICs founders.

However, this again may not indicate that the teachings of these churches have not been influenced by missionary Christianity for the leaders where groomed in missionary culture. Thus in terms of patriarchy and treating women as second class citizens, I am in a position to say that, "the leaders might have learnt nothing and forget nothing" because women in AAICs are still suffering from patriarchal oppression, for example, in the history of TSAC, the general secretary of the church when narrating the history of the church, acknowledged that the church was started by Mbuya Chakonza (the wife of Chakonza the Bishop) but he clearly stated that, "Mr. Chakonza who stayed in Tsatse area known as Nyahuruwa became the Bishop because Mbuya Chakonza could not lead

the church as she was only a woman." This could point to African culture as the culprit for patriarchy and women's oppression because despite Mbuya Chakonza having a direct confrontation with the Holy Spirit to start a church, she did not question her handing of the church to his husband because she was culturally indoctrinated that women cannot lead the church for it was a male's job. Thus, African feminist hermeneutics critiques African cultural traditions that are oppressive to women and treats them as second class citizens to their male counter parts.

From a modern perspective, the demands of Africans were not radical at all, but rather reflect what all human beings deserve. Africans demanded dignity and the right to be who they were before colonialism, an identity which was not negotiable (Dube 2006:65). Inferring from the few studies and biographies of the lives of the radicals, this study concludes that these men and women who advocated for the rights of their own people were viewed as a threat to the successes of the white hegemony. They were not advocating for a complete return of their traditional ways of life but desired the African way of life to be taken seriously in the process of Christianisation and modernisation of Zimbabwe.

Following the above background, this study cannot hesitate to argue that the missionary and colonial background of the founders of AAICs in this study influenced their perceptions of girl child education, for education during that period was used as a weapon to pacify African resistance to colonial administration.

On the theological side, these missionary churches fail to contextualize. Those who pressed for a serious appropriation of the African worldview and symbols in the church could just walk out and join the African Apostolic Indigenous Churches. Thus, according to Machingura (2011:4), AAICs commanded a huge following in Zimbabwe of about 3.2 million of the entire population. The authorities also used the establishment of these churches as an excuse to label them as sects, which meant they were a threat to a missionary church. According to the official colonial government perspective, since they were sects, then they had no "theology", no liturgy, no Apostolic succession and no foreign funding (Zvobgo, 1976:43).[6]

---

[6] The label by the colonialist that AAICs have no theology is a miscarriage of justice especially if we are to go back to the literal meaning of the word "Theology" as it is defined by (McGrath, 1953). He alluded that the word theology comes from a Greek word "Theo" which means "God" and "Logos" which means "Word". Therefore

The implications of AAICs were that since these churches were not officially sanctioned churches by the colonial government, they were not a recognizable protest movement, but a confused group of Africans craving for power which diminished their impact on socio-political scene. However, this is ample evidence to show the enermity that exists between the missionary and the colonial administration with the AAICs in Zimbabwe. As a result of the experiences AAICs had, this might have influenced their perception on western missionary and colonial education in general and on the girl child in particular.

4.9.2.3 The discarded

Dube (2006) described the third category as of those who were never transformed by the negative effects of the Christian solution. In this group, we find people who failed to make it in the white world and were left behind and buried by that system. These people have been lost and neglected by the colonial system and have become the refuse and non-entities of the globalized world who were of value only for their labour and vote but whose voices were subdued. The people in this group were regarded as people who cannot talk, their tongues are tied, their language is coarse and rural and therefore, could not be decoded in a computer world, yet in actuality, they are many compared to those who controlled the wealth of the world, their children's future and destiny (Dube, 2006: 69).

Interestingly, there is much hope in the discarded because they are also God's precious creation and God can choose to speak through the despised among these. The Christian solution has indeed made a movement in silencing the living that has been categorized as being unworthy. They have been buried alive religiously, culturally, economically and politically. They are the discarded because even when they die in the cities, their bodies are transported back to the village graveyards for burial. Their land was separated from the main land to the designated tribal trust lands when

---

when translated, the word "theology" means God talk or the word of God. By so doing AAICs have a theology that is unique to them because they preach the word of God and always talk about God in their sermons and songs .Also the fact that the AAICs have a body (ACCZ) which regulate and standardise AAICs theologies. What is only absent in them is that they had no foreign funding and this is justified because they are rebels of missionary foreign funded churches. Thus they are more based to their indigenous place of origin.

the white settlers seized the virgin, rich, fertile soils, and left these small, infertile and semi-arid pieces of land for them.

Furthermore, Dube (2006) highlighted that the discarded were left to inherit the border lands, the sandy soils abandoned by the whites. This is true of the Tangwena people where this research was located, the place has been abandoned by the whites due to their colonial resistance, and hence, the area is grossly underdeveloped economically, socially, politically and structurally. According to some of the participants, this is the reason why most people are affiliated to AAICs; for example, in terms of sickness, they believe they will be cured by prophets in their so called "makeshift clinics" since there are no hospitals in the area except a few clinics and usually with very inexperienced personnel compared to other developed areas. However, the purpose of this study was to investigate what influenced AAICs teachings concerning the limited education of a girl child and her sexual and reproductive health rights.This was done to find out whether it was a church teaching that influenced girls to receive limited education and get married prematurely, which later contributed to the girls' lack of power over her reproductive health and sexual rights.

4.10 Conclusion

The term education has been demonstrated as a controversial subject in this chapter, not only in the past but also in the present. The powers that appear to control education, define the educated and uneducated, and in what way education should be understood are basically debatable in the Zimbabwean society. After political independence, the politics of marginalisation brought by education of the colonialist was the foundation for educational reforms. Consequently, the inequalities in colonial educational delivery between the various racial groups in Zimbabwe before independence prejudiced the teachings and perceptions of AAICs in this study on a girl child education and her reproductive health and sexual rights.

Moreover, this chapter presented that both the pre-colonial, missionary and colonial education systems have contributed to the shaping of AAICs teachings on a girl child's limited education. This has been brought out clearly by the argument raised in this chapter by various scholars consulted who argue that both pre-colonial and colonial education were rooted in patriarchal

system that downplayed the importance of education for the girl child. This was clearly evidenced by the type of subjects the girls were taught in missionary schools compared to those meant for boys. Again, in the pre-colonial education system, girls were only prepared to be good mothers when they got married. Thus, post-colonial feminist theory and African cultural feminist theory was used in this chapter to analyse these patriarchal tendencies found in both pre-colonial and missionary/ colonial education systems that influenced the AAICs teachings on the education of the girl child. The next chapter presents the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

Chapter four discussed the nature of pre-colonial and colonial education in Zimbabwe and its influence on the teachings of selected AAICs of Tangwena area. The chapter first problematized the term education as it was used by Westerners and thereafter, it presented the nature of pre-colonial education and implications for girl child education. Furthermore, the chapter discussed colonial and pre-colonial understanding of the girl child and educatiom. This was done in order to assess how both the educational systems perceive women education and how it affected the way AAICs perceive girl child education. Using the evidence from both pre-colonial and colonial education, Chapter Three has shown that both education systems have implications for the AAICs perceptions and teachings of girl child education. With the purpose of achieving the objectives of this study, several techniques and data collection sources were used.

This chapter discusses the methods of data collection used in carrying out this study. Since this study involves investigating information of a particular group of people, a qualitative approach was more suitable for this study.According to Babbie and Mouton (2002:11), qualitative research methods are the most suitable approaches when one wants to study a deeper understanding of a given community. This study is an empirical research study which used various data collection instruments which include focus group discussions, in depth interviews and participant observation along with secondary sources from both published and unpublished sources. These tools are discussed in detail in this chapter showing how each of them was applied and necessary in the study. This section also presents the design for the study, sampling and sampling procedures, ethical issues and data analysis techniques. The chapter further describes the research site that is the selected area of study and the importance of the site of the research, and its effect on the findings of the study. Prior to these factors, this chapter first explains the meaning of the term methodology.

5.2 Methodological definition

According to Polit and Hungler (2004:27), the term methodology refers to a way of gathering, arranging and scrutinising data. They explicate that a methodology is determined by the type of

the key question of the research. Thus, Mouton & Marais (1996:12) note that methodology in research can be taken to be the concept of right scientific judgement. This research uses the term methodology to describe how the study was undertaken and its coherent order. The key emphasis of this study was to identify the factors that influenced the teachings of AAICs on girl child education and her reproductive health and sexual and rights. The methodology for this study assisted me with finding out whether the current status of the girl child's limited education was a church teaching or not.

Mouton (1996:15) further defines methodology as a way or method of undertaking something. Grove and Burns (2003) expand that methodology comprises of the plan, location, operational limitations, model and the data gathering and scrutiny methods in a study. According to Hewning (2004) a methodology is a comprehensible collection of approaches that match each other and that have the capacity to bring data and outcomes that will reflect on the main question of the research and meet the purpose of the research. Furthermore, Holloway (2011) also defines a methodology as a summary of concepts and ideologies on which methods and techniques are based. During the contact between the researcher and the participants of the research, the participant's domain is covered and understood by means of qualitative methods (de Vos 2002).

5.3 The design of the research

This study used a qualitative and a multi-case study design approach. This research is firmly located within a post-colonial feminist research paradigm. This paradigm was chosen because I saw the limited education of the girl child in AAICs as a product of colonialism and patriarchy. Again this study also determines the extent to which the colonial and missionary background of the founders of AAICs influences their perception of western formal education and western modern medicines. Macmillan and Schumacher (2011:162) elucidate that the design of the research stipulates or offers a plan for producing first-hand evidence that will be used to answer the questions under investigation or problems. A design of the research is reflected to be a blue print for research and it deals with at least four problems such as which questions to study, which data is relevant, what data to collect and how to scrutinise the outcomes of the data collected (Robson. 1993:16). Thus, it is the overall plan for the investigation. This research used a multi-case study design which is used to explore a distinct setting that is shared to two or more real-world surroundings. In this study, the multiple sites included three AAICs in Tangwena area of

Nyanga where there are a lot of similarities in their theology and teachings of girl child education. The fact that this study involves more than one church qualifies it to be a multi-site case study design.

5.4 Qualitative research approach

Scholars such as Field and Morse (1996:24) elucidate that qualitative research refers to inductive, all-inclusive, individual and procedure adapted to approaches used to comprehend, understand, pronounce and improve a concept on a phenomena or situation. It is a systematic, subjective approach used to describe life experiences and give them meaning.

Holloway (2005) asserts that researchers in qualitative approach adjust a person centered and broad perspective to comprehend the experience of humanity, without concentrating on explicit theory. The natural context of the knowledge is distinctive and rich information and insights can be produced thoroughly to present a true image of the participant's reality and communal setting. These proceedings and situations are significant to the investigator. The aim of the qualitative method in this study include to gain vision, discover the depth, richness and complexity of the theology of girl child education and sexual and reproductive health rights among the members of AAICs of Tangwena area of Nyanga District. In the case of this research, I went to Tangwena area for my field work and had a chance to interview those women who were married young and are members of the AAICs in this study. I managed to obtain information from them through their testimonies on how they got married to their husbands and what were some of the reasons for them to drop out from school and those who never attended school. This was very helpful in answering some of my research questions such as understanding AAICs perceptions of western education and what influenced their theology of girl child education.

Musengi and Mukopadhay (2012:27) highlight that the importance of using qualitative method is that it enables the participants to share out their lived experiences. In this study, qualitative method gives room for the girl child who dropped out from school and got married young and those who never attended school and married young to express their understandings about AAICs teachings of a girl child's education. Moreover, this created a space for the ACCZ leaders interviewed to explain what influences the AAICs theology of girl child education and their perceptions of western education.

Qualitative methodology was crucial in this study in the sense that it gives room for the creation of beautiful data that was based on the understanding of participants' attitudes, feelings, opinions and skills as they happen in their real life time. This method was very flexible to me as the researcher for it enables me to make varriations to this research whenever it was appropriate. The methods was able to to bring the emotional state of those members who were interviewed concerning the teachings of girl child education in their natural settings.

Despite the strengths, Cohen, (2007:34) points to subjective nature as one of the major weakness of qualitative research design The other weakness is the use of ethics where individuals rights to privacy is denied due to the public's access to information (Cohen, 2007).This weakness was overcomed by raising awareness of all the probable risks to the participants and give them assurance that their identity will be protected through the use of anonimity. Moreover, the qualitative approach demands different ways of reducing researcher induced-bias.

Qualitative research methods usually rely on the know-how of the investigator so as to meet the objective of the research. Moreover, Merriam (1988) reiterates that whenever one attempt to use qualitative research method, one is supposed to be a good listener, take note of all conversations and observations acurately, examine all the data fairly and try to accomplish a sense of balance amid his/her preconceived ideas. In relation to this utterance, I was able to maintain this with the intention of achieving the aim of this research, which seeks to investigate whether the teachings of AAICs have any influence on the limited education of the girl child in AAICS.

The aim of a qualitative study is to develop new perceptions so as to come up with new conceptions. It isvery crucial that I, as the researcher should be open to new insights being made from the databeing received during the the process of research. Qualitative approach describes the characteristics and the importance of human understandings as pronounced by participants and understood by the researcher at different levels of abstractions. In my case, I attempted to understand the factors behind the AAICs theologies of a girl child's limited education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

5.5 Preliminaries of the research project

Before starting the research project, formalities that were undertaken are critical because they helped me to design the methodology since it is regarded as research on course. It is worth noting

that in the course of writing the project proposal, the researcher sought permission from the gate keepers. Kennedy-Macfoy and Crowhurst (2013: 459) state that "gate keeping is integral to the entire process of conducting research therefore, it deserves both methodological and theoretical attention and reflection." As such, gate keeper's permission becomes the access door for a researcher to conduct research. For Kawulich (2011: 56), gate-keeping means the procedure by which reseachers obtain the right to enter to the site of investigation where the study is taking place and to interact with those who will be taking part in that site. This is in line with the general guidelines for the ethics review process which also regards gate-keeper permission as gaining access to an institution or organisation. In this case, the access could be either physical or informational.

With the intention of getting permissions to the members of AAICs who were going to participate in the study, I wrote a letter on the 10th of March 2017 to the General Secretary of ACCZ in quest of authorization to interview the ACCZ leaders, and the members of the selected AAICs for the study in Tangwena area of Nyanga District. This was undertaken with the understanding that all institutions or organisations have the right to be alerted of and be given the indulgence to grant or decline permission to a researcher to conduct research in their sphere of influence. Authorisation to carryout the study was approved by the ACCZ on the 15th of April 2017 (See appendix 6).

It should be noted that gate-keepers are only mandated to give access permission and not to provide consent for the study because consent is only requested from each individual participant. This is also supported by Heath et al. (2007 :405) who state that, "the right of gatekeepers to give or withhold access is in practice often conflated with the right to give or withhold consent, even though gatekeepers have no legal powers to give or withhold consent on their charges behalf." Having done all the necessary documentation, I submitted the documentation for ethical clearance on the 29th of September 2017. Full ethical approval was granted on 23 January 2018 (see appendix 7). According to Crowhurst and Kennedy-Macfoy (2013: 459) "a researcher must be prepared to follow the rigorously upheld ethical procedures that are meant to protect participants during the research process. It also gives protection to the researcher because he or she would have done all the required and critical procedures that are necessary for conducting the research." Heath et al. (2007: 409) confirm that, "the ethical relationship between researcher and informant is the same

whether he or she conducts research with adults or children." The receipt of ethical clearance gave me as the researcher, the impetus to engage in the field of study.

5.6 The site of research and the process of gaining access

The research site of this study was the three AAICs of Tangwena area of Nyanga District in Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe. As highlighted by Strydom (2005:282), the choice of the problem is directly linked to the particular field in which the inquiry is to be undertaken. In this case the problem of the girl children accessing western formal education and its effect to her reproductive health and sexual rights has a tough bearing to the research site selected. The first reason for this is that Tangwena area is located away from the district town of Nyanga; hence the place is very remote in terms of infrastructural development. By its nature, the place has only one high school and pupils travel up to 15 km everyday going to school. There is only one functional clinic is to serve the whole community of Tangwena area. As a result of this, many people opt to go to 'make shift clinics'[7] or *dzimba dzewarwere* for treatment of all types of diseases including prenatal and anti-natal health care due to a shortage of hospitals and basic primary health care facilities. This idea of relying on 'makeshift clinics' occurred similarly across AAICs of Tangwena area, including their policies of girl child education, marriage and 'makeshift clinics'. The other factor related to Tangwena area is that, AAICs are dominant churches in that area with no other mainline churches.

Moreover, Chikwature (2016) claims that the total figure of girls who drop out from school for marriage before finishing Ordinary Level is generally high in Manicaland. These scholars focused their research in Manicaland in general; however, the focus of this study is on AAICs of Tangwena area in particular, although it is also in Manicaland. This motivated me to research the reasons why most girls drop out from school and get married young in Tangwena. This site was chosen not only because of its accessibility, but its relevant to the research question which asks what influences the

---

[7] According to a study carried by Tafumaneyi (2011) in Mash central on AIC's in general, makeshift clinics are houses built meant for sick people and pregnant women usually at designated areas of prophets. In these homes pregnant women will come to deliver including those married young before their bodies and pelvic bones were mature for sex and child delivery. According to him, there is high rate of still births in these homes for they do not have the necessary resources to use in terms of complications that may be incurred when one is giving birth. He further highlights that they bury many babies during the night who dies during birth.

AAICs teachings of girl child education in this era where education and reproductive health rights should be basic human rights.

According to Strydom (2005:282), some of the concerns to look for in the choice of a research site include the policy of that community, the attitude of the community towards outsiders, and the format of getting permission from the hierarchy of churches in this study. My experience of growing up within the Tangwena community was that I observed girls dropping out from school and getting married young, sometimes to older men who are as old as their fathers. Being once a member of one of the Apostolic community's in this study (TSAC), gave this study the upper hand to obtain all the information which no stranger could be given.

After highlighting the importance of the location of the research site, I now look at how the data for this research was collected. I used two research tools for data collection which include interviews and focus group discussions. Before looking at that in detail, I will discuss the sample and sampling procedures for the interviews and focus group discussions that were carried out.

5.7 Sampling and sampling procedure

5.7.1 Sample

Chiromo (2006) also defined a sample as "a proportion of the population, a slice of it or part of it. It is the selected element (people or objects) chosen for participation in a study or simply put a subset of the population being studied". In this study, the sample comprised of 33 people. The criteria for selection was based on age, gender and a membership of more than 5 years in AAICs in this study. I targeted members of AAICs who were long serving members of the church (40 years and above) and the girls who either dropped out from school or did not attend school and got married young. The girls were aged 18-25 years baased on the Zimbabwe Constitution which states that the age of consent to marriage is 18. Hence, as Elam (2003) would argue, the study targeted those who were most likely to give information required to meet the study objectives.

For interviews, the sample comprised of 9 girls who dropped out from school and got married and 9 girls who never attended school and also got married young. The reason for selecting purposive sampling was to find out why girls in AAICs receive limited education and end up in early

marriages that are life denying in the long run and to establish whether it is the church's teaching or not. The researcher also selected 12 long standing members of AAICs with 6 males and 6 females. The reason for selecting this sample was that since these people are senior members of AAICs, they were well versed with the church's teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. The three top leaders of AACZ were also selected. The reason they were selected was that since it is the body that is responsible for governing AAICs, they may know what influenced their teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

I conducted three focus group discussions (FGD) which included the committee members of the (ACCZ), the girls who never attended school or dropped out of school and got married early and the senior members of the churches from AAICs of Tangwena area of Nyanga District since this is the area I was dealing with. Each group comprised of 8-10 people as Onwuegbuzie, Leech and Collins (2010) suggest the size of a focus group should be between 6-12 participants. This gives all members the opportunity to share their ideas and it is big enough to capture all perspectives. All participants were expected to complete the consent forms.

5.7.2 Selection Procedure

I conducted these interviews with the help of three members of AAICs and one trained counsellor who monitored those who became psychologically disturbed during the course of an interview since the topic was sensitive. I was assisted in identifying the research participants with the help of the area councillor and headman of Tangwena area. Their role was to help me to identify the research subjects who were targeted in the AAICs and to make arrangements to meet them. Key (1997:3) calls this process "snow balling" and "the friend of a friend approach." This means the relatives who are members of AAICs were not interviewing people but they were giving me guidance and to take me to participants' homes for they had informed them earlier of my visit and the purpose of it. I talked to the councillor and headmen of Tangwena area before the interviews to explain to them the purpose of my visit so that it would not be strange to hear about my visit. However, I made sure that these senior members understood the purpose of my visit before I went there to do the field research.

The purposive sampling and snowball samplingwas used to select the participants for the interviews. All the in-depth interviews were done in Shona and English. This enabled me as the researcher to handle both the spoken and written information from the interactions with participants.

5.7.3 Purposive sampling

Oliver (2010) and Saunders (2009) define purposive sampling as a process by which the investigator is able to nominate particular participants with the capability to give important data required by the study. Strydom and Reid (2005) further define purposive sampling as a kind of sampling that depends on the researcher's decision in the sense that the sample is comprised of elements contained the most features or representatives of the symbolic qualities of the inhabitants. The study used purposive sampling to identify longstanding members of AAICs in the study and the 3 top leaders of ACCZ who were believed to be well versed with some of the AAICs theology of girl child education.

The logic behind selecting this method was because the researcher wanted information from the adherents of AAICs and AACZ's opinion about what influences the teachings of AAICs of girl child education and how do the girl's limited education contribute to lack of power over their sexual and reproductive health rights. This research purposively select only members of AAICs to give information needed for this research. According to Freedman et al (2007), this sampling approach select sample members basising on their understanding, affiliation and know-how concerning the subject under investigation. In this current study, the selected sample members had a special relationship with the subject under study, adequate and important knowledge about the teachings of AAICs on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights, active members and leaders of AAICs and ACCZ who are responsible for drafting and shaping the theologies of these churches as well as a recognised research background and understanding of raw data concerning AAICs.

5.7.4 Snowball sampling

 Magwa and Magwa (2015:8) defined snowball selection as a situation when the researcher asks participants to suggest others with a similar ability to address the issues, beginning with questions such as "Who knows a lot about….? Where can I find good examples of…? What are you talking

about?" Thus, the sample grows like a ball rolling, as the sample grows, sufficient information for the research is genenerrated. Snawball sampling uses a small pool of informants to nominate, through their social networks, other participants who meet the inclusion criteria and could potentially contribute to a specific study. In my case, the snow ball sampling was used to identify girls who drop out from school and get married young and those who never attend school and who also get married young. This was undertaken to find out the reasons for them dropping out from school and get married young and whether the church had any influence on their choices.

According to Magwa and Magwa (2015:9), snowball sampling then makes use of referrals to increase the sample size. The participants first identified in the study, provide suggestions of others who also fit the population parameters of the study and who want to participate in the research study. In snowball sampling, I managed to contact a few people who matched the population parameters of my research study. After approaching these people to form part of my sample, I asked them to suggest names of others who were in the similar situation with them and who might also be interested in participating in the study. I continued to do so until I reached the required number of the sample. This method is usually used when the members of the population are difficult to locate because they are not listed in databases or records or maybe the topic is sensitive and the participants are too shy to come for interviews. In this study, the topic was sensitive when it came to identifying young women who never attended school and those who dropped out from school and got married young, hence this method was more appropriate in order to identify participants for the research.

5.8 Research process

This research used open ended semi-structured questions that were designed in advance to collect information from the participants (see the attached interview schedule in the appendix 1-3). I used the questions to interview all the participants from different categories. Interviews were held during the day with the leaders of AAICs and other selected affiliates of the church. Appointments were made in the form of letters and phone calls to obtain their consent to participate in the research. More specifically, I asked them to participate in the research after explaining the nature and the scope of the study. In general terms, not all the participants consented to participate in the study and I conducted the interviews in January and February of 2018. The interviews took place at the offices of ACCZ where I interviewed the leaders and committee members whilst the other

interviews took place at the homes and at the church where I interviewed senior members and other young women. The interviews lasted approximately 30 to 60 minutes. Moreover, a recording instrument was always made ready before the interview session began. The participants always signed the consent form before the interview commenced. I recorded the interviews to analyse the data gathered.

During the interviews, participants were free to express their views in topics which were not included in the interview schedule attached to the appendices. Finally, it should be noted that all the interviews flowed well.

5.9 Research ethics

This research followed the code of conduct of the research ethics as set for by the KwaZulu-Natal University in line with the guidelines by Mouton (2001). The current study was subject to certain ethical issues as mentioned in the above statement; some participants reported their written acceptance regarding their participation in the research by signing a briefing and consent form (See Appendix 4&5). Participants were not deceived or forced to participate. They were reassured at the beginning of the interviews that their participation in the research was voluntary and they had the right to withdraw from it at any point and for any reason if they felt like doing so. Due to the assurance guaranteed to participants, all participants agreed to participate. Participants were guaranteed confidentiality of their identities as all information in the data will be disseminated anonymously by using pseudonyms in reporting the findings. All data that was collected and records belonged to to the research were seen only by myself and my supervisor. The works of other people was acknowledged accordingly to avoid plagiarism.

As a researcher, I was sensitive to the possible impact of the research on the society through information dissemination, publication or otherwise. I promise to be ethically responsible to the people whom I work with. Thus, as a researcher, I appreciate that people have a right to confidentiality, including the right to participate in the interviews. The people had right not to be harassed in any way be it physically, emotionally, psychologically or in other ways. Likewise the personal identities of the participants were anonymous. Only summarized or anonymous quotations and pseudonyms for various groups interviewed were coded as follows: Young women

(girls who drop out of school and those who never attend school and get married young) were coded as Y1, Y2, Y3…, senior female members as SF1, SF2, SF3…., senior male members as SM 1, SM2, SM3…, leaders as L1, L2, L3…and ACCZ committee members as A1, A2, A3…. This research will be of benefit to the participants and society at large because it will create awareness on how limited education of women in AAICs contributes to their lack of power over their sexual and reproductive health rights. This is a way of empowering women in society as a whole and AAICs of Tangwena in particular.

5.10 The tools for Data collection

Parahoo (1997:51) defined an instrument of research as "a tool used to collect data. An instrument is a tool designed to measure knowledge, attitudes and skills". This research used two types of data sources namely, primary and secondary data. Primary data involved the data collected from interviews and discussions from focus groups as it formed the main focus of the analysis.

5.10.1 Secondary data

According to Kothari (2004: 111), secondary data refers to the information that already existed and published by somebody. This study utilised literature from the published books, academic journals, magazines, newspapers, articles and unpublished sources such as university theses on the relevant subject being studied. The thrust of this is to see how other scholars wrestle with issues of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. This was done to further supplement the data that was collected during fieldwork. The data collection process focused on the case study of AAICs of Tangwena area in Nyanga District of Manicaland province in the eastern part of Zimbabwe. I travelled and lived in Tangwena area from January to March 2018 with the intention of having enough time to collect data.

5.10.2 Interviews

In trying to explain interviews, Patton (1990: 271) observes that:

> The purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone's mind. The purpose of open ended interviewing is not to put things in someone's mind but to access the perspective of the person being interviewed. We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The fact of the matter is we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions…We cannot

observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit.

The above quotation is fully packed with meaning because it clearly states the major aim of an interview is to enable the person being interviewed to bring the interviewer to his or her own world. It shows that the observation method is complemented by interviews in order to close the gaps that may be left during the research process. In this case, the interview method alleviates gaps left by observation and other secondary sources such as data from books and archives.

For this study, interviews were used to gather information that was necessary to answer the key question of the study which asks the extent to which AAICs teachings influenced the limited education of the girl children and her reproductive health and sexual rights in Tangwena area of Nyanga District, Zimbabwe. This method is very useful as it closes various gaps left by archival sources. Personal interviews took the form of interactive conversational narratives, where open-ended questions were asked and some follow-up questions were employed where there was need for clarification and probing further for quality findings. As mentioned earlier on the sampling procedure section, the choice of participants was done using purposive and snow ball sampling. This was undertaken by selecting the participants from ACCZ, leaders and senior members of selected AAICs and young women who dropped out of school and married young.

Greef defined interviewing as a predominant mode of gathering information in a study using qualitative approach. It involves hearing other people's stories. According to Klave (1996: 5), qualitative research interviews attempt to understand the world from the participant's point of view. Ackroyd and Hughes (1983:53) also define interviews as "encounters between a researcher and a respondent in which the latter is asked a series of questions relevant to the subject of the research." Interviews are are very effective in qualitative research approaches because they give a human face to research problems. More so, conducting and participating in interviews can be a rewarding experience for participants and interviewers.

Participants' answers constitute the raw data for this research which I later transcribed and analysed. This study used unstructured in-depth interviews and discussions in form of focus

groups. Informal discussions were also done so as to obtain data about the general perceptions of AAIC teachings on girl child education and reproductive health rights from the people of Tangwena area.

In addition, interviews in this study were used to compliment the rich findings from the available literature. Gondongwe (2011:20) explains that another disadvantage is that human beings are mortal and once they die the library crumbles. In this research, the results of the interviews were systematically analysed to come up with a balanced testimony. Thus, other sources such as observations, books and archives were consulted and compared with information from the interviews to present a reliable and factual academic account.

Interviews as a data collection method has the advantage that at times, it can unveil what written sources fail to express. Denis (1995:23) stipulates that, "oral sources reveal what tends to be hidden- the spoken message fugitive by nature". This points to the fact that not all information can be put down in writing. Nevertheless, Denis (1995: 32) stipulates that oral sources make the story more vibrant and, in an interview scenario, it enables the researcher and the interviewee to recall the experience.

In summary, interviews resuscitate memories and bring back the emotions related to the event to life. As reiterated by Gondongwe (2011: 20), "this method is typically in line with African context because Africans have always preserved that which is important to them in oral form." Mbiti (1969: 3-4) acknowledges that, "African traditional religion does not exist in written form but it exists in the minds and hearts of the believers."

Before the commencement of interviews, all participants were asked to sign an informed consent form (see appendix 4&5). The consent forms were signed after being informed of all the facts concerning the research and the interviews to be carried out. These facts included the right of the participant to pull out of the interview any time whenever they wanted to. I also made it clear that there were no financial gains for participating in the study. After explaining the details of the interview, I asked for authorisation to record the proceedings of the interview from the participants. I took note of all vital ethical issues before engaging in this study. This is supported by Jacob and Furgerson (2012: 7) who comment that:

Do not proceed with your interview without collecting it. Give your participant plenty of time to read through the form and ask as many questions about consent as she or he needs to ask. Your interviewee understands that you will hold their confidence and that they may withdraw from the study at any time is an important aspect of building their trust in you. If they trust you, they will share their experiences with you.

The interviews were recorded where possible by an audio recorder and transcribed. A copy of interview schedule is attached in appendix 5.

5.10.3 Unstructured in-depth one-on-one open-ended interviews with young women

The data collection involved unstructured in-depth one-on-one open-ended interviews with 18 participants consisting of nine girls who failed to finish School and nine girls who never went to school and also got married young, all were drawn from the 3 congregations covered under this study. These interviews were done so as to allow them to express themselves freely about their lives and not to limit them. This enabled me as the researcher to get more information that I was not aware of because the open-ended questions yielded rich information, new insights and provided me with the opportunity to explore the topic in-depth. A few questions were added during the interviews for clarification, increasing the likelihood of useful responses. Ethically, the consent form administered to this group was designed in such a way that the participants were treated as adults and as such, in Zimbabwe, at 18 years old, one qualifies as an adult citizen of the country.[8] For this reason they consented as any other person in the study without the support of their husbands. However, verbal permission from their spouses was sort where recommendations from

---

[8]In Zimbabwe according to the paper published on 28 January 2016 by lawyers on child marriage entitled; Child Marriage: No more! There is an urgent need to align all laws that affect children to the constitution. The court declared that section 22(1) of the Marriage Act (Chapter 5:11) was unconstitutional, adding that no person, male or female in Zimbabwe should enter into any marriage including an unregistered customary law union or any other union, including one arising out of religion or a religious rite, before attaining the age of 18. The judgment stated that Section 78(1) of the Constitution was established for the purpose of complying with the obligations Zimbabwe had undertaken under Article 21(2) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child to specify by legislation 18 years as the minimum age for marriage and abolish child marriage. The court pointed out that the effect of the protection under section 78(1) as read with section 81(1)of the constitution is that a girl remains a child regardless of her pregnancy status until she attains the age of 18 years. Whilst she is a child all the fundamental rights of a child protect her from being subjected to any form of marriage. The court emphasized that the pregnant girl is entitled to parental care and schooling just as any other child is entitled to, thus the obligation of the parent to care for and control the girl child does not…?

their spouses were needed. This is because in research, gate keepers sometimes can be family members who need to be consulted for permission in order to gain access to the required data.

5.10.4 Semi-structured in-depth interviews with senior members of AAICs and ACCZ leaders

This study also used semi-structured in-depth interviews. I carried out interviews with twelve senior members of AAICs with six males and six females. The age of the participants ranged from 40 years and above at the time of interviews. These members were drawn from the 3 AAICs in this study namely; TSAC, BAC and JMAC of Tangwena area of Nyanga District (Four members were chosen from each of the three AAICs). Each of these members was interviewed individually using a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix 1). These members were selected according to age and gender. The preferable choice was the clergy, secretary and two elders in each AAIC. I asked the senior member of AAICs to consent either verbally or in written form before the interviews (see Appendix 4). These senior members were asked to provide information on; (a) what influenced AAICs theology on girl child education (b) what the church's teaching of girl child education and her reproductive rights are (c) their perceptions of western formal education (d) the measures that are put in place by the church to improve the girl child's sexual and reproductive health rights during pregnancy and giving birth (f) the role African culture, missionary and colonial backgrounds of the founders of AAIC leaders play in influencing the church's theology of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights.

5.10.5 Informal interviews

Besides formal interviews and focus groups discussions, I also engaged in informal interviews with the members of the local community of Tangwena area to help situate and understand the factors that influenced the girl child from withdrawing out of school for premature marriages in Tangwena area. Both old and young women were also interviewed about the reasons why girls receive a limited education in AAICs and this helped me to establish whether it is a church teaching or not. The informal interviews were successful because I was able to interview the three leaders of the churches in this study, that is, leaders from the BAC, TSAC and JMAC of Tangwena area of Nyanga District.

5.10.6 The Focus group discussions

This study also engaged into discussions in form of focus groups consisting of nine members who were followers from the three churches in this study. These participants were drawn from the three churches of TSAC, BAFC and JMAC with the purpose of allowing them to express their views and opinions regarding predetermined, open-ended questions related to the teachings of AAICs in this study of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. According to Mouton (2001:263), focus group discussions allow participants to contribute in a more meaningful way on over the subject under investigation. Hence, the discussion was conducted in a natural and unstructured way and the participants were free to express their views and opinions about the AAICs teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. I prepared questions encompassing broad themes in advance which I used as a guide to facilitate the discussions as they were twofold. Firstly, it provided an evaluation of what influences the teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health in AAICs. Focus groups presented an evaluation of the teachings/theologies of AAICs that where collected from the three churches. Secondly, the focus groups clarified potential opinions and new insights into the AAICs teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. Focus group discussions were undertaken at a central place in the Tangwena area which was convenient for all participants and each member was asked to consent verbally or in writing to the interviews.

The focus group discussions included elements of both interviewing and participant observation. According to Patton (1990:125-126), focus group sessions should be treated as an interview and not as a discussion, problem solving session, or decision making group. At the same time, focus groups capitalize on group dynamics. The importance of a focus group is the explicit use of the group interaction to gather data and insights that would be unlikely to emerge without the interactions found in a group. This technique enabled the observation of group dynamics, discussions and first-hand insights into the participants' behaviours, attitudes and language among other factors. Patton (1990:127) elucidates that focus groups involve a gathering of eight to twelve people who share some characteristics relevant to the study. In this study, each focus group consisted of eight participants. The participants of the group discussions were taken from the three selected churches in this study because they share similar beliefs in their teachings of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. Furthermore, what influences these

teachings seems be the similar as the participants shed light as to why leaders were reacting to the colonial and missionary teachings.

Focus group discussions have provided the following advantages during data collection for my research: a) Debates generated during discussions provided me with a deeper understanding of the different viewpoints of the participants concerning the AAICs teachings of girl child education, and the reasons why many girls in AAICs drop out from school and get married young. b) Participants were interacting with each other and learning from each other which in turn, helped in resolving certain issues experienced in the group. c) It was a very useful data collection method in action where participants helped me to answer the primary objective and address the key research question which asks, "In a nation where education is a basic human right for all, why do girls in AAICs of Tangwena area drop out from school and get married young? What has influenced the teachings of AAICs on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights?" For example, in this study, one of the focus group's consisted of women who had dropped out from school or those who never attended school and got married young, discussed their experiences which led to these choices and this helped me to generate relevant data. d) It allowed me to evidence the feelings and opinions that are shared and experienced by people who are in similar situations.

5.10.7 Recording and transcribing Interviews

Patton (1990: 347) explains that:

> No matter what style of interviewing is used, and no matter how carefully one words interview questions, it all comes to naught if the interviewer fails to capture the actual words of the person being interviewed. The raw data of interviews are the actual quotations spoken by interviewees.

This is critical in the process of conducting interviews, the researcher always need to have a voice recorder and a phone as a back-up in case the recorder fails in the middle of the interview. Jacob and Furgerson (2012:7) also support this notion when they comment that:

> It is important to note that by choosing to rely on a recording device rather than hand written notes, means that you should make sure that your equipment is in good working order and make sure you have back up plans to counter hitch- ups if the equipment fails.

In qualitative research methods, a voice recorder is usually used as an indispensable tool that does not change what has been said. It is important to note that a voice recorder increases the accuracy of data collection and allows flexibility for the researcher to pay special attention to the participant's expressions. Patton also weighs in by saying, "the interactive nature of in-depth interviewing can be seriously affected by the attempt to take verbatim notes during the interview" (1990 :348). Recording validates and removes biases to the study being conducted as concluded by Tuckett (2005:4) when he outlines that a recorded "in-depth interview facilitates credibility and dependability of the data collection procedure." All the participants agreed to their interviews being recorded using the voice recorder and the phone as a back-up. The recording process was achieved by explaining to the participants the purpose of the study and asking for permission to allow the researcher to record the interview by signing the consent form as a requirement of qualitative research. As has already been stated that:

> …the anonymity of the interviewee in relation to the information shared must be maintained during interviews as the interviewee may share information that could jeopardize his or her position in a system. Information gathered must remain anonymous and protected from those whose interests conflict with those of the interviewee (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006 : 319).

The researcher did not encounter any challenges related to the audio recorder during the interview processes. Data in the voice recorder was then transferred to a laptop and a USB flash drive for storage as a back-up in case the recorder malfunctioned. The interviews were transcribed into readable manuscripts.

Wengraf (2001: 221) defines transcribing as, "an instrumentation practice of examining sound data from audio tape to create visual data to become printable on paper." This is demanding and tiresome process that needs higher concentration in terms of listening skills. Hence, the researcher transcribed verbatim, except where interviewees said such things as, "Mmmm, ummm, aaaaah." This is also supported by other scholars like Hill (2012: 12) who states that, "data collected through interviews are transcribed verbatim except for minimal utterances." Hence, in the process of

transcribing data, the researcher discovered that sometimes the interviewee does not complete the sentence and rush to give another view or goes back to what he or she says in the beginning.

However, when transcribing it is not the responsibility of the transcribers to correct the conversational sequence as demonstrated by Patton when he postulates that, "the grammar in natural conversations is atrocious, sentences begin and then are interrupted by new sentences before the first sentences are completed" (Patton, 1990: 380). Thus, during the process of transcribing, challenges such as background noises in some recordings were encountered, especially those that were conducted on Sunday at the church and the researcher was able to use the smart phone which eliminates noises in the process of recording. Crabtree (2006: 318) confirms that:

> Transcribers often have difficulties in capturing the spoken word in text form because of sentence structure, use of quotations, omissions and mistaking words or phrases for others. This is because people often speak in run-on sentences; transcribers are forced to make judgement calls. The insertion of a period or a comma can change the meaning of an entire sentence. When working with audio data, most experienced researchers listen to the audiotape while reading the transcriptions to ensure accuracy during interpretation of data.

The above assertion is true since these were some of the challenges encountered during transcribing but the researcher has to constantly refer back to the audio recording during the process of analysis to verify the authenticity of the quoted data. The method of analysis will be explained later in this chapter.

5.11 Field experiences

Some of the people were very hospitable and very eager to give information, whilst others had some mixed feelings and were very hostile when I first approached them. They were afraid of being interviewed as they were concerned about the dissemination of the findings. They asked questions like: "What are you going to do if you find out that what we are doing in our church is against the rules of the government?" "What do you want this information for?" I answered these

questions by guaranteeing confidentiality and their anonymity, no information from these interviews will be given to anyone, my data will be kept locked away for the sake of publication.

I also explained to them as previously mentioned in the research ethics on section 5.9 above that. Besides the above questions, other participants were at first suspicious of me as the researcher and were reluctant to provide information because of the recent bill that has been passed by the government against child marriages. The participants thought I wanted to use the information to implicate them in committing a crime as the government set out to charge those members of AAICs who were handing their girl children over to be married. There were rumours that both the parents of the girls and the men were being taken to the police station and beaten up.[9] One of the participants from BAFC who happens to be a church leader denied that he goes to that church and said that, "I don't go to BAFC, who told you that I am a member of that church" (L1, 2018). Only after clarifying that the intention of my visit was not to report anyone and I was a genuine researcher, I manage to interview him and other participants. I had to show him the ethical clearance letter attached in the appendices from the University which granted me the permission to do research. They also gained confidence in me as a researcher when I showed them another letter I got from the ACCZ, a body which represents these AAICs and also the permission and approval I received from their area councillor. However, the fact that I also have an Apostolic church background from one of the churches in this study also helped them have confidence in me and be ready to be interviewed whilst they were relaxed.

As I grew up within the same community of Nyanga District where Tangwena area is located, some of the issues I observed from the field were not new. I was very conversant with the language, beliefs and the behaviours of the society in this research. I am a fluent Manyika language speaker which is predominantly spoken in the area; thus, there was no linguistic barrier during the gathering of data. I was well aquainted with the infoemation of the participants since I grew up in the same

---

[9] The information about corporal punishment from the government on people who were handing over their children for marriage I got it from one of the participants from JMAC in Tangwena area. She further highlighted that there were some workshops that were held recently at Tsatse Primary in Tangwena by the FACT members from Nyanga District Town raising awareness of the benefits of educating the girl child and the effects of early marriages. The workshop was informing the apostolic community that it was unlawful to hand over their children for marriage particularly to older men without their consent and at a younger age (S1, 2018) of JMAC.

area, hence it was easier to find participants for the interviews and focus group discussions. Due to these advantages, the data collection process was easier and less tiresome.

However, Aguilar (1981:142) and Messerschmitt (1981) argue that since culture is not homogenous, a society is differentiated and a professional identity that involves problematising lived reality inevitably creates distance. They conclude that the extent to which anyone is an authentic insider is questionable. The fact that I came from the area with similar views of their cultural practices made my research easier because some conservative parents did not understand why native people of the area like me would be so inquisitive about their church traditions and theologies, had it not been that, some would have refused to be interviewed. These barriers were manifested in the age difference between the participants and me.

Moreover, Iattended services of the churhes, I dressed like one of their members and was presented as a guest. The leadership of the churches did not question my attendance at their worship places. Both BAFC and TSAC held their church services on Sundays while for JMAC held their church services on the afternoons of Saturdays. Thus, it becomes more suitable to visit these churches one after the other. For the first two, I went on different Sundays respectively. As a member of the community, some of the practices and teachings I already knew, but for the objectivity of the research, I bracketed out any preconceived ideas. The determination behind the observation was based on obtaining insights concerning the church teachings on the education of the girl child and her reproductive health and sexual rights during the church service and to perceive women roles in the church service since this study used post-colonial feminist theory as its lenses to analyse the patriarchal tendencies of the churches that treat women as second class citizens.

5.12 Data analysis and presentation

Swinton and Mowat (2006: 57) explain that "data analysis is the process of bringing structure, meaning, and order to the complex mass of qualitative data that the researcher generates during the research process." Thematic analysis was used with the intention of data analysis, this was used whenever the transcribed interviews from the informants were categorized and grouped into

115

themes according to the study emphasis: Whether AAICs teachings have any influence on girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health right. Boyatis (1998: iv) also observes that, "thematic analysis is a process of encoding qualitative information." The researcher is cognisant of different methods used for qualitative research data analysis for instance "content analysis, discourse analysis, comparative analysis and thematic analysis" (Dawson, 2002: 155). As such, thematic analysis has been chosen because of its flexiblility on analysing data and was useful to the subject of girl child education, particularly looking at what influenced the AAICS teachings of girl child education and the reasons why girls drop out of school for early marriages in the AAICs of Tangwena.

Braun and Clarke (2006: 27) claim that, "thematic analysis is a method designed at identifying, grouping and recording material within the interview transcripts into major themes that are common among participants." Boyatis (1998:72) also adds that thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis that is used to analyse classifications and present themes that relate to data collected. Rubin and Rubin (2012: 194) explain that, "Themes are summary statements, casual explanations or conclusions that offer explanations of why something happened, what something means or how the interviewee feels about the subject matter." According to Braun and Clarke (2006:98), thematic analysis give emphasis to identifying, scrutinising and take note of patterns or themes within data. In this study, findings are based on the collected data. In other words, the researcher is going to allow the results to emerge from the data without imposing ideas about the participants' views. In this way, researchers "remain open to learning new and unexpected things rather than setting out to prove what they had anticipated"(Hill, 2012: 8). Before moving on to the interpretation of different aspects of the topic under study, data is analysed and described in detail. Once this is completed, a presentation of the findings from the data are developed or constructed to tell a story of the participants' understanding of what influenced AAICs teachings of a girl child's limited education, her sexual and reproductive health rights and the reasons why girls leave out from school for premature marriages in Tangwena.

In this research, I analysed the AAICs teachings of women education and how this has affected the girl child's reproductive health and sexual rights. This analysis was based on the AAICs teachings of girl child education and her reproductive and sexual rights. The purpose of this analysis was to find the extent to which AAIC teachings are responsible for a girl child's limited

education which has resulted in serious consequences on her reproductive health and sexual rights. Thematic analysis was used in this research because of its capacity to detect and identify factors or variables that influence any issue generated by the participants. Therefore, the participant's interpretations are significant in terms of giving the most appropriate explanations for behaviours, actions and thoughts (Creswell, 2009). The study involved identification and coding where major themes were identified for analysis. It was guided by a thematic model where the themes were determined by not only its relationship with the research questions but also by other critical questions and the theoretical framework that guided this study.

In the process of data analysis, three categories of responses were identified. The first category is the response from the church leaders, senior members and young women regarding the AAICs teachings of girl child education and sexual and reproductive health rights which are in line with answering the sub research question of the church's general teachings and perceptions of girl child education. The second category is regarding the ACCZ teachings of girl child education and what influenced these teachings.This category is in line with answering the key research question as previously stated. It also caters for sub questions related to the AAICs general understanding of western formal education and modern medicine. The third category is related to the reasons why girls drop out from school and get married young in AAICs of Tangwena area. The responses would come from the girls themselves who are now young women who dropped out of school and got married young.

From the first category two sub-themes were generated: (1) Responses from the church leaders and senior members regarding the churches' teachings of girl child education. (2) Responses from

ACCZ regarding AAICs teachings of girl child education and their understanding of modern medicine.

The analysis of the above themes are described and interpreted in detail in Chapter Six. Likewise, in the second category of responses from ACCZ leaders, the following three themes were developed: (1) Responses from ACCZ leaders regarding the teachings of AAICs on girl child education (2) Responses of ACCZ on what influenced the AAICs teachings and perceptions of girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. (3) Responses from girls who are now young women but who dropped out from school and got married young.

5.13 Validity, reliability and rigour of the study

This research is valid and reliable because this study used both primary and secondary data for the findings of my research. Moreover, I interviewed senior members of AAICs and some who were born in the church and are well versed with the teachings and beliefs of the church. This was done to gather information or data that helped me to achieve the objectives of the study and to answer my reseach questions and led me to make certain conclusions. Furthermore, I asked the same questions twice to the same group on two different occasions and the reliability was guaranteed by comparing two responses. I also gave similar questions to different focus groups in order to test the accuracy of the information from the participants. Lastly, this study is valid and reliable because I used audio recorder for the interviews which minimised any bias in my interpretation of the data.

5.14 Methodological limitation

 Some of this study limitations were that initially, some of the participants were not willing to provide the necessary information due to fear that I might expose them after they have provided information. In order to deal with this problem, I assured them of their anonymity by using pseudonyms instead of their real names. Another challenge was that one participant experienced psychological distress from the interviews. I dealt with this problem by referring her to a counsellor who was responsible for handling such cases during interview time. I visited her after the counselling and found that she was fine.

5.15 Conclusion

In this chapter the methodology used in the study was presented by giving details of procedures used to collect information from focus group discussions and the interviews. The section further discussed the methodological processes of organizing the data collected into thematic areas ready for analysis that is discussed in chapters six and seven. The research design was presented in this chapter, and the technique was seen as a tool used to gather and analyse data or a process followed to arrive at the conclusion. This chapter concludes with a description of the qualitative research method that was used which combined interviews, observations and written documents such as

published books, journals, articles and unpublished materials such as university thesis with relevant material to the particular subject under study and as instruments of data collection.

The chapter further explored the ethical considerations for gaining access to the field of research from documents such as gate-keepers approval. In this case, I sought permission from the ACCZ a body which represents AAICs in Zimbabwe. An ethical clearance letter is necessary for any research conducted and as such, this letter was obtained to allow this study to proceed. It was also explained in this chapter that before engaging in any interview, I sought informed consent from the participants by explaining to them the aim of the study and guaranteeing them privacy and anonymity of their names in the writing of the research. This was done through the use of pseudonyms instead of the real names of the participants. It is clearly stated in this chapter that the researcher has to seek permission from the informants to record the interviews using an audio voice recorder as well as informing participants that there were no financial gains in the interview process.

The chapter managed to elucidate the research and recruitment process of the participants as well as the field experiences which are all situated in qualitative research. The researcher as an insider was discussed and mitigated any bias through the use of reflexivity and a phenomenological approach to the study where the phenomenon was allowed to speak for itself. I, as the researcher had to suspend any preconceived ideas and without bias. This chapter further discussed the interviews and the observational process used to collect data from thirty five participants. The observations made during the church services which I attended as part of my field research further increased the validity, rigour and reliability of the study. This study was enhanced by the use of multiple sources to collect data through interviews, observations, published or unpublished books and theses with relevant material to the research, journals and articles. Limitations to this methodological study were presented at the end of this chapter to show the fact that the study that was not free of challenges, but gave a convincing interpretation of an analysis that can be reached, even in face of challenges that inevitably arise in a study. The following chapter presents the teachings of AAICs and ACCZ of girl child education and reproductive health and sexual rights.

CHAPTER SIX

TEACHINGS OF AAICs AND ACCZ ON GIRL CHILD'S EDUCATION AND SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter Five the methodology used in meeting the objectives of this study was presented. In the methodology chapter, the sample of the population and the sampling processes, the data gathering and analysis, the ethical considerations, research design, limitations for the study, validity, rigour and reliability among others were discussed. This chapter presents the data and analysis from the field. In its data presentation, this chapter focuses on research sub-question two which asks: What are the teachings of ACCZ and AAICs of girl child education? This chapter also tries to respond to the main question of the research regarding the extent to which the teachings of AAICs have influenced girl child education and her sexual and reproductive health rights in Tangwena area in Zimbabwe. Data discussed in this chapter emerged from church leaders, senior members from the three selected churches and the ACCZ council that governs them.The three selected churches were discussed simultaneously due to similarities in their theologies. However, when there were differences, the church was specifically named.

When asked about their understanding of the churches' ideas about the education of the girl child and the consequences associated with limited education on women's reproductive health rights; the themes that came out from the participants generated data that required a post-colonial feminist lenses to analyse them as stated below.

6.2. Marriage and virginity

From most of the participants' responses, it was very clear that marriage and virginity is highly valued in AAICs. Virginity, as explained by Scorgie (2004) refers to the condition of not having had penetrative vaginal sexual intercourse. The churches teach the girls to preserve their virginity and that they should abstain from all forms of sexual activities until they get married. Most of the church leaders defined virginity as a state when the girl has not had sexual intercourse with any

man, and the hymen of vagina should remain intact and the girl's breast should remain firm and not be touched by any man before marriage. The AAICs assigned senior women members of the church to check the girl's virginity regularly. This process is usually done by taking the girls to the river where they are asked to wash their private parts first and then they lie down on their backs for the examination.

To support the above statement one leader explained:

> *Our girls go for a virginity test every month where the senior women in the church take them to the river and examine them to check whether they are still intact. The church teaching and practice on virginity test is not our own make but you must know that our church is not very different from African culture. Our culture values the importance of preserving virginity, especially when you look at issues like* **mombe yechimanda** *(a cow that was given to the woman's family as a sign of thanking them that their child was a virgin when she got married). All these things were done to show the importance of virginity and it was a way of encouraging girls to keep their virginity till they get married. Again in our church, the virginity testing is also a way of encouraging girls to preserve their virginity till they get married. Our church is very liberal, when one found that she can no longer preserve her virginity it is better for her to get married. There is no prescribed age of marriage in our church as long as one feels she can no- longer contain herself it is better to get married than to lose her virginity and still claim that she is a girl (L1, 2018).*

The AAICs teaching on virginity has faced serious criticism from many activists and scholars, especially feminists in their attempt to analyse patriarchal tendencies within Christianity and African culture that are so oppressive to women. The leader's comments above clearly highlight that the idea of preserving a girl's virginity in AAICs has its roots in African culture. With regards to this teaching on virginity, members of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians such as Kanyoro (2001) and Oduyoye (2005) call for African cultural feminist hermeneutics to analyse around the African cultural ideologies that oppress women. Thus, considering the idea of virginity as a cultural practice when it is done for the benefit of a man, especially considering that it is only the girl who has the mandate to preserve her virginity whilst boys are not oppressed by these beliefs. In the case of polygamous marriages, women are urged to remain faithful to their

husbands even if the man is not. In AAICs, it is the girl who is supposed to preserve her virginity and there is no criteria to measure men's virginity. In relation to this, Ntuli (2016:71) also argues that, "the idea of male virginity test may not be completely ruled out from the feminist perspective due to the fact that there is no male virginity testing, however, from the indigenous perspective, virginity of the young girls was a social responsibility for everyone in the community". This idea was also condemned by Bruce (2005:44) when she says:

> If the churches reiterate the importance of virginity, as I am sure they need to do, it must be done in such a way that it does not repeat or end itself to a repetition of, such negative attitudes towards women.

Following the above comment, it is clear that this practice can be oppressive to the girl child because in most instances some of these girls get married to older men who are already in polygamous marriages where there are multiple sexual partners. This is done due to the widely accepted belief in AAIC churches that marrying virgins will reduce men's chances of contracting HIV/AIDS since the girls are still virgins.

On the issue of marriage and education, most of the senior members of AAICs stated that:

> *It is better for girls when they feel that they have grown up to get married and have their own homes than to move around in the world prostituting. They further suggested that girls had freedom to decide when to get married and that the church would not prohibit them.*

To stress this point one of the leaders made the following sentiments:

> *In our church, they prefer that it is better if a girl gets married young as long as she found that she can no longer keep herself. Even if she is at school, it is better to get married than to bring shame to her parents but there are other girls who are able to keep themselves and they can finish their school and get married when they are mature so it is not the church that encourage girls to be married young but it depends upon individuals (L1, 2018).*

From the above statement, it is evident that although the AAICs do not outright prevent the girls from completing their education, their beliefs about girls maintaining their virginity hinders girls from attaining a higher education and they end up in getting married instead. The idea of emphasising the preservation of virginity on girls have hindered most of them from enquiring higher education because in most cases, if the girls felt that they are no longer able to control

themselves before marriage, they had to drop out from school for marriage as the church teachings would not condone them losing their virginity. In most cases, they will be very young and immature to be mothers and handle the social responsibilities associated with marriage as noted by Machingura (2011) and Chikwature (2016).

Similarly, one of the churches' senior male members commented that:

> *We do not clearly barn girls from attending school but our laws are very liberal when a girl feels that she now wants to get married she is respected of her choice even if she gets married to a very old man, this is what she chooses (SM 4, 2018).*

Following the above comment, it is clear that the church is absolving itself of any responsibility and shifting the responsibility onto the girls who in most cases do not have the power to refuse marriage proposals from the male members of the church. The study also found out that dropping out of school and getting married young is associated with the fact that the girl can no longer keep her virginity, hence her sexual feelings determine her marriage. This is inspite of the fact that sometimes her sexual desires are also driven/provoked by the males who are getting attracted to her. Although this participant clearly declared that this decision relies solely on the girls and the church has nothing to do with that. This was also emphasized by another senior male member who said that:

> *We want our children to go to school, both boys and girls, and to get employed in formal sector as nurses and teachers, but our children nowadays disappoint us because of what they are now doing. Some even refuse to go to school even after you have paid school fees; they run for marriage (SM5, 2018).*

Whilst the churches tried to justify the girls who abruptly withdrew from school for marriage at a very premature age as the fault of the girls, the responsibility for such choices cannot solely be shouldered on the girls because marriage is more welcome in these churches than sex outside of marriage. Hence, the girls have to choose between educations or loss of virginity. In these churches sex before marriage is literally seen as a sin, there is a strong emphasis on virginity, to the extent that if a male touches a girl's breasts both of them have to go through punishment or sometimes the girl is left with no choice except to marry the boy or man who touched her breasts, even if she

is still at school. This is known as '*kubatwa gwiti*'[10]. This punishment mostly affect girls because in most instances the men will be old enough to marry and have already finished schooling whilst girls will be very young.

Kubatwa gwiti is detected when the members are asked every Sunday to go through '*pagedhi*' where members pass through three prophets and one is examined how one lived throughout the week to see if one has gone against the church rules. For girls, '*gedhi*' (gate) is specifically meant to examine them to see if they have engaged in any sexual activities during the week. This practice is dehumanising to girls in that it denies them power over their sexual rights. A feminist critique of this kind of approach to a girl child's sexuality shows how patriarchy and religion domesticates women's sexual rights. At the same time, while the idea of abstinence can be upheld as a religious and moral right in these churches, focusing it on one gender – the girl child emphasises the power of patriarchy and how men stand to benefit on some of the church traditions such as these, at the expense of girls' sexual reproductive choices. The girls seem to have no right over their sexual choices and yet the church does not say anything about the purity of the boys. This was also noted by Sachiti (2011), WILSA (2009) and Sibanda (2011) who argue that the girls who drop out from school and get married young increase their lack of reproductive health and sexual rights choices. Nour (2009:51) explained that, "As a result of these young girls who get into marriage at a tender age, we end up having children, delivering children before their biological bodies are mature for sexual activities."

6.2.1. Stigmatisation of the loss of virginity

Another issue that came out of the study in relation to the AAICs teaching on virginity is the stigmatization of the loss of virginity. Related to this issue, one of the participants commented that:

> *The church has teachings where they just encourage girls to keep themselves, if you lose*
> *your virginity before marriage it's a shame to you and your parents because you will be*
> *punished. Usually, you will be called to stand in front of everyone in the church and asked*
> *not to wear your garments for a certain period and you are not allowed to perform any*

---

[10]'*Kubatwa gwiti* is a situation where a girl is suspected to have hugged or kissed a boy or a man before marriage. This is seriously refuted in AAICs and sometimes the girl is even asked to remove her garment or forced to go and get married to that boy or man who did it.

church activity because you will be regarded as dirty. In our church, they always say when you find that you can no longer keep yourself, it is better to get married (SF7, 2018).

The evidence given above clearly shows that AAICs teachings on virginity are dehumanising to girls. The punishment they give to girls who have lost virginity before marriage and all the stigmasation associated with it clearly brings shame to the girl child. What the church is calling freedom of choice for the girl child is not freedom but rather another way of domesticating girls' sexual rights in the name of religion. Girls opt for marriage for fear of bringing shame to their parents and the church once if they lose their virginity before marriage or feel like they can no longer keep their virginity. As a result, most girls prefer to get married, even to older men just to preserve the family's prestige and to avoid humiliation from the church. The fact that girls who lose their virginity before marriage are treated as outcast by their parents and other fellow church members shows depth of oppression and domesticating of sexual rights of women in these churches. As it stands, what is more important in AAICs such as JMAC, TSAC and BAFC is not the education of the girl child but preserving her virginity for marriage. The relation between virginity and education complicates the debate on the factors put forward by the church to deny or grant girl children western education. Therefore the issue of limited education and early marriage takes a different turn from what is proposed by the leaders in these churches.

Another reason that can be deduced from the story below as it was narrated by one of the young woman about why girls in AAICs failed to finish school and rush for marriage at an early age, is attributed to the churches 'teachings themselves. When asked what her church teaches about girl child education, she said:

Yes, girls education is there; they teach us to keep ourselves and preserve our virginity, we are taken to the river on a monthly basis by senior members of the church to check whether you are still a girl or not. If they found that you are no longer a girl they will ask you the boy who did it if he is from the church. You go through punishment which they call "pasipeshamhu" (under the whip).During this time you will not be allowed to wear a garment or perform any duty in church. If the boy is a member of our church he will be asked to marry the girl, so girls are encouraged to maintain their virginity till they get married. I think it is good to go to school and get married when you are mature because

getting married young is risky, especially the fact that you will be still young the way you reason so it will be difficult to run your own home (Y2, 2018).

Following the above response, as noted above, the issue of preserving a girl's virginity seems to be overemphasized in AAICs. This again, is a reason for girls to get married young. The punishment these girls go through when they lose their virginity before marriage is one way of forcing them into early marriage. This idea of preserving virginity reduces women to be mere sexual objects for men. Why women and not men also? Furthermore, this idea of churches insisting on them maintaining and preserving virginity was also voiced from one of the discussions with a young woman. These women insisted that:

The church teach that girls should keep themselves well and not to start having sex before marriage. The issue of virginity is very important; just like in our culture a girl should be married while she is still a virgin. This will earn her respect from the husband and also her family. The same also happens in the church if a girl does not keep her virginity she is regarded as a prostitute in the church and if it is known, she will undergo punishment which they call pasi peshamhu (meaning under the whip). During this time, a girl is asked to remove her garment and not allowed to perform an activity in the church as she will be unclean. In our church, they prefer that it is better if a girl gets married young as soon as she find that she can no longer keep herself chaste. Even if she is at school, it is better to get married than to bring shame to her parents but there are other girls who are able to keep themselves and they can finish their school and get married when they are mature; so it is not the church that encourage girls to be married young but it depends upon individuals (FDG, 2018)

It is clear from the above statement that many girls in AAICs who have limited education and poor sexual and reproductive health do not get married by their own choice but the church perpetuates it by their teachings and practices. In fear of being shamed if a girl loses her virginity, many girls choose marriage, sometimes to people whom they don't even know well, but just for the sake of the church. As a result of this, as confirmed by Nour (2009:59) who said that, "*early child marriage puts girls into a perpetual cycle of poverty*" since they solely depend on their husbands and in some of the AAICs, most of the men are not formally employed but are self-employed which restricts their income. Therefore, in most marriages, it is the woman who struggles and works for

the family. This is validated by the following remarks from one of the male participants from JMAC who said, "For now, I could not afford to divorce my wives for they constitute my labour force in the fields" (SM5, 2018). This portrays the men as very backward and oppressive to the women. Instead of relying on the wives for labour, he should just hire people to work for him and pay them.

The fact remains that through the church's constant teaching of girls to keep their virginity encourage them to withdraw out of school and for premature marriages. It is normal that when children are growing up and when they reach puberty that they will start to have sexual urges that might influence them to engage in sexual activities but that should not stop them from obtaining an education or be a factor that forces them into marriage since it is a natural process. The fact that the AAIC churches teach it is better for a girl to drop out from school and get married as long as she can no longer control herself, reveals that the church is the reason for these girls to hurridly leave school for marriage at a tender age. This is criticised by post-colonial feminists like Mohanty (1991) and Mishra (2013) who advocate for the liberation of women from both colonialism and patriarchy. This is so because the churches emphasis on preserving virginity is for the benefit of men and not the girls. Sibanda (2011) highlighted that majority of the girls from these churches failed to finshschool and get married into polygamy. Thus, the churches' teachings should be scrutinised and revised. In light of these teachings, African cultural feminist theologians such as Oduyoye (2005) advocated for the freedom of women from African cultural values that deprive women of an education and training for economic benefit as they are passed directly from the authority of the father to that of the husband. This only reduces women to become the mere property of men.

To further emphasise this point, another participant also said that:

> *In schools, we do not know whether it's what you are calling modernity; children are encouraged to use condoms. This is against our culture because ones a girl loses virginity she is now a mother, so what is better to continue in school and become a mother without being married or to get married? Even the Bible values the issue of virginity, we always find Kings in the Bible trying to look for virgins to marry. Therefore, girls are taught how*

to maintain themselves well in order for them to be good mothers and keep their husbands well (SM5, 2018).

6.2.2 Preserving virginity: A 'scapegoat' for AAIC men from HIV/AIDS

Some male participants from the AAICs eluded that in their churches; they marry virgins and are not afraid of contracting diseases such as HIV/AIDS since these girls have not had any sexual contact with other men before. Most of the male participants believed that because these girls are virgins, they would still be 'intact', and hence there was no danger of Apostolic members contracting diseases such as HIV/AIDS even though they are in polygamous marriages. Contrary to this, other scholars such as Scorgie (2002) and Leak (2012) demonstrate strong negative sentiments on virginity testing in their critique of this cultural practice. Scorgie, for instance, argued that girls are burdened with the moral responsibility of making sure that AIDS does not spread by preserving their virginity. This same view was also commented on by Siwila (2011: 32) in her research on early marriages in Zambia saying marriage in some cases, is seen as an HIV prevention strategy rather than a threat to HIV infection. Whilst men in JMAC, one of the selected AAICs, claimed that by marrying virgins they are protected against HIV/AIDS, they do not see HIV infection as a risk in marriage. This kind of approach to virginity has not only stopped women from celebrating their power and their virginity but has to a larger extent, perpetuated men domesticating reproductive and sexual rights of women. It became evident throughtout this study, that women's sexual rights are controlled by both the church teachings and patriarchy.

Some of the male members of AAIC who have married virgins as a way of curbing HIV/AIDS are very old. This was commented by Machingura (2011:14) who noted that:

> Child marriage is a violation of human rights and these marriages of young girls are a disgrace to society and Christianity as they swallow on the rights of women as well as exposing these girls to a continuous cycle of poverty and poor sexual and reproductive health rights.

Although there is still a risk of HIV infection in marriages even after these girls have lived a life of abstinence, church doctrine assumes that marriage is a safe haven from HIV infection. However, this assumption by the church remains controversial for a question would be still raised: How safe are these girls to these marriages?

Another point that was raised by another participant within the area of marriage that could be a danger to HIV infection within these so called sanctified marriages, was that these old men fail to satisfy all their wives sexually posing a danger of infidelity. This participant who is a young woman in a polygamous marriage made the following remarks:

I got married when I was 21. I had a Degree from Midlands State University. I got married to this husband because I found that at least he was educated compared to other men in the church. Despite him being too old for me, the fact that I was born in the church and both my parents are church affiliates, I found out that they would not allow me to get married outside the church, hence when I found a headmaster proposing love to me I just accepted despite him having other wives; for me he was better since I also wanted to get married to someone educated. I am the seventh wife. Currently, I am not enjoying the marriage, look at my age, I am just 23 years, the time I am at my peak sexually but it's now a year without seeing my husband; he is always with other wives claiming that he could not have sex with me because I have a baby but other wives also have babies (Y1, 2018).

The above remarks show how these marriages pose a danger of infidelity which could lead to HIV infection. From the narrative above its clear that most of the men in these churches hold a selfish position when it comes to sex with their wives. Denying a woman of sexual pleasure for one year while hiding in the name of religion is one of the ways in which these churches have managed to domesticate women's sexual rights, even those women who have been able to strive over the hindrance to attain higher education. This kind of approach to women's rights face criticism from African cultural feminist scholars such as Kanyoro (2002:10) who advocates that, "the new feature that African feminist hermeneutics contributes is a clear call for an analysis of culture as a means of seeking justice and liberation for women in Africa." In these churches, girls are denied the right to make free choices about their sexual rights due to what is claimed to be the church's teachings. Although the church claims that girls have the freedom to choose who and when to marry. Another observation made was that in most cases, the girls who leave school for marriage at a young age are not likely to make decisions concerning when and how to have children. This was also clearly demonstrated by the above participant who further said:

I got pregnant when I was still at school, my husband just decided not to withdraw his penis during ejaculation since in our church we are not allowed to use contraceptives for birth control, instead it is the men who do the family planning using the withdrawal method. I got pregnant for my child when I was at school (Y7, 2018).

The above comments summarise how the husbands make the decisions in birth control determining the total number of kids they want to have since they are in control of the family planning. Hence, the when, why and how of sex is decided by men.

Again what can be deduced from the above quotation is the fact that formal education is not enough for liberation and empowerment. Formal education only bring certificate and not ideological empowerment. Although this young women attained education up to University level but still she got married to an old men in fear of her parents. Those women who protest by going to clinics secretly are ideologically empowered to rebel but not to the extent of challenging the status quo.

6.3 Omniscience of the Holy Spirit

Most of the senior members interviewed confirmed that in AAICs the Holy Spirit plays a central role in both inspiring the teachings of the church and in healing activities. It is the Holy Spirit that determines how a person should be healed, whether one will be taken to Bethsaida (going to a river where they will baptize the people in water) known in Manyika language as *kubheresaida*, *kunonyikwa, kunamatirwa mvura* (holy water prayed for by the healers in the church) or going to spend the whole night in the mountain praying, also popularly referred to as *kukwira gomo*. For those who are pregnant, they go and stay at a prophet's house known as *murapi (*midwife). It is believed that as long as they are there, they will not have complications during birth because they will have already started visiting *murapi/ Mbuya nyamukuta* (mid wife) at the outset of the pregnancy so the Holy Spirit will have already predicted everything concerning the whereabouts of the pregnant girl until she delivers.

According to Ayegboyin (2014:15), these AAICs are frequently discussed as 'spirit type' churches or '*chechi dzemweya*'. They are referred as 'spirit type churches' because the Holy Spirit is regarded as the central figure in most of these AAICs. The Holy Spirit is the one that gives spiritual understanding to all happenings and interpretations to everything that happens,

particularly disasters and disappointments in life such as infertility in marriage, poverty, diseases, joblessness, pregnancy complications and disappointments among others. One of the senior members from TSAC commented:

The Holy Spirit is important in our church, it helps us to drive all evil spirits and also to chase away evil spirits that causes diseases and problems among the members (S8, 2018).

Again another participant confirmed that:

The reason why members of this church does not go to hospital is because going to hospital will demonstrate a lack of faith and as a result it lessens the power of the Holy Spirit in the sense that going to hospital is a sign that the Holy Spirit is powerless. Our power is in prayer, fasting and going to mountains also to pray, this is what makes us able to cure all diseases (SM3, 2018).

The above notions point to the fact that many senior members of the church and church leaders affirmed the central part the Holy Spirit occupied in AAICs, especially concerning the administering of all church programmes and its central role in healing and determining the healing method to be used. For them, one should have faith that the Holy Spirit is at work in everything. This is confirmed by scholars like Marevesa (2013) who state that the Holy Spirit that controls the church is the same Holy Spirit used to authorize child marriages in AAICs. This idea is more prominent in JMAC for those men who marry young girls and proclaim that the Holy Spirit directed them to do so.

Following the above comment, it is clear that the Holy Spirit plays a significant role in this church, most of the times the girl is asked to drop from school so as to be married because the Holy Spirit says so. In this case, the girl is not given the freedom to choose whether to get married or continue with school for the church believes that what is said by the Holy Spirit is final and unquestionable. A response from one of the church leaders from BAFC states that:

It is the Holy Spirit that controls the everyday activities of the church affairs. If there are diseases to come, the Holy Spirit detects that in advance and if someone committed adultery

or any other sin that is prohibited in the church, the Holy Spirit informs the church about it and the person will be punished, usually by asking him or her to remove his/ her garment. The process is popularly known in the churches as pasi peshamhu (under the whip/discipline) (L2, 2018).

Although these AAICs leaders are claiming that it is the Holy Spirit that takes control of everything, the issue of patriarchy still remains. Most of the leaders who design the rules that people should put their entire belief in the Holy Spirit for direction are men. This was explained by one of the members who gave the following narration:

I had four children, three died. One died during giving birth, the baby starts by bringing legs and the midwife 'nyamukuta' who was assisting me 'kumurapi' (church makeshift clinic) was inexperienced because it was her first time to see this and she left me alone and ran to inform my parents about the complication and tell them to come and take me to the hospital. The time she came back I had already assisted myself by touching my stomach and the baby come out and I did not know what to do, by the time she came back, the baby was already dead. The other one died at two, the time many children died with measles in 2006, the baby just died during the night. Then the last one died when 1 week old. This one died due to inexperience of 'nyamukuta' about the know-how on how to tie the umbilical cord of the new born baby. Plus just listening to the Holy Spirit, one of the prophets had told me that "your child will not die," so I just relaxed and my baby died sure, I discovered it in the morning. Us we have faith that everything said by the Holy Spirit is true (SF7, 2018).

Following the above comments, the churches' teachings on the Holy Spirit come out as one of the major factors for incidences of poor maternal health and child birth difficulties.   Another respondent told me how the Holy Spirit led her to withdraw from school and led her into marriage. She said:

I get married when I was 16 years old. I am a member of BAFC by birth. I met my husband in the church when we went for a church gathering. We were found by elders talking together when others were listening the word of God and we were told that "you have committed adultery you are supposed to go together." By then I was in Form 3, so I did not manage to finish "O" Level. As you know in our church when the Holy Spirit speaks

132

no one is allowed to go against it. The Holy Spirit has the final say in everything (Y 4, 2018).

This points to the fact that the Holy Spirit is used by men AAICs in some instances as a tool to oppress girls and women for their own pleasure.

This participant's story in the BAFC emphasizes how the omniscience of the Holy Spirit is an important factor that has influenced child marriages in AAICs. By making these girls fail to complete school and force them into marriage at a young age due to the fact that the Holy Spirit has detected that they were involved in sexual activities should be put under scrutiny. This faith in the Omniscience of the Holy Spirit is used as a physical entity dictating what punishment is meted out to these girls. Holy Spirit should not always be used blindly as the yardstick for everything as there are some things that require one to use human reasoning. Thus, what the Holy Spirit says should always be questioned whenever it is life denying, particularly to the girl child. Nour (2009) notes that the idea of letting the girl child drop out from school for marriage only perpetuates the cycle of poverty in the life of the girl child.

6.3.2 Not going to hospital and its implication on girl's and reproductive health

This section looks at the decision of not going to hospital and its implication on the reproductive health of women as one of the themes that emerged in AAICs where women are forbidden to go to hospital during and after pregnancy. According to the church leaders, members of the church should be totally dependent on the divine power of the Holy Spirit as the healer and curer of every disease.

According to most young women who are members of AAICs, going to hospital is seen as a lack of faith, hence a person is supposed to always put one's trust in God for every situation and every sickness. To further elaborate on this point, one of the leaders of JAMC highlighted that:

If you see a member of JMAC in hospital, that person ceases to be a member of our church, he/she has committed a sin, and hence that person should come and confess if possible he will be accepted back in the church. In the hospitals they are also failing to treat diseases such as cancer. All the cases of people who have been diagnosed with cancer here are dying. The way they try is the same way that we do in our church. In the hospital many people are dying during pregnancy and giving birth, (L4, 2018).

The above statement points to the idea that the churches teachings are a threatening tool to its adherence and at the same time it denied the young women to choose what is right or wrong for their lives. Consequently the life of many is put at risk of dying from silly controllable diseases such as malaria and giving birth that can be well handled by the hospital.

The church leader further highlighted that even in the hospitals they sometimes fail to treat diseases such as cancer and that all the people diagnosed with cancer in Tangwena were dying. This is a blind belief about the hospital which is not true. It is not always the case that those people diagnosed with chronic diseases such as cancer always die when go to the hospital. This depends on how early a person has been detected the diseases, if the diseases is detected early a person can be cured and enjoy his or her full life expectance. This emphasis on the people dying in hospital again sends a strong message to the members of AAICs and JMAC in particular. Although the government is trying to develop new treatments and medication for the diseases they know are killing people such as cervical cancer screening and antiretroviral drugs for HIV/AIDS, AAIC leaders are still reluctant to encourage their members to seek medical treatment because of the belief that even in the hospital people die. However, this should be scrutinised because in the case of HIV and cervical cancer, once detected early it is well managed by the hospital and prevent people from losing their life early. When pregnant mothers are prevented from passing the diseases to the unborn baby. Thus AAIC leaders should stop banning people to go to hospital but rather give its members an option to choose what seem right to an individual. The church's rule of forbidding their members to go to hospital was also reflected in the story told by one senior member of TSAC who said:

> *All my children, I gave birth at a church make shift clinic, 'kumurapi.' I did not have any complications. Some of my children are dead. One died when he was 4 years, it was prophesied but during that time I had relaxed thinking that he was old enough and not even suspecting "nhova" (a children's disease usually caused by dehydration). This one is now going Grade Five but he doesn't know even any pill in his life. All the six killer diseases, he was not immunized, I just had faith that if I pray God will help. Even if the child coughs, I only say "God" (SF 1, 2018).*

It is clear from the above that many participants in the group of church leaders and senior members perceive that going to hospital is a sin and a total lack of faith in God. They strongly believe that

people should put their trust in God instead of humans. Despite this woman losing some of her children to curable diseases such as 'nhova' (dehydration) and child's infection in the umbilical cord, the participant still found comfort in believing in the church's rule of not going to hospital and confidently proclaimed that, "I did not have any complications during the giving birth at a church makeshift clinic SF1, 2018". Sometimes even the girl children see that the church teachings are unfair but they cannot question church doctrine since most of them are members of AAICs by birth. Some of these oppressive teachings are viewed as normal and they see nothing wrong with it. One of the senior male member said:

> *When taking pills you first need water, so water is the most important thing. A person is healed by water and laying hands. For us to get AIDS is because of you women if you are not faithful, I believe wherever I am, God sees. When you sneak out you will be caught. If you are caught by AIDS it will vanish through prayer, there are many people who have contracted the disease and they were healed in the church (SF 3, 2018).*

Reflecting on the above comments, the church leader emphasised water as a major healing weapon in AAICs. The importance of holy water is an important aspect needed when one is having medication such as pills. The leaders strongly believe that their members are healed by water and laying of hands. Several participants interviewed who are members of JMAC, BAFC and TSAC testified that since birth, they have never gone to hospital or taken any pills in their life time. It was only water that healed them in time of sickness. Again, several testimonies also from various women, both old and young, declared that they never go to hospital during pregnancy or when giving birth to their children. Most of them testified that they gave birth in *murapi* or *dzimba dzewarwere* (church's makeshift clinic) without any complications, except a few who said they had some challenges and were rushed to the hospital and others had still births. This was also noted in a survey carried by Tafumaneyi (2011) among the people of Domboshava 40 km north of Harare and Chiketo (2014) in Dzingirai village 40 km south west of Mutare who reported that members of AAICs believed in the divine healing of all forms of sickness and diseases. These churches have established makeshift clinics where women come to give birth, risking the lives of both the unborn babies and the mothers.

Further analysis of the above statement shows that for chronic diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the participant highlighted that women will be responsible for bringing out the disease when they are

135

unfaithful. However, this is not true because men are allowed to have multiple sexual partners in their polygamous marriages. They are high chances that men can also bring the disease to women. The participant further commented that in the case that one had contracted the disease, it is prayed for in the church and people are healed. However, this is contrary to reality as in their theological teachings, AAICs claim that they do not contract these diseases of heathens and when one contracted it, the diseases is prevented from spreading to another person. This is problematic since many people are dying in AAICs because of the belief that the church cure AIDS. This affects the young girls who are innocent and who would have left out school for marriage. In the case of contracting the disease, this affects the girl's sexual and reproductive health for they are not allowed to negotiate for safe sex from their husbands. A girl or woman is viewed as a prostitute if one tries to negotiate for safe sex when one gets married in AAICs.

Again some participants said that the reason for not going to hospital was because modern medicine, including bandages, contraceptives and ointments are unclean since they might have gone through so many hands and people which they do not trust their intensions (meaning they don't know what have been put inside the medicines and the intentions of the manufacturers). This idea is contrary to Chitando (2014) who argues that AAICs have provoked scholarly debate and controversy by having negative perceptions of missionary hospitals for they have sought to remove everything that is colonial, including education and modern medicine. The contention is for the persecutor to be repelled from all angles that include political, economic and the spiritual spheres. The participants further argued that they have several experiences concerning the church forbidding its members to seek modern medical help. Although still not blaming the church, one of the participant narrated her incident when she was pregnant and about to give birth. She said:

> *I do have experience in these scenarios as in 2006, I went to the midwives when I was pregnant and I experienced some labour pains from 12 midnight till morning and when they realized they could not assist at around 9 am, I was then transferred to the Nyanga district hospital. However, on my way to Nyanga the hand of the baby started to come out as birth was imminent. Upon arrival at Nyanga I was quickly transferred to Mutare provincial hospital as the district hospital could no longer attend me as I needed specialist and unfortunately the child died, and was a still birth (S F7, 2018).*

Despite all these complications, members of AAICs are seriously indoctrinated by their church's teachings. The fact that the church later referred her to the hospital was too late because she started experiencing labour pain from midnight until the morning. If she had been taken to the hospital early, the baby would probably not have died. This same scenario was also noted by Dodzo et al in their article, *"Praying until Death: Apostolism, Delays and Maternal Mortality in Zimbabwe,"* where they said that the Apostolic churches delay in referring their members to hospital until the situation gets out of hand through their faith in God as the ultimate healer of every disease. However, having all the above comments from participants, these misinformed beliefs directly affect the young women's reproductive health since such teachings like that of not going to hospital put their lives and that of the unborn children at a very high risk of death. These girls are still very young; hence they need more professionally educated and experienced doctors to monitor their health. In most cases in AAICs, such young girls either die through heavy bleeding or the baby will die during the process since their pelvises are too small to allow the head of the baby to pass through.

6.4 Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe and its teaching on not going to hospital

From the discussion held with ACCZ leaders on the churches teaching about girl child education and going to hospital in AAICs, the following argument was raised:

> *As a holy body, we encourage people to pray and worship their God, but when affected by any diseases, they must seek hospital attention and then come back and worship their God. We are encouraging them to go to hospital, some churches are already practicing this but they should pass through the church leaders first for approval before going to the hospital e.g. BAFC and TSAC, who are able to pray for you. After the prayers they will then take the person to the hospital. We always teach them that all sick people should go to hospitals and clinics. All church midwifes are now encouraged to tell their patients to first register with the local clinics as these* **'vana mbuya'** *(midwives) duties now remain more of just praying only. All pregnant women are encouraged to visit hospitals for pre- natal check-ups (FGD, 2018).*

Taking it from the above argument, the ACCZ encourages the AAICs to pray and worship God but when they are affected by any diseases, they must seek hospital attention and after that come back and worship their God. This shows that the ACCZ is against entirely relying on the Holy

137

Spirit for the healing of all sickness even when the church sees it as the only way. As a body, they are not discouraging AAICs from practicing their beliefs, but they are calling them to have practices that are more life giving to the girl child and to seek medical help when necessary. This is evidenced where they clearly stated that some churches are already allowing their members to go to hospital but they should first pass through the church leaders to seek approval if it means being prayed for first before they go to hospital for help. The leaders gave an example of TSAC and BAFC who initially did not allow their members to go to hospital when they were sick and during pregnancy.

The fact that ACCZ is teaching AAICs about the importance of their members going to hospital and accessing western modern medicines cannot be doubted. This was clearly indicated by some participants from TSAC who said that:

> *There is one person who had a still birth. This will not be a crime because these midwives have permission from the hospital in form of letters that allow them to assist people when giving birth. When you want to give birth you go to these midwives with gloves. I gave birth to my child without any complication and I gave birth to my third child at a local clinic. I decided to go to the clinic because of certain reasons which include the fact that the midwife (Murapi) was now demanding too many grocery items as a way of giving thanks for the job well done. Some of the grocery items she was requiring include Cremora, 1 bar soap, rice, tea bags, cooking oil and sugar. So if you miss one grocery item you were being followed up by someone, not the midwife herself (murapi). So now going to hospital becomes cheaper, you go there and give birth the next thing you are going home without anyone demanding anything from you. Again at hospital you are attended by more experienced and professionally trained personnel, especially in the case that the bay's head is big to pass through the pelvic, they have surgical equipment that is not health hazard they use to cut to enhance the baby's passage to allow the head to pass. After giving birth they first inject you before sawing the tearing or cut part unlike in a home makeshift clinic, sometimes you are sawn without any injection to lessen the pain. So many people were now going to hospital secretly without the church knowing it when they were pregnant. They were just going and giving birth at a local clinic, so when the church discovered that, they*

revised the issue of grocery items and it was banned in order to lure back the women who
were now preferring the hospital than the midwife (murapi) in the church. (Y1, 2018).

As stated above, the participant clearly indicated that the "***vananyamukuka***" (midwives) in their church are now trained by the hospital and given permission to assist women during pregnancy and giving birth. The participant further highlights the advantages of giving birth at the hospital or clinic as opposed to the "*kumurapi*" (at a church make shift clinic). This is apt evidence that the ACCZ is doing its job in educating the members of AAICs and their leaders on the benefits of seeking modern medicine rather than relying entirely on the church leaders. This is seen as a positive achievement, especially as it improves the reproductive health of the girl child.

Besides ACCZ educating AAICs on the importance of going to hospital, it can be deduced from the above comments that the midwife's demand for grocery items after helping one to give birth are a factor that influences most women who were now choosing the hospital as cheaper option than the church's makeshift clinics despite the strong church teachings. They were doing this secretly without the church's knowledge, therefore, the AAICs are not listening to the ACCZ's suggestions of allowing women to go to hospital. Although the church interprets this as a negative, it is a positive move for girls and women because they are now able to access the pre-natal and post-natal check-ups from the experienced staff at the hospital. Hence, this has resulted in limited cases of women dying while giving birth or having a still birth due to the inexperience of the churches midwives. Again on a similar note, one of the participants from BAFC confirmed that:

Most people are now going to hospital secretly. The time when our church founders
formulated some other church rules, like that of going to hospital, there were not many
diseases like today; diseases such as cancer were, much fewer, and diseases like blood
pressure where one is supposed to take medication regularly even though the church says
you should confess; how many times will a person confess (L3, 2018).

The above responses point to the fact that despite the church teachings that emphasis that their members should not go to hospital, church leaders are also now acknowledging that there are many more diseases now compared to the time the leaders formulated their church doctrines. Long ago, it was possible for members to survive by entirely relying on the ultimate power of the Holy Spirit for healing from the church, however now it is impossible because of many diseases. Thus, going to hospital becomes a positive move towards improving the girl's sexual and reproductive health

rights, particularly during and after pregnancy for they will go for some check-ups for various sexual and reproductive health related issues. However, the church is still in a dilemma about whether it should fully grant its members permission to go the hospital. As a way of evaluation, the AAICs are embracing the teachings of ACCZ. Though it is taking a long time, they will finally transform most of their teachings.

6.5 Women's empowerment on health seeking behaviours

Most of the AAIC women testified that they had empowered themselves by finding ways to access modern western medicine such as contraceptives, although the church does not allow them to use. To substantiate this issue, one of the young women said:

> *Family planning is not allowed in the church but we now know that they are using it but we are no longer asking them because we know that is what they are now doing. But the church's law says you should confess when you use them because it is a sin, pills are not traditional medicines because they are manufactured from trees. The church also does not allow family planning because they say it is against the Bible which encourages men to have many children as what was promised to Abraham in Genesis chapter 12 that "vana wako vachava sejecha regungwa" (your children will be like the soil of the see). The church says you should give birth to all children God has given you in your womb. (S F5, 2018).*

The controversy in the statement above is that while the church does not allow women to use modern family planning methods for birth control, its members would still sneak out secretly and go to the hospital and use those modern birth control methods such as depo, the loop, jadelle, pills among others without letting the church know. Thus, the church's restriction has not been successful, especially in current times.

6.5.1 Use of the Bible in teaching against family planning

The use of biblical texts in teachings against family planning comes from the church leaders. The main problem is misinterpreting biblical texts which usually occur most often in passages related to women's issues. The use of the Bible in most of the teachings is gender biased. This was confirmed by the participants from all three selected AAICs. It emerged that the Bible's teachings on contraceptives was an integral part of men's effort to control women's reproductive rights. Some of the women in these churches did not agree with these teachings on the basis that men do

not feel the labour pain women experience during pregnancy and while giving birth and that is why it is very easy for them to say "you should give birth to all children in your womb and they should be like the soil of the sea". In relation to this, scholars like (Tsabedze, 1990:83) commented that, "We have to take into consideration the fact that it is the church's teaching arising out of men's interpretations of the Bible and the churches' history that women have come to denigrate themselves". This is so because most of the members of AAICs in this study have been members since birth, so the extent of their indoctrination of the churches' teachings is completely ingrained to the extent that it is difficult for one to easily challenge their churches' teachings, even when they are life threatening, especially for women.

In addition, another participant stated:

> *I use pills, but usually I go secretly without the husband knowing because it is not allowed. They say we should give birth to all children God has given us, when breast feeding the husband is encouraged to use withdrawal system during ejaculation (Y6, 2018)*

Despite the teachings of AAICs forbidding women to use contraceptives and access modern medicines, the above sentiments portrayed that some women in AAICs have some power over their reproductive health rights although it is done without the knowledge of the husband. The evidence again has shown that women in AAICs also have the power to make choices by going secretly to acquire modern medicine such as contraceptives that enhance their reproductive health rights and choices. When the church teaches that women should not use family planning and instead men should withdraw during ejaculation, this gives men the power to have control over their wives' reproductive rights. There are some instances when men feel they want a baby even if when the wife is not ready and they will not withdraw during ejaculation and the woman becomes pregnant. This was supported by one young woman from JMAC who alluded that she was married when she was going to school. Before she planned to have a child, the husband did not withdraw during ejaculation and she became pregnant.

Moreover, a focus group done with young women indicated that far from being passive sexual and reproductive vessels at the mercy of their husbands, women have come up with ways to map and recreate their sexual and reproductive rights. Despite the AAICs indigenous cultural background which subordinates and limits women's ability to negotiate contraceptive use openly, determines the size of the family, space of children and grants sexual permission to their husbands. Women

have demonstrated a way of resolving and exercising their right to determine whether or not to engage in sexual activities, to become pregnant or not and, to bear or not bear children. However, all this is done outside the knowledge of their husbands.

To further elaborate the problem of contraceptive use in AAICs, Mukova and Mangena (2016:116) highlight that, "Married women in AAICs seem to play the game *chimuhwande hwande* (hide and seek) in which children find places to hide from their play mates".

The game mentioned above seems to be similar to how the behaviour of young married women in the selected churches is reflected in this study. They have decided to use contraceptives without the knowledge of their church leaders and their husbands. The married women who exercise sexual and reproductive agency by using contraceptives are perpetually hiding their use of contraceptives whilst their husbands are perpetually looking to find evidence of contraceptive use by their wives. The game discussed above also seems to be similar to the use of ARVs in AIC's in this study since the church does not allow them to access modern medicine. One senior woman from JMAC narrated the incident of a women who hid the use of ARV's from her husband. The story was narrated as follows:

> *Here in Tangwena, some people lie that "this person is taking medication for AIDS," but when you visit that person and spent the whole day with him or her you can hardly find him taking some pills even if you go to church gatherings you never saw him or her drinking those pills. There was a wife who was hiding her medication for HIV/AIDS to her husband in the trunk but when the husband discovered it he took the medication secretly and went and enquired with one of the teachers at a neighbouring school, what the medication was for. The teacher was afraid to tell the truth and just told the man that he did not know. The teacher was afraid that if he told the man the truth he might commit suicide so up to now the wife is taking the ARV's without disclosing her status to the husband (SF 7, 2018).*

In conjunction with the above, Kanyoro (2001:13) explains that, "the status of women within the church is a microcosm of their status within society of which the church is just a part". She further states that women's rights are enclosed in laws, customs, traditions, common behaviours and values that hold-up women far behind and continue to oppress women. She proceeded blaming the church also as part of this oppressive culture, especially when the church has the mechanisms to detect whether women are cheating or not. However, this raises a need of becoming very critical

142

about the AAICs teachings that seem to limit the girl child's opportunity to use contraceptives which limit her power over her sexual and reproductive health rights.

6.6 Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe's teachings on girl child education

At a national level, the ACCZ acts as a medium body that speaks on behalf of the government to AAICs and AAICs to the government of Zimbabwe. The government uses this body to reach out to AAICs whenever they want to communicate something, including issues to do with girl child education. ACCZ has reviewed and amended practices, laws and policies that have been traditionally accepted within AAICs which fuel the spread of HIV and AIDS such as polygamy, wife inheritance, and marrying young girls and refusing to go to hospitals. The body has also evaluated AAICs practices, internal laws, policies and guidelines to make sure that they realise the reality of HIV and AIDS and that they take into account the socio-economic environment prevailing in the country. Although the ACCZ claim that they have put measures in place to stop girl child marriages and to stop practices that fuel poor reproductive health and sexual rights such as polygamy and widow inheritance, these issues have not been addressed in most AAICs, especially considering the selected churches in this study have a high rate of girls failed to complete school for marriage at a tender age. In most cases whenever widow inheritance is done, there are no consideration as to what caused the death of the husband. The widows left in a polygamous marriage in JMAC are simply asked to join brother's wives. What if in the case that the death of their husband was HIV/AIDS? This means both families will be susceptible of contracting the disease.

Matikiti (2014) notes that ACCZ plays a significant role to ensure the social and economic rights of the girl child and these include the right to select a partner of her own choice and accessing education to the highest level one wishes to reach. This body also took note of the fact that women are powerless in relationships and therefore, women's empowerment should be improved within the church. Chakawa (2012) notes that officials from the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare briefed the ACCZ delegates on maternal health, child vaccination and mortality, and HIV/AIDS issues that have often led to tensions and clashes between the government and the Apostolic churches. One can conclude that although ACCZ is trying to put measures in place to improve the education of the girl child and her reproductive health rights, a lot needs to be done in AAICs in Tangwena area.

Furthermore, the ACCZ has adopted a constitution, making it mandatory for all members to vaccinate and immunise their children. There had been clashes between some members of the Apostolic and Zionist churches and the ministry of health and child welfare over the issue of immunisation. It has been alleged that some members refused to immunise their children on religious grounds. Health officials claim that hundreds of children have died in previous years after their parents have refused to have them immunized, citing strict religious beliefs. Measles has been the biggest killer where most members of AAICs have shunned western medicine in the belief that it will diminish their supernatural powers and going to hospital shows that one lacks faith in God (Kutsira, 2015:32).

Although a constitution was adopted by ACCZ that makes it compulsory to immunise all children in AAICs, this has not been successful based on what some of the respondents from the interviews were saying. The participant were very confident in saying that:

> *In our church we do not believe in going to hospital. If we go to hospital we are lessening the power of God, for even those medicines and doctors were created by God so one should just have faith in God and all diseases are cured (FDG2,2018).*

Another point to note from the above argument is that, although the ACCZ has claimed to have put measures in place that guarantee AAICs and Zionist churches to allow their members to access modern western medicines and immunisation of their children against diseases, this has not been fully achieved. There is still much to be done by ACCZ as most selected AAICs in this study still use makeshift clinics as their only solution for medical attention, especially pregnant women who are attended to by female midwives who claimed to be assisted with the guidance from the Holy Spirit (Kutsira 2015) and not professional training.

Since this study sought to investigate as to whether AAICs teachings have any influence on the girl child's limited education and reproductive health and sexual rights, it was necessary to enquire from the ACCZ how they perceive girl child education.

To add on the above, the following suggestions were made from a focus group discussion held with the leaders:

> *Yes, there are some programmes which were done by the organization where people are called for training and discussions and are then given certificates for example, child*

marriage and also women empowerment as women should be allowed to go to school and to work in formal employment. They call upon churches and convene where women in leadership positions of Women's Fellowship and who are usually elderly/senior women to discuss on issues of how are they evangelising on issues of early child marriages within the church system and encouraging girl child to go to school. Within the board of ACCZ as a council, there are also women with higher positions. And they usually advocate for girls to go school and attain higher education certificates and degrees in local universities. The ACCZ national board is divided into different groups with others representing child marriages and others on education for both boys and girls (FGD, 2018).

The above information points to the fact that the ACCZ guide AAICs through their programmes to support girl child education. Engaging in discussions with these senior women of AAICs who facilitate girl child marriage through their church teachings, particularly those on preserving virginity will assist to reduce child marriage and promote girl child education.

Moreover, remarks made above show the effort made by the ACCZ in educating the AAIC senior women for encouraging girls to go to school and to end child marriages which contribute to the girl's limited education in AAICs. They further highlighted that the board called upon members of the churches to hear how they are dealing with the issue of girl child education. This is a positive contribution by ACCZ in Zimbabwe to end child marriages and encourage girls to acquire a western formal education that enables them to find employment and be empowered to face life's challenges. When girls obtain an education it is highly likely that they will not get married young and as a result, they will have good sexual and reproductive health rights compared to those who failed to complete school and end up into early marriages. This idea was also supported by another ACCZ leader who said:

Girls also need to acquire education like the boy child. There is no tolerance to marriage for the young girls, let them acquire knowledge first so that they will be mature. There are many disadvantages associated with them getting married at a very young age. Some of the disadvantages include being prone to many diseases, can be abused by men, cannot have proper future as an individual, hence it is better to educate them. Let them acquire knowledge so that they make decisions on their own and have a better choice on their sexual and reproductive health rights (L3, 2018).

145

Following the above statement of the ACCZ leader, it can be interpreted that although the body is making an effort to raise awareness of the implications of limiting the girl child's education, the reality on the ground is different. What is very interesting is the fact that while the mother body of these churches advocate for girl child education and sexual rights, the teachings of these churches still remain adamant to teachings that supposedly suggest that the girl child is confined to church regulations that domesticate her reproductive sexual rights to the extent that they determine her educational status. Hence to insistently argue that girls are free to attain higher education as long as they remain virgins becomes a problematic point that this body needs to address.

6.7. Summary and conclusion

According to a study carried out by the International Centre for Research on Women's studies (ICRW), about 51 million girls in developing countries are child wives through the influence of their parents for economic gain for the parents and the girl, protection from pre-marital sex, protection from pregnancy outside marriage, and preserving culture. Similarly, interviews with the young women who did not compelete school due to early marriages also confirms some of the findings recognised above. Responses from the interviews indicated that there were multiple reasons that led to the girl's failure to finish school. Some of the reasons that were discussed have nothing to do with church teachings. The reasons discussed included a lack of school fees, sickness, marriage, parental influence, lack of discipline due to modernity, lack of exposure and poverty.

The chapter has found that there are a number of reasons which cause girls to drop out from school and get married young and the church play a role directly or indirectly through their teachings and practices. The problem of girls receiving limited education has a long history in most societies. In Zimbabwe, most of the literature on girl child education remains on the agenda of many government and non-profit making organisations. Despite all this, evidence from studies conducted and the field research from this study has shown that AAICs have not been able to fully engage in the discussion of the importance of educating the girl child education and its benefits on her reproductive health and sexual rights.

This study show that there is inter-link on the reasons which explain why most girls leave out school in AAICs for premature marriages, which result in creating an unpleasant cycle of poverty.

For instance, this study discovered that most of the parents who force their children to leave school and get married at an early age are under pressure due to poverty, cultural beliefs, fear of their daughters losing their virginity, illiteracy, the need to preserve church doctrine and ignorance of state laws. Therefore, AAICs intervention will require a holistic approach, as highlighted by Siwila (2011) which will allow the church to develop a theology that is life giving to the girl child. The other issue that emerged from this study is the continued belief that marriage is a final destination for these girls who fail to keep their virginity. This study agrees with Oduyoye (2001:17), who speaks of "idealisation of marriage" which in some cases results in early marriages that deprive girls of an education and training to empower themselves economically as they are passed directly from the authority of the father to that of the husband.

The conclusions of chapter have shown that there is need to educate the AAICs leaders concerning the laws of the country concerning the education of the girl child. The chapter also found out that the teachings of AAICs, though not explicitly stated, do not encourage girl child education rather encourage them to get married early. Furthermore, this chapter found that AAICs emphasize the preservation of traditional education when it comes to the education of the girl child which does not promote a western formal education for girls which would empower them economically not to totally depend on the husband for survival.

Those who supported for girl child education believed that she must be educated so that she knows how to handle her husband and her home. These teachings of AAICs are patriarchal to the girl child, hence this study uses post-colonial feminist theory to analyse these teachings that are life denying to the girl child. Scholars such as Marevesa (2013) criticize some of AAICs teachings such as advocating for girls to preserve their virginity when in most cases, in JMAC they get married into polygamy where men are permited to have many spouses as they are pleased. Oduyoye hence argues that:

> *Where polygamy is permitted, there is an unspoken assumption that the female is to be a 'monotheist' while the male acts as a 'polytheist' arrogating to himself the freedom to worship the bodies of several women (2006:22).*

Moreover, in terms of accessing modern health facilities, this chapter found that the three selected churches forbid their members from going to hospitals for they claim that it is against their churches tradition. Among the three churches, going to hospital is interpreted as a lack of faith in God for they solely believe in the ultimate power of the Holy Spirit and laying of hands on the sick. This then causes serious consequences to the girl's reproductive health particulary during pregnancy and giving birth. The following chapter discusses the themes that developed from the findings of the study and the main question of the research, impetuses for the study and the concluding remarks for the entire study which sought to affirm the extent to which girl child's limited education in AAICs is the result of church teachings or not.

CHATER SEVEN

ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE STUDY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented data and analysis on the contesting voices surrounding the AAICs teachings on girls and their reproductive health rights and its consequences to girls' limited education. This chapter also proposed the suggestions that can be implemented by AAICs leaders in order to revise their teachings on the education of the girl child. In the previous chapter the main objective of the study was addressed, to investigate whether AAICs teachings have any influence on most of the girls' limited education in AAICs.

The chapter also intends to revisit some of the major themes that have come out from the results of this study and do a further analysis on each of these themes. It is these further analyses that will help this study to answer the research problem of this study which try to to investigate whether the theological teachings of AAICs has anything to do with girl child limited education. These analyses will assist in suggesting theologies to be developed that could positively promote the education of the girl child and her reproductive health rights. The major themes identified from this study include: makeshift clinics as safe havens for sexual and reproductive health rights of women, masculinity and patriarchy, implication of socio-economic factors on the girl child's limited education and poor sexual reproductive health rights, African culture and patriarchy as major tools of oppression of women in AAICs, debates on culture and gender.

Chapter Six found out that although not precisely stated by the paticipants, theological teachings of the AAICs under study, influence girl child's limited education. Teachings such as preserving girl's virginity, the omniscience of the Holy Spirit, regarding virginity as an escape for men's contracting HIV/AIDS and the continued belief that marriage is the final destination for the girls who failed to keep their virginity have influenced girls' limited education. This was confirmed by the responses from senior members, ACCZ and the young women themselves when asked why they had dropped out from school and got married young. It was through comparing experiences from both the church teachings and the responses given by the young women that allowed me to conclude that the church is accountable to a larger extent, while on the other note, there are some

factors that are independent from the church teachings that are responsible for causing the girl child to withdraw from school and end up in marriage at an immature age in Tangwena area. Other factors included modernity, parental influence, economic challenges and so forth.

7.2 Major themes that emerged from the study findings

7.2.1 Influence of African culture on African Apostolic Indigenous Churches teachings

One of the factors that emerged during my field research is the influence of African culture on AAICs teachings on girl child education. Both literature and the responses from the participants of this study identified African culture as a factor that played a crucial role in shaping AAICs theologies of girl children's limited education. This was discussed in depth in the third chapter of this research where the implications of both pre-colonial and missionary/colonial education in Zimbabwe influenced AAICs teachings of girl child education. This study found that African culture is responsible for girl children's limited education in AAICs of Tangwena area. To substantiate this finding, one of the participants from ACCZ explained that:

> *The main reason is that our fore fathers grew up in African patriarchal societies whose laws deprived women in general. Our elders used to have a system that women should not go to school but should be prepared for marriage. The major reason was that if she was empowered when she gets married the family to which she has been married to would benefit more than her family which supported her through education hence it was better to educate and support the boy child as they believed their hopes would be fulfilled by the boy child of up keeping them in times of need (A2, 2018).*

The above ACCZ leader believed that the teachings of AAICs were influenced by African patriarchal culture where their forefathers deprived women of education. He said that the elders did not encourage women to go to school but rather prepared them for marriage. The main reason for not allowing girls go to school was that the family will benefit from their daughter marrying into a wealthier family rather than sending them to school, hence they found it better to educate the boy child with the hope that he would take care of them in times of need. This same view was noted by Adetunji (2001:25) when he postulated that:

150

Some parents felt that if girls acquire formal education and have privilege to work they would surrender their packages to their husbands and not to their parents and rather were encouraged to acquire functional education which prepared them for motherhood.

This observation by the ACCZ addresses my research problem which asks, "In a context where education and health are both a constitutional right, what influenced AAICs teachings of a girl child's limited education and her poor sexual and reproductive health rights?" From the above participant's remarks, this study found that African culture played a crucial role in influencing AAICs teachings, particularly due to the fact that the African culture only teaches and prepares the girl child for motherhood while boys are sent to school in preparation that they will look after their parents. However, this patriarchal mentality has been seriously questioned by Oduyoye (2001) who described African culture as full with practices that allowed the society to denigrate humanity women as fully human beings.

7.2.2 AAICs understanding of modern education

Another factor identified by both the participants and literature as one of the reasons behind AAICs teachings of a girl child's limited education, is the influence of colonialism. One of the informants said that:

> *Education was regarded as an external foreign culture; hence the founders and leaders of these churches believed that encouraging education was also endorsing colonialism. That is why many other AAICs such as Johane Masowe do not even read the Bible because it came in the hands of the white man (A1, 2018).*

To substantiate that colonialism influenced AAICs teachings, another participant stipulated that:

> *Leaders and founders of AAICs brought the African culture in church or into their churches, hence education was a foreign initiative which could not be embraced easily. The fact is that many early schools in Zimbabwe were founded by white colonialists being Anglican, Roman Catholics, and Methodists. The blacks resisted going to these schools because they said they wanted to teach us their (white) culture and we would lose our local culture. The first schools which started in Zimbabwe were missionary schools, hence the Africans feared to be acculturated to white cultures. As ACCZ board today, we believe*

151

that our children's lives can be uplifted and present better opportunities in their lives and their future if they acquire western formal education (A3, 2018).

Following the above remarks, the findings of this study found that many schools in Zimbabwe which were missionary schools caused the AAICs to have a negative attitude towards education. One leader of ACCZ said that, "since schools were run by the whites, so sending our children to school was just good as delivering them to the hands of the enemies" (A2, 2018). This idea pointed to the fact that AAICs developed a bad attitude to western formal education in fear that their children would be taught a new culture and disengage themselves from their African culture.

This was also noted by Bourdillon when he said:

> the purpose of the education of the colonizers was to devalue the indigenous educational, philosophical and epistemological models while at the same time elevating their education models as modern (1998:58).

Basing on the above assumption, AAIC's teachings can be criticised of deficiency in their teachings. If one is to take a yard stick to measure their teachings, how can they allow the boys to attain western formal education from the same missionay schools which they are afraid that it will corrupt their girls. Most of the schools are now run by the government. Again this idea is outdated because as of now, 40 years afer independence, there are very few schools that are still run by missionaries.

This is perceived as negative; particularly to the girl child in AAICs who are subjected to receiving a limited education by the church. Girls are left with no options except marriage. Most of the girls are married very young because African culture values the fact that the girl should be married whilst still a virgin and the issue of age is not emphasized, as noted by Siwila (2011). This left the girl with a lack of power over her sexual and reproductive health rights, particularly when they get married to older men since African culture permits polygamy and that has been largely emphasized in JMAC, one of the AAICs in this study. The girls who get married in polygamous marriages lack power over their sexual rights because in a polygamous marriage it is the men who decide where he wants to go and sleep and which wife to have sex with. Sometimes the girls are left to stay for a long time without having the husband to attend to their sexual desires. In support of the above, Machingura highlights that:

Early child marriages are a defilement of human rights and such matrimonies are a shame to our community for they interfere with women rights and force them into a continuous cycle of poverty (2011:7).

African cultural feminist theory was used in this study to challenge AAIC teachings that encourage polygamy and that restrict girls' education which forces them into early marriages and consequently, they lack power over their sexual rights and reproductive health since the men will be entirely in control of everything.

Another factor which has been indicated in limiting a girl child's education in AAICs is their perception of western formal education. To elaborate this point further, one of the ACCZ leaders claimed that:

> *AAICs believed that if the girl child becomes educated, they will abandon them and be above their parents and they will move away from their church tradition. When you are learned you will begin to see many things, even the type of clothing changes. Parents fear that if women are educated they move away preferring western culture. Western education brought with it destruction of African culture. They were resisting westerners and missionaries, sending their children to school would be delivering their children to the hands of enemies. AIC's are more in preserving African culture. African cultural education has to harness the girl child in a way that as a woman, a girl has only these parameters to live on, dress this way, move this way, should take note of the men who is actually above him. No woman is above the man in terms of reasoning, ruling, even at home, they are some of the duties reserved for girls (L2, 2018).*

Considering the above quotation and other literature consulted, this study found that AAICs leaders see education as enlightenment for girls. They assume that when the girl child becomes educated or acquires western formal education, they will be above their parents and start to move away from church traditions. He further says that when a girl is educated she begins to see many things in a different way. Again, analysing the statement that, "western education brought with it destruction of African culture" as it is stated above shows that it as a reason that has caused AAICs to have an adverse outlook of educating the girl child as they are afraid that education brings enlightenment to the girl child which might force her to start rebel against some of the church's traditions which are oppressive to the girl child.

More so, they saw education would enlighten to the girl child to the extent she will be able to reason and question some of the church teachings, such as discouraging their members from going to hospital and accessing modern western medicine and the use of contraceptives. They fear that with a western formal education, a girl will most likely reject some or all of the church's teachings since they would now have the ability to evaluate them and begin to see some of the traditions as oppressive. Hence, they would likely rebel in favour of western culture where a girl is given the option to choose whom to marry and where there is no restrictions regarding her virginity and practices such as virginity testing and polygamy among other teachings. They would also question church traditions that seem to deprive her freedom to make choices such as the belief that the Holy Spirit controls everything when it comes to marriage.

Accessing western formal education would allow the girl child to make decisions about her body such as preserving or losing her virginity since in some schools provide condoms for safe sex. If she might start to ask questions such as: Why she should keep her virginity even though if she is getting into polygamous marriage with many wives, her husband's virginity and the use of family planning. Thus, western formal education is seen as a threat to some of the AAICs teachings on the girl child, therefore, they prefer to keep her uneducated so that she will continue to serve her husband and observe the church doctrines without questioning it.

Furthermore, the above leader highlighted that sending children to school would be good as delivering them into the hands of their enemies. This was so because western culture was very different from African culture. Taking it verbatim from the ACCZ leader above:

> *African cultural education has to harness the girl child in a way that as a woman, a girl has only this parameters to live on, dress this way, move this way, should take not of the men who is actually above him. No woman is above the man in terms of reasoning, ruling even at home, they are some of the duties reserved for girls (A2, 2018).*

This type of education only robs women their rights; as Adebis noted that, "African culture is full of language and practices that dehumanize the full humanity of women" (2009:27). Again, this was also noted by Oduyoye (2001:17) when she argues that, "African culture should desist from its practice of making women feel fully human when they are associated with a man". All these utterances point to the fact that AAIC teachings do not promote girl child education in fear that when the girls are educated they start to question some of the church doctrines that are so life

denying to the girl child, including issues of patriarchy in the church. This study should challenge their teachings and perceptions of girl child education and they should rather start to see educating the girl child in a positive way where education helps the girl child to gain sufficient self-confidence to make decisions about her own life and empower them even to take leadership positions.

7.3.1 Omniscience of the Holy Spirit

The omniscience of the Holy Spirit is one of the major issue that emerged during the field work of this study. From responses of the participants and the literature review, the omniscience of the Holy Spirit emerged as another issue which the church has struggled to address. In this study, the Holy Spirit was seen as being responsible for influencing the running of the church and therefore it emerged as a major factor that influences the withdrawal of young girls from school for early marriages. In an attempt to explain the omniscience of the Holy Spirit in AAICs, most of the participants highlighted that: "It is the Holy Spirit that guide us in everything we do in our church. If women are cheating on their husbands in the case of a polygamous marriage *zvinobatwa pagedhi*[11]" (It is detected on the gate). *Kana vasikana vakabatwa 'gwiti[12]' nevakomana vasativaroorwa zvinobatwa futi pagedhi* (If both boys and girls are promiscuous before marriage, it is also detected on the gate). After one is caught that one was not 'moving well' during the week, she is punished after confession and they are put under what they call \\ *(under the whip/under discipline).* During this time they are suspended from doing day today activities of the church such as singing, dancing and clapping. If girls are caught having sex with boys, they are shamed in front of their parents, and in most cases, they are forced to go and get married to the boy or man whom they had sex with. Even if the girl is still at school, the AAIC leaders claim that the Holy Spirit has the final say in AAICs, once it declared something no one questions it. Thus, this study

---

[11] *Pagedhi* is a process done in AAICs where every member is subjected to thorough examination before their church starts. This process is done by prophets usually males who will stand in a line before three prophets. Each member of the church is mandated to pass through each of them and they will tell you what the Holy Spirit has found about what they were doing which is against the will of God during the week. If anyone is caught that he/she committed adultery the person is subjected to confess in front of the church in order to be cleansed and so that the sins will be forgiven. This process is repeated every Sunday when the church members meet before they start their service.

[12] 'G*witi*' is a situation where a girl is suspected to have hugged, kissed the boy or a men before marriage. This is serious in AAICs and sometimes the girl is even asked to remove her garment or forced to get married to that boy or man she did it with.

points the Holy Spirit as a tool that is used to oppress young girls and force them to early marriages in AAICs of Tangwena area. In this case the girls have no power over their sexual rights, the church seem to be in control and end up oppressing the girls. This was also noted by Marevesa as discussed in Chapter Six who argued that, "The same Holy Spirit that is used to administer the church activities is the same Holy Spirit that is used to validate girl child marriages in JMAC (2013:16)" Although the boys are also punished, this does not affect them much for most of them will be adults dating young girls. In JMAC for instance some men will be just like the girl's father, so for the church to decide that they should marry, they will be very happy, for it will be to their advantage.

Although this study found that AAICs emphasize much on the Omniscience of the Holy Spirit, it has been criticised by African feminist theologians such as Chirongoma (2006:183) who argued that, "the church must play a pivotal role in addressing issues of poverty and inequalities in health care which mainly affect the poor, women and children." Chirongoma seeks to diffuse the fallacy that the Holy Spirit controls everything. She found that there is need to scrutinize its influence in perpetrating girl child marriages and its role as the detector as to whether one should go to hospital when a person from an AAIC is sick. This in turn, causes serious consequences' in people's health and particularly the young girls who drop out of school when they are pregnant and are giving birth.

In order to critique the above AAICs teachings, African feminist theologians have advocated for the depatriarchalisation of the church. They argue that there is always a need to question the words of the Holy Spirit, especially considering that who say so. In most cases there are always men who are responsible for prophesying issues that affect women and girls such as that, "The Holy Spirit tells me that this man should marry this girl even if she is at school." For the Holy Spirit to be authentic, it should also speak to women. Since it only speaks to men, it should be scrutinised because it questions why the Holy Spirit would only be speaking to men about issues that affect both women and men.

Moreover, in this study the findings have revealed the Holy Spirit in AAICs as the one that determines which healing method should be utilised and to whom a person is supposed to go to receive medication from. The Holy Spirit is also supposedly responsible for telling the prophets

when to go with the person to hospital in the case that the church remedy has failed to work. As the Holy Spirit has all these responsibilities, I, as the researcher suggest the AAICs should desist from relying on the Holy Spirit for everything especially those things that oppress girls and women. For instance, the idea of waiting for the Holy Spirit to decide when to send someone to hospital. Most participants confirmed that they encountered serious problems because of waiting upon the Holy Spirit for everything. In relation to this, one of the informants commented that:

> *My child died due to inexperience of the midwife during giving birth, she did not have the know-how on how to tie the umbilical cord of the new born baby. Plus, just listening to the Holy Spirit, one of the prophets had told me that "your child will not die," so I just relaxed and my baby died sure, I discovered it in the morning. We have faith that everything said by the Holy Spirit is true SF, 2018.*

Following this testimony, it is clear that the belief in the Holy Spirit should always be questioned, for not everything that is said by the Holy Spirit will come to pass, as sometimes people have not understood the communication from the Holy Spirit correctly. Learning from the above incident, the child died from a preventable situation. Had the baby been taken to the hospital and attended to by experienced nurses, he/she could have survived. This notion of entirely relying on the Holy Spirit was also noted by Dodzo et al. (2016:1) when they said:

> Apostolicism promotes high fertility, early marriage, non-use of contraceptives and low or non-use of hospital care. It causes delays in recognizing the danger signs, deciding to seek care, reaching and receiving appropriate health care. The existence of the customized spiritual maternal health system demonstrates a huge desire for positive maternal health outcomes among the Apostolics.

As highlighted above, the total trust in the divine Omniscience of the Holy Spirit in AAICs puts the life of the members in danger for in most cases, the Holy Spirit tells the people to go to hospital when it is already too late. However, these scholars bring to light the idea that the existence of these spiritual maternal customized health systems is a demonstration of desire for positive maternal health. This has been proven from the field research of this study. Of the three churches from this study, each church had its own spiritual maternal health system where young women would come for both pre-natal and post-natal counselling until they deliver. The members from TSAC go to Chakonza homestead, BAFC members go to Mbuya Mabvudza homestead and the

JMAC indicated that there are many designated places in their churches where members would go for spiritual help when pregnant and for any other health issues.

This study found that although some will have unfortunate experiences in these spiritual health systems, it is not always the case. Some people who seek health advice are successfully assisted and they rejoice and see these spiritual maternal health systems as a blessing from their church. Was confirmed by some participants who said that they never had complications when giving birth amongst all the children they have. However, this information differ from one participant to the other for some said they had complications and others even end up having still birth. Furthermore, some of the participants adds that, "had it not been these spiritual maternal health homes, our people should be struggling" (L.2, 2018). Their reason is that Tangwena area is located far away from the hospital and there is a poor transport system due to bad infrastructure of the roads. As a result of this, the existence of these homes is very convenient for them. To clearly elaborate their satisfaction, one of the participants said:

> In Tangwena, when someone is sick from afar what will he or she do? So our church helps. The way we are located in these mountainous areas it is difficult to go to hospital except maybe if it is in places like Nyanga District town near the hospital (L1, 2018).

From the above statement, it is found that people were satisfied with these spiritual maternal home systems due to the lack of accessibility to hospitals and poor infrastructure. Given the choice and accessibility to hospitals this might have resulted in some members opting for the hospital. Another important finding was that ACCZ plays a central role of educating birth attendants from these spiritual home maternal systems to follow hospital procedures. It has encouraged them to go and receive some training in local clinics and this has improved the situation in these spiritual home clinics.

7.3.2 Power of belief

This theme emerged in AAICs of Tangwena area during the field research. This theme is not very different from the omniscience of the Holy Spirit. The members of AAICs of Tangwena are aware that some of their church teachings do not promote health and well-being such as not allowing their members to go to hospital and limiting a girl child's education. Responses from both senior members and young women of the AAICs confirmed that educating the girl child is good in the

sense that the girl is able to decide what is write or wrong even as mothers compare to a situation when a girl gets married without an education. Despite most of the participants agreeing that going to school and get married at a later age is beneficial, because of the power of belief in the church doctrine, many members still allow their children to abraptlyleave school marriage prematurely just simply because they want to obey the church traditions.

Moreover, despite holding a degree from a state university, a young woman from JMAC still found herself in a polygamous marriage where she argued that there was nothing she could do because both of her parents were members of the church and she herself was born in the church. From the interview I had with her, my personal observation was that she was not happy in the marriage, but she is just living there for the sake of her parents and church doctrine. The church does not allow one to divorce as they are married for life. This idea faces criticism from Kanyoro and Oduyoye (1997) who argue that women should desist from an idea of feeling fully human when they are associated with a man. They emphasised this basing on African culture that attributed much respect to the married women than those who are not. Also, the church should desist from using practices that oppress girls and women, and they advocate for the teachings that empower the girl child. In this case, marriage should not be a death sentence to women. If a girl or woman feels that the marriage is oppressive, she should be allowed to move out and be able to choose whether marry again or to remain single without feeling any shame or loss of dignity.

The outcomes of this study confirmed that most of the partakers for this study were adherence of AAICs by birth. This makes it difficult for them to leave even if they know some of the teachings are oppressive. Some of the informants still adhere to the churches' beliefs such as a woman has to keep on producing children until all that God has given is finished even though they understand it is very expensive in modern times to be able to provide for many children. However, some young women said that they go secretly to the hospital to get the birth control pills or obtain other family planning methods. This study suggests that AAICs should desist from being conservative and move with time. As suggested by Siwila (2011) that the church should learn to read the Bible with a newspaper in the right hand. This means that the AAICs in this study should balance the churches' teachings and current global issues for they are not living in isolation, but with people in society.

7.3.3 The power of patriarchy

After discussing the power of belief as a theme of AAICs in Tangwena, in this section, the power of patriarchy as a factor that has influenced girl child's limited education will be discussed. Before discussing how this theme emerged, I want to first define the term patriarchy as it has been understood in this study. The term patriarchy refers to male domination where women's voices have been suppressed in order to serve men's interests. As I carried out the field research of this study, I found that there is male domination in AAICs. When I approached some homes for interviews, whenever the husband was there it was always difficult to interview their wives. The first thing I was told after approaching the women was that I had to go and seek permission first from the husband. It was only after explaining the consent forms and showing them the ethical clearance letter would they allow their wives to interview. In some cases, they would demand that I interview them first and others even wanted to go through the interview guide before their wives had seen it.

It was only after the men had given permission for me to talk to their wives that we were able to interview them. In another incident, one of the senior members of the church remained quiet for some time and after a while she just said "***uuuuuuuuuum nhasi handurudaba"*** (meaning today I am not ready to talk). It was clear from this observation that women in AAICs are oppressed by men to the extent that they are not free to voice their views. The basis for this patriarchy is based on Paul's letters in the Bible that constantly call for continual subjugation of women where he advocates that women should be submissive to their husbands and always keep quiet in church. Whenever they have questions they should ask their husbands at home. This has been also noted by Kanyoro when she says:

> Paul firmly advocates for the subjugation of women to men as indicated in Ephesians 5:22, Colossians 3:18 and 1 Corinthians 14: 33-36. Paul should be understood in his own context. Before analysing, we need to know the socio-cultural context in which Paul was operating (1997:45).

Following Kanyoro's argument, it is wise for AAIC leaders to read the Bible from a variety of ways as propounded by Dube (2001) who suggests many female biblical African scholars who read texts from the Bible from different viewpoints. This study is in agreement with both Kanyoro and Dube that AAICs should use various ways of interpreting the Bible, particularly taking note of the context in which the story was written or spoken and not to just take the literal meaning of

each text like what they are doing when reading the letters of Paul in the Bible. Again, the same is also witnessed in AAICs, particularly JMAC, when it justifies polygamy on the basis that Solomon had many wives and concubines in the Bible. This again needs a contextual interpretation rather than just understanding the stories literally and use it as a tool to oppress women.

A further finding from the study which demonstrated the power of patriarchy in leadership emerged when I was carrying out the interviews in the field about the history and origins of the selected AAICs from this study. The information has been described in detail in Chapter Two where I dealt with the background and history of AAICs and the selected AAICs from this study. After narrating the history and the origins of church, the general secretary of TSAC said "…As you know our culture, Mbuya Chakonza (the wife of Chakonza) could not lead the church as she was only a woman" (Mukanya, 2018). This statement alone shows the power of patriarchy in AAICs. The secretary narrated the history of the church with clear conviction that the church was founded by the wife, but he said because she was a woman she could not lead the church. He further highlighted that the husband was appointed the bishop of the church. As I was once a member of that church, the belief of the general secretary was new information which I was not previously aware of. We just grew up hearing that Chakonza was the bishop of TSAC and everything was just normal.

Although the bulk of my findings suggest the power of patriarchy in AAICs, there were some incidents where male participants testified that it is good for both boys and girls to go to school. According to them, the reasons why girls leave out school early can be be attributed not to the to the churches' teachings but modern influences. They said that the modern school curriculum teaches the girl's subjects like science with topics on reproduction which influences them to drop out of school because they want to try out what they have learnt at school.

To conclude this section on the power of patriarchy, looking at AAIC teachings critically, most of them have been influenced by patriarchy. The omniscience of the Holy Spirit which is used to validate the marriage of young girls is initiated through male diviners who claim to have prophesied that these girls should be the wives of men. Also, the teachings are designed by men

although women make up the majority of church membership. Men in AAICs make all the decisions including those that affect women.

7.3.4 The problem of Marriage and Virginity

Besides the power of patriarchy, marriage emerged as another key theme from this study that influenced girls to withdraw out of school. It was emerged that due to the teachings of AAICC's, the girls in AAICs are groomed for marriage as this was evidenced from the information that comes from most of the participants when asked: What did the church teach on girl child education? Marriage is seen as the destiny of girls in AAICs. One of the participants from the study confirmed this by saying:

> *It is good for girls to be educated and delay to be married because education even helps them to keep their homes and their husbands well when they got married. If a girl gets married young it is difficulty when giving birth to a baby (SM6, 2018).*

Following the above statement, it can be deduced that although the leader confirmed that they promote education for both boys and girls, the issue arises when he said that it is good for girls to be educated in order for them to keep their husbands and homes well. This idea has been criticised by African feminist theologians like Oduyoye (2005:17) who are against the African cultural belief that a girl's only destiny is marriage. To strengthen this point she says, "The performance of the marriage ritual, however, emphasizes the transfer of the woman from the spiritual power of the father to that of the husband" (Oduyoye 2006:13). In addition to the point above, the Circle of African Concerned Women Theologians made the following comment:

> A well-studied instrument of socialization in Africa is the preparation for marriage, the result of this socialization as it is related to the latter, is that African women are programmed to live for others. They live for family, children, and community as these constitute the locus of one's worthiness. This in some cases has come to mean that women live to please men and pride themselves with being the providers of continuity and the carriers of tradition (2001:30).

All these quotations above contributed to my finding of marriage in AAICs as a key theme that leads to girls' limited education. This is so because AAICs claimed to have copied their teachings

from African culture, particularly related to marriage. This theme helped this study to answer the key study objective of investigating as to whether AAICs teachings have any influence on most of the girls' limited education.

Having the above testimonies from both the participants and the literature review, it is clear that to some extent, that senior members of the churches continue to emphasise when girls go to school, they will become good mothers and prepare them for marriage. That emphasis alone is an indication that women should not do anything in life except serve men. To summarize this, Njoroge and Dube (2001:7) noted that, "the girl child often faces discrimination from the earliest stages of life, through childhood and into adulthood." This indicates that girls in AAICs should not want more than to be a good wife and mother. In this case, the girls are stopped from achieving higher goals in life. Better educational opportunities are given to boys only. Thus, in agreement with Kanyoro's (2001:17) cultural feminist hermeneutics, AAICs should develop a theology that advocates for liberatory enhancement not only for women, but for the whole community.

This study also found that there is no prescribed age of marriage in AAICs. Most of the informants were senior members and leaders, particularly in JMAC where they allow polygamous marriages. They believe that as long as the girl feels that she is no longer able to contain herself, it is better for her to get married. This leaves a lot to be desired because some girls end up dropping out from school as early as 9 years old to get married. This was noted by Kachere in her reflection when she said:

> While other girls were preparing to go to school, a 14 year old girl of Marange District in Manicaland had to stay behind to prepare breakfast for her 67 year old husband. The husband had four senior wives although her marriage was not legally recognized/ registered, it was customarily recognized and the teenager was expected to live as a house wife and soon bear children. "I can't go against the will of my elders and leave my husband in order to attend school. Besides where will I go if I leave? My parents will not welcome me" said the 14 year old girl (2010:30).

This story shows that it is not only in the Tangwena area where AAICs restrict girls from receiving an education due to marriage. Although this girl above is from Marange District the church is the same as those from this study. As highlighted above, once the girl gets married she is expected to

163

have a baby. Since these girls are involved into marriage with older men they are subjected to high risk of complications during pregnancy and birth due to the lack of pelvic development (Nour 2006).

7.4 Virginity as an escape from HIV/AIDS

As noted by Bruce, the understanding of women's virginity includes other perceptions. Virginity is often seen as something that needs to be controlled in the interest of morality, but it is also viewed as sexual property. The loss of virginity affects the honour of woman's male relatives (2005:15). He further explained that in the Bible bride price is paid as reimbursement for the loss of virginity that is seen as the sexual property of the father (2005:16). In line with Bruce, virginity also come out loudlyas one of the major theme from the study. The majority of participantsin the group of senior members agreed that the preservation of virginity has some moral connotation to the girl child and at the same time, a woman's virginity is viewed as a man's property in AAICs. If a girl failed to contain herself before marriage and loses her virginity, she brings disgrace to the family of the girl/woman, in the sense that when married, they will not get *mombe yechimanda* (mother's cow). The same understanding of virginity in AAICs is the same as that of the Bible as Bruce describes above that in the Bible, a bride price is paid as remuneration for the father's loss of property.

As Bruce (2005) suggested, virginity in AAICs is seen as a guarantee to men that they cannot contract HIV/AIDS from the wife. According to most AAIC men:

> *There is no need to be tested for HIV/AIDS. We are 100 per cent safe because in most cases we marry from our church and they will be fully virgins. They are kept checked to make sure that they remain virgins and continue to keep themselves till they get married (FGD, 2018).*

Basing on the above quotation, virginity in AAICs is used as men's escape for HIV and AIDS. However, this can be argued and questioned, marrying a virgin in most cases does not guarantee one's protection for HIV. In most cases, AAIC men such as those in JMAC have polygamous

marriages, where it becomes difficult to control the whereabouts of their wives. Although they might have married them as virgins, the wives might go out to look for other men due to several reasons and infect their husbands with the disease. On the other hand men can also bring the disease since it is their culture of having multiple wives, there is a possibility that they can still have sex outside their marriages and contract the diseases and spread it to the wives. As a suggestion, the AAICs men should stop the idea of associating marrying virgins as an escape from HIV/AIDS and start going for testing and get treatment once the disease is diagnosed.

The issue of girls preserving their virginity for marriage and even sending them for virginity testing has provoked a scholarly debate. To expect them to preserve their virginity until they get married is not a sufficient enough reason. What if they get to thirty years old without getting married? This is abuse for women in AAICs considering that it is the women who are supposed to preserve their virginity even if she gets married to a polygamous man, it remains problematic. This was also argued by Oduyoye when she said:

> Where polygamy is permitted, there is unspoken assumption that the female is to be a 'monotheist' while the male acts as a 'polytheist' giving to himself the freedom to worship the bodies of several women (2006:22).

7.4.1 HIV/AIDS as punishment from God

Another observation this study found among AAIC members is that the majority of them have a negative attitude towards getting tested for HIV/AIDS. Although some acknowledged it as a reality, some still said that it is a '*chirwere chekunyika*' (worldly disease). Others viewed it as a disease that came as a result of one committing a sin, hence they see HIV/AIDS as a punishment from God. Another interesting dimension that this study found, particularly among JMAC members, was the belief that since the disease developed as a result of sin and once a person has contracted it, it cannot spread to others if it is in a polygamous marriage. However, this belief is contrary to the scientific and medical findings that have proven that the diseases can easily spread to other wives. No amount of prayer and holy water can miraculously cure the diseases and remove it from the bodies. They are given holy water and prayed for by the prophet that prevents others from contracting the diseases. This idea of strong belief in the reliance on the Holy Spirit as discussed above set the lives of many at a high risk, particularly the young girls who quit school

165

for polygamous marriages. They do not go for HIV testing; once the Holy Spirit has spoken or you are proposed for love, they just get married without going for an HIV test with their partners which is popular known in Zimbabwe as new start centre. In relation to this belief, this study suggests that AAICs should start encouraging their members to go for an HIV test before getting married just like what many people are doing in society today.

7.5 Reproductive health rights

Reproductive health rights emerged as another strong theme of the study. As I interviewed both the young women and senior members on what they use as a birth control method, most of the participants stated that the church does not allow them to use any family planning method, except *kujamba (meaning a man will withdraw his penis during ejaculation).* This was said by most of the young women interviewed. The problem with this method is that it leaves women with little or no power over their reproductive health and sexual rights. Since the power to decide on when to withdraw rests on the man, there is a possibility that, once a man feels that he now wants a child he would not withdraw. This kind of method also denies women of sexual satisfaction if it is not handled properly by the couple because the one in control (the man) may be withdrawing at the point when the woman has not yet reached an orgasm. All these setbacks with this method were highlighted by the female participants showing how issues of sexuality are in these churches and the effects they have on women, especially those who are married young. They have no power to confront such injustices due to religio-cultural ideologies of these churches.

This was also confirmed by some of the young girls interviewed for this study who stated that sometimes, it is very difficult when you get married into a polygamous marriage because in most cases, the husband is not in a position to treat women equally since they are many. So given the scenario a young woman may become psychologically traumatized. At times, the husband can keep on living with other wives leaving the girl also burning with sexual desire. In this case, the girl is sexually deprived.

Other practices such as that of denying women the right to use contraceptives which causes them to lack power over their reproductive health and sexual rights also emerged as a major theme that came out this study. The church, as discussed above, should find ways of birth control that are

166

more gender sensitive and favourable to both men and women and that allow both parties to have power when it comes to decision making regarding sex.

Although some young women said they are happy in their marriages and they have no problems with their reproductive health and sexual rights and their partners are able to take care of their needs, their facial expressions communicated a different story. Therefore, I concluded that getting married young to older men cause girls to lack control over their sexual and reproductive health rights. It becomes very difficult for them to decide when and how to have sex. All the decisions are made by men.

There were some informants, who, despite getting married young, showed that they have power over their reproductive health. These participants stated that despite the fact that the church bans the use of contraceptives, they go secretly to get the birth control without the knowledge of their husbands and the church. These women were very happy and they now feel empowered about their reproductive health rights. Furthermore, this study also found that the government is encouraging the ACCZ to inform their people to go to hospital and use contraceptives by educating church leaders. Again, the government has put measures in place to end child marriage. Education is also provided to these AAICs through the ACCZ on the benefits of sending girls to school and delaying marriage until they are ready. Although this has not been a complete success, some AAICs in this study such as BAFC and TSAC are already encouraging girls to go to school. JMAC are even sending girl children to school with some even completing 'O' level although the number attending tertiary institutions is still low. This was also evidenced by the church building a high school at its headquarters in Bocha that was named after the founder, St Noah High School. This school is for both boys and girls.

7.6 Concluding remarks

The concluding remarks take us back to Chapter One where the main question of the research was raised and the study objectives. In an endeavour to answer the main question of the research, the aims and the study objectives were discussed.

167

7.7 Revisiting the key study objective, the main question of the research and a summary of the thesis

The key study objective was to investigate whether AAICs teachings have any influence on girls' limited education. The main question of the research of this study asked: in view of education and health being a constitutional right in Zimbabwe, to what extent have the AAICs teachings influenced most of the girl child's limited education and her poor reproductive health and sexual rights in Tangwena area?

In order to answer this question and the main key objective, this study first discussed the AIC's and narrowed the discussion to AAICs covered under this study. This was done in order to establish and trace the origins of these churches, to find out what influenced their emergence and their beliefs on western formal education. It was found that before the missionary/colonial invasion, the system of education of the people of Zimbabwe was unique to them which was referred to as pre-colonial education system. When the colonialists and missionaries came to Zimbabwe, they replaced that education system with western formal education. With the emergence of this education system, the people of Zimbabwe were taught to accept western culture and denounce their African culture which was termed barbaric, heathen or backward among others.

However, the findings revealed that both the colonial education and pre-colonial and systems have implications for girl children's limited education in AAICs as these churches have some colonial and missionary background in their history which was discussed in Chapter Two of the study. The findings also revealed that the AIC's in this study sought to redress Christianity with African cultural values. When put under scrutiny by post-colonial feminists and African female theologians, they found that there are some practices in pre-colonial education that were very oppressive to the girl child related to accessing western formal education. Consequently, no one among the AAICs leaders has raised concerns related to their teachings of girl child education. However, the ACCZ started to challenge the teachings of these churches. In particular, the ACCZ has educated the AAICs about the negative implications of letting the girl child to receive limited education and its consequenses on her reproductive health and sexual and rights. They have done this by discouraging child marriages, educating church leaders concerning the benefits of educating the girl child and allowing them to access modern medicine.

It was clearly demonstrated in this study that the AAICs teachings have contributed negatively to girl's limited education. The ambiguities of girl child education found in the church teachings such as the Omniscience of the Holy Spirit and the teachings on virginity and marriage have resulted in many girls abruptly leave school and run for early marriages in Tangwena area. Although the church leaders and senior members of AAICs permit both boys and girls to go to school, their teachings were the opposite, for they only taught and prepared the girl child for marriage. These teachings has faced a lot of criticism by post-colonial feminists scholars such as Mishra (2013) and Mohanty (1991) who have advocated for the removal of patriarchal views from the church and African culture that treat women as second class citizens. They further advocate for practices that will make women feel fully human even without being dependent on a man.

After hearing from the girls themselves, some of the reasons that caused girls to abruptly leave school and rush for early marriages were not attributed to the churches' teachings. Contrary to the assumption that the girls who withdrew from school for early marriage have poor and reproductive health rights problems, not all of the girls who have had a limited education have poor reproductive health and sexual rights. Results of the research showed that some of them rear very healthy children and have never experienced any complications while giving birth, even without access to hospitals and modern medicine. Furthermore, the findings revealed that some girls have control over their reproductive health and sexual rights through the use of contraceptives, although they accessed them secretly so that their husbands and the church cannot find out. However, due to a limited education, some girls have poor sexual and reproductive health due to obeying extreme church doctrines with no access to western modern medicine.

Themes such as the power of patriarchy, omniscience of the Holy Spirit, virginity, culture, marriage and colonialism, are all related. These themes evolved around masculinity and the domination of women by men, hence playing a significant role in the suppression of the education of the girl child in AAICs and forced them to get married young. It was through doing this further analysis of the themes that this study managed to come up with some suggestions on some the theologies that can be developed in AAICs in order to reshape their understanding of girl child

education and her sexual and reproductive health rights. These suggestions are discussed below when revisiting the motivation and the research problem.

7.8 Revisiting the motivation and the study research problem

The concerns raised in the motivation for undertaking this research seem to be too complicated to be addressed in the Tangwena area where AAICs are dominant churches. Most of the members of these churches are members since birth; hence it is very difficult to convince them that some of the churches' teachings are oppressive to the girl child as they do not promote her education. The study demonstrated that there are a number of factors that caused girls to rush out for early marriage and withdrew from school in the AAICs of Tangwena area. This makes it extremely difficult to ascertain whether the girl child in AAICs will be truly liberated in terms of their churches teachings as they have indoctrinated most of the young girls in Tangwena. This case is serious issue, especially for families who are poor and see their daughters' marriages as the only option for survival. While the government has legislated against child marriages and encouraged AAICs to let the girls to stay in school longer and get married at a later age, this study has contributed to a potential solution by suggesting the revision of theologies on girl child education. The suggested theologies include those propounded by Dube (2001) of using various ways of interpreting the Bible from its contextual meaning and not to take the literal meaning of the scriptures.

Another suggested theology is that advocated by Siwila (2011) of reading the Bible with a newspaper in the other hand. This will enable the churches to realize that theology is not static it should move with the times just as culture is dynamic. By accepting this theology, the church will decrease the number of girls who withdrew form school for early marriages. The other theology suggested is for the churches to adopt what was suggested by Kanyoro (2002:17) when she said:

> The church should desist from the teachings and practices that are life denying to the girl child such as letting her to receive limited education and bring those aspects that are life giving to the girl child.

The study demonstrated that the churches' teachings believe a girl child's only destiny is to get married and depend on her husband for her survival. It only requires the commitment of the ACCZ as the main stakeholder indicated in the study to keep on educating the AAICs leaders on the benefits of educating girls. ACCZ should keep on teaching the leaders of these churches, particularly those from JMAC to desist from some of their teachings that oppress and disempower the girl child. As a matter of urgency, the churches should have a prescribed age of marriage rather than just saying whenever a girl feels like she wants to get married even if she is under age. The government should also take serious measures to discipline those who are caught marrying young girls if possible and they should receive severe punishment and be examples to others.

7.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, the study revealed that while the AAICs teachings are essential in the upbringing of the girl child, it is not enough to meet their needs and leaves them dependent on men for the rest of their lives. Therefore, if the church uses the Bible with a newspaper in the other hand when teaching girls and considers the importance of acquiring western formal education to empower them to gain authority over her reproductive health and sexual rights, the churches will automatically improve the girls' lives. Allowing the girl child to obtain a western formal education will empower them to make informed sexual choices that will safeguard their future. Western formal education could empower the girl child to be self-reliant and make informed decisions about every aspect of her life, AAICs can allow girls to have a future. It only requires social commitment of all the stakeholders indicated in the study to promote girl child education. This support will stop child marriages and allow them to speak for themselves.

REFERENCES

Ackroyed, S. & Hughes, J. (1983) *Social Research and Data Collection on Poverty and Underdevelopment in the Congo.* Open Edition Journals.

Adebis, K.S (2009) *Education of Rural Women: Catalyst to achieving vision 2020" in Kehinde, A Gender and Development: Essential Reading*. Ibadan.

Adeyemi, M.B & Adeyinka, A. A. (2002) *Some key issues in African traditional education*. McGill Journal of Education No.37 (2). pp 22-33.

Adetunji, H.A. (2001) "*Re-Orienting the African Women Today "in Akintunde, D.O. (ED) Copying with Culture.* Ibadan: Opturu Books.

Alasuutari, P. (1995) *Researching culture: qualitative methods and cultural studies*: London: Sage.

Anderson, A. (2001) *African Reformation: African initiated Christianity in 20ᵗʰ century*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Anderson, A. H. (1998) *African Initiated Church Hermeneutics in Initiating into Theology and Hermeneutics.*

Anzaldua, G. (1990) *In this 1990 Anthology of creative and theoretical pieces by self-identified women of colour.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute foundation.

Atkinson, N. (1982) *Racial Integration in Zimbabwean Schools, 1979-1980. Comparative Education,* Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 77-89.

Ba, A. H. (1981) "*The Living Tradition", in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), General History of Africa*.1: 199.

Balogun, O. A. (2008) *The Idea of an 'Educated Person' in Contemporary African Thought*. The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 2, No.3. pp. 117-128.

Barker, R.R. (1994) *Education and related concepts*. Harare: College Press Publishers.

Babbie, E & Mouton, J. (2002) *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bhebe, N. (2002) "The OTASA Oral Traditions and African Languages Project", in N. Bhebe (ed.), *Oral Tradition in Southern Africa*, Windhoek: Macmillan, pp. 3-45.

Bhebhe, N. (1979) *Christianity and Traditional religion in Western Zimbabwe1859-1923*. London: Longman.

Boaduo, N. A. P. and Gumbi, D. (2010) *Classification: Colonial Attempts to Fracture Africa's Identity and Contribution to Humanity.* The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol.3, No.9. pp. 43-49.

Bogdan, R & Taylor, SJ. (1996) *Introduction to Qualitative Methods: A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Bourdillon, M.F.C. (1993) *Where are the ancestors? : Changing culture in Zimbabwe*! Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Bourdillon, M. F .C. (1976) *The Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona, with Special Reference to their Religion*, Gweru: Mambo Press.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) *Using thematic Analysis in Psychology. Qualitative research in Psychology* p77 -101.

Bruce, P. F. (2003) 'The Mother's Cow': A Study of Old Testament References to Virginity in the Context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa". *In African Women HIV/AIDS and Faith Communities*, edited by I. Phiri, B. Haddad, and M. Madipoane, 44-70. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Bulla, F. (2015) *Origins of Johane Marange*, Available on http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/ the origins of Johane-Marange/ Retrieved June 10 2016.

Challiss, R. J. (1979), Education Planning for Zimbabwe: The Problem of unreliable Historical Perspectives. Zambezia, Vol. VII, No. ii, pp. 215-241.

Chiketo, B. (2014) Available on http://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/01/12/jojanne-marange-sects-bizarre-rituals.

Chikwature, W. (2016) *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences*. Volume 4, No. 5. ISSN. 2056-5429.

Christie, P. (1985) *The Right to Learn. Braamfontein*: Ravan Press.

Chirongoma, S. (2006) '*Women, Poverty and HIV in Zimbabwe: An exploration of inequalities in health care'. In African women religion, and health: Essays in honour of Mercy Amba Ewudziwa Oduyoye* eds. Isabel…

Chitando, E, Taringa N.T. & Mapuranga, P. (2014) *On Top of which Mountain does One Stand to Judge Religion: Debates from a Zimbabwean context. Journal for the Study of Religion*.

Chitando, E. & Mateveke, P. (2014) *Shifting Perceptions: African Initiated Church groups and Gospel Music in Zimbabwe in Multiplying in the Spirit.*

Chitando, E. (2005) "Missionary Attitudes towards African Traditional Religions and Hinduism: A Comparative Survey", in K. Koschorke and J. H. Schjorring (eds.), *African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Chitando, E. & Chirongoma, S. (2008) *Religion and Masculinities in Africa: Its Impact on HIV and Gender Based Violence.*

Cohen, L. & Manion, I. (2007) *Research Methods in Education. London. Routledge*.

Curtin, P. D. (1981), "Recent trends in African Historiography and their contribution to History in general", in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), *General History of Africa.1: Methodology and African Prehistory.* Paris and London: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, pp. 54-71.

Daneel, M.L. (1987) *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to a study of African Independent Churches:* Mambo Press.

Daneel M.L. (1971) *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches Vol.1: Background and Rice of the Major movements.* The Hague: Mouton.

Dube, M. (2000) *Post-colonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*: Chalice Press

Dube M. (2002) *Post-coloniality, Feminist Spaces and Religion*: Routledge.

Dube, M. (1998) "Reading for Decolonization (John 4:1-42)" in R.S Surgirtharajah (ed) *The Post-colonial Bible.* Sheffield Academic Press.

Dube, M. (2006) *Other ways of being a Diviner- Healer: Musa W. Dube and the African Church's Response to HIV/AIDS:* https:// [www.researchgate.net>publication](www.researchgate.net). Retrieved on July 20 2017.

Dube, M (1997) "Towards a post- colonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible" in Semeia.

Dussel, E. and Ibarra-Colado, E. (2006) *Globalization, Organization and the Ethics of Liberation. Organisation,* Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 489–508.

Fischer, J. (2013) *Feminism: Combating Colonial Rhetoric in Feminist Theory, Post-Colonial Feminism.*

Gelfand, M. (1968) *African Crucible: An ethico-religious study with special reference to the Shona-speaking people.* Cape Town, Weinberg and Johannesburg: Juta & Company, Limited

Gelfand, M. (1981) *Ukama: Reflections on Shona and Western Cultures in Zimbabwe.* Gwelo: Mambo Press.

Grosfoguel, R. (2012) *Decolonizing Western Uni-versalisms: Decolonial Pluri-versalism from Aime Cesaire to the Zapatistas. Trans modernity:* Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, Vo. 1, No. 3, pp. 88-104.

Hackett, R .1995. Women and New Religious Movements in Africa". Ursula King (ed.) *Religion and Gender.* USA: Blackwell, 257-290.

Haingura F.K. (1992) "*Traditional and Colonial Education: The Experience of the people living in the Kavango region of Namibia 1900 - 1966". M.ed Thesis*. University of Cape Town.

Hastings, A. (1971) *Types and Butterflies: African Initiated churches and European typologies.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Hayes, S. (2005) "*The African Independent Churches: Judgement through terminology*. http://www.academia.edu. Retrieved on 17 June 2018.

Huggins, G (1994) Post- colonial Feminism set Adrift on Theoretical Bliss.

Jeater, D. (2005) Imagining Africans: Scholarship, Fantasy, and Science in *Colonial Administration, 1920s Southern Rhodesia. The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

Kachere, P. (2010) *Polygamy and Academic Achievement-A Case of Johane Marange*: Progressive Academic Publishing.

Kanyoro, M. (2002) *Introducing Feminist Cultural Hermeneutics: An African Perspective*. New York: Sheffield Academic Press.

Kanyoro, M. (2001) *Engendered Communal Theology: African Women's Contribution to Theology in the twenty-first Century*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

Kanyoro, M. (2004) "Preface: 'Reading the Bible' in the Face of HIV and AIDS" in *Grant Me Justice! HIV/AIDS and Gender Readings of the Bible, edited by M. Dube and M. Kanyoro*, Viii-xiv. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Ki-Zerbo, J. (1990) *A General History of Africa*. California: James Currey.

Kwok, P. (2005) *Post-colonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*.

Kutsira, J. (2015). A *Gendered Analysis of the Healing Practices of the African Apostolic Church of Johane Marange in Glenview in Zimbabwe and their effects on women during pregnancy.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Publications.

Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Interviews. Thousand Oaks California:* Sage Publishers.

Lawal, B.O. (2005) *African Traditional Education, Nigerian Experience in Ogundo- Misin G.O and Edo V.O (Eds) African Culture and Civilization.* University of Ibadan.

Lebakeng, T. J. (2010) *Discourse on Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Sustainable Socioeconomic Development and the Challenge of the Academy in Africa.* CODESRIA Bulletin, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 24-29.

Machingura, F. (2011) *A diet of wives as the Lifestyle of the VaApostori Sects: The Polygamy Debate in the face of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe.* Africana 5, 2.

Maguranyanga, B. (2011) *Apostolic Religion, Health and Utilization of Maternal and Child Health Services in Zimbabwe:* Harare. UNICEF.

Magwa, S. and Magwa, W. (2015) *A Guide to Conducting Research*: Copyright.

Mapuranga T.P. (2013) *AICs A Gendered Space in Harare: Revisiting the Role and Place of Women; Volume 39.* Pretoria.

Marah, J. K. (2006) *The Virtues and Challenges in Traditional African Education*. The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol.1, No.4, pp. 15-24.

Mbiti, D. M. (1981) *An Introduction to Education: Its Meaning and Significance to Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mbiti, J.S. (1975) *The Understanding of God in African Theology: Contributions of John Samuel Mbiti and Mercy Amba Oduyoye:* University of Pretoria.

Mbiti, J.S. (1975) *Introduction to African Religion*. New York: Praeger.

Mbiti, J.S. (1991) *Introduction to African Religion* (World cat.org). U.S.A: Heinemann Educational Books.

Mishra, R. (2013) *Understanding Post-colonial Feminism in Relation with Post-colonial and Feminist Theories.*

M'bow, A. M. (1981) "*Preface", in J. Ki-Zerbo (ed.), General History of Africa.1: Methodology and African Prehistory. Paris and London: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Heinemann* Educational Books Ltd, pp. xvii-xxi.

Mohanty, C. (1984) "*Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" Third world Women and the Politics of Feminism*.

Mohanty, C. (1990) *On Race and Voice: Challenges for Liberal Education in the 1990's. Cultural Critique.*

Mohanty, C. (2003) *Feminism without Boarders: Decolonizing Theory, practicing solidarity: Duke University Press.*

Mohanty, C. (1991) *Third world Women and the Politics of Feminism*: Indiana University Press.

Mouton, J. (1996) *Understanding Social Research*: Van Schaik Publishers.

Mouton, J. (2001) *Research Methodology: The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University.

Mouton, J. (2002) *Social Research. Belmont CA:* Wadsworth Group.

Mukonyora, I. (2007) *Wandering a gendered wilderness: Suffering and Healing in an African Initiated Church,* Peter Lang: New York.

Moyo, A. (1988) *Church and State in Zimbabwe*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Mungazi, D. A. (1990) *Education and Government Control in Zimbabwe: A study of the Commission of enquiry1908-1974:* Tailor and Francis Ltd.

Mazrui, A. A. (1993) *Africa since 1935: Vol. VIII of UNESCO General History of Africa*: University of California Press.

Nadar, S. (2003) *Power, Ideology and Interpretation/s: Womanist and Literary Perspectives on the Book of Esther as resources for Gender Social Transformation*: University of Kwazulu Natal.

Nadar, S. (2001) *A South Indian Womanist Reading of the Character of Ruth: Society of Biblical Literature:* WCC publications.

.Narayan, D. (2006) *Moving out of Poverty Vol 1 Cross Disciplinary perspective on Mobility*: World Bank Press and Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Nour, N.M. (2006*) Health Consequences of Child Marriage in Africa. Volume 12, Number 11-November 2006-Emerging Infectious Disease journal – CDC: Birmingham and Women's Hospital*: Boston. USA.

Nour, N.M. (2009) *A Silent health and Human Rights Issue, Department of Maternal-Fetal Medicine, Birmingham and Women's Hospital, Africa Women's Health's Centre*: Harvard

Medical School. Boston. Pp.51-59.

Njoroge, N.J. and Dube, W. (2001) *Talitha Cumi! Theologies of African Women*: Cluster Publications.

Ntuli, T. G. (2018) *Ubuntombi-a Zulu Religio-Cultural Heritage and Identity: A path to Adulthood and Sex Education Practices*: University of Kwazulu Natal.

Oduyoye, A. (1995) *Daughters of Anowa: African Women and Patriarchy*. Maryknoll. New York: Orbis Books

Oduyoye, M.A. (2001) "*Keynote Address" in Akintunde, D.O. (Eds) African Culture and the quest for Women's rights.* Ibadan: Sefers.

Oduyoye, M.A. & Kanyoro, M. (2001) *Introducing African Women's Theology*. Sheffield Academic Press.

Oduyoye, M. and Kanyoro, M. (2005) *The will to Arise: Women Tradition and the Church in Africa:* Copyright.

Oduyoye, M.A. (2005) *A Letter to my Ancestors, in Otieno, M &Mc Cullum, H. (Eds) Journey of Hope: Towards a New Ecumenical Africa XV-XXII*. Geneva: World Council of Churches.

Okere, T., Njoku, C. A. and Devisch, R. (2005) *All Knowledge Is First of all Local Knowledge: An Introduction. Africa Development, Vol. XXX, No. 3*, pp. 1-19.

Oluwole, S. B. (1997) *Philosophy and Oral Tradition*. Lagos: African Research Consultancy (ARK).

Oosthuizen, G.C. (1968) *Afro- Christian Religion and Healing in Southern Africa*: Goodreads Inc.

Outlaw, L. (2003) "African 'Philosophy': Deconstructive and Reconstructive Challenges", in *P. H. Coetzee and A. P. J. Roux (eds.) The African Philosophy Reader: A Text with Readings*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press of Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd, pp. 137-159.

Patton, M.Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods, 2nd Ed*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Parker, F. (1970) "African Education in Rhodesia", in B. Rose (ed.), *Education in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Collier-Macmillan South Africa (Pty) Ltd, pp. 222-248.

P'Bitek, 0. (1970) *African Religions in Western Scholarship*. Kampala: East African Literature Bureau.

Peck, A. J. A. (1966) *Rhodesia Accuses. Salisbury*: The Three Sisters.

Phiri, I. (2001) *Challenges faced by African Women in Theological Education*: World Council of churches.

Phiri, I. A. (2003 "*Virginity Testing? African Women Seeking Resources to Combat HIV/AIDS" in Journal of Constructive Theology Vol. 9 No.1)* pages 63-78.

Phiri, I. HIV/AIDS: *An African Theological Response in Mission*: John Wiley&Sons.

Pobee, J. and Ositelu, G. (2002) *African Initiatives in Christianity: The Growth, Gifts and Diversities of Indigenous Africa Churches a Challenge to the Ecumenical Movement*. Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation.

Pobee, J. (1979) "*Towards an African Theology*". Nashville: Abingdon.

Ramose, M. B. (1998) *"Foreword", in S. Seepe (ed.), Black Perspective(s) on Tertiary Institutional Transformation.* Florida: Vivlia Publishers & the University of Venda, pp. iv-viii.

Ramose, M. B. (1999) *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*. Harare: Mond Books.

Ramose, M. B. (2004) *In search of an African philosophy of Education. SAJHE, Vol. 18*, No.3, pp. 138-160.

Rodney, W (1972) *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Ruzivo, M. (2014) *Succession Debates in Johane Marange African Apostolic Church: An Analysis of Contemporary Development in an Old Movement in Bias-Bible in African Studies Exploring Religion in Africa*. Chitando, E., Gunda, M.R., Kruger, J. (Eds).

Sachiti, R. (2013) *The Tragedy of Johane Marange's child brides*, 31/01/2011: Herald.

Sachiti, R. (2011) *The tragedy of Johanne Marange's child brides*, http://www.zimpapers.co.zw/index.php?option=comcontent&view=article&id=1509:the tragedy-of-Johanne-marange-child-brides&catid=42features&ttemid=34. Accessed online, 30 January 2018.

Shizha, E. and Abdi (2005) *Education and Development in Zimbabwe*: Sense Publishers.

Siwila, L. C. (2011) *"Problematizing a "Norm": A Religio- cultural analysis of Child Marriage in the Context of H.I.V and AIDS. Volume 17 Journal of Religion and Gender in Africa,* (Eds) Isabel Apal Phiri and Sarojini Nadar, University of Kwazulu Natal.

Siwila, L.C. (2017) *Critic of the Education Model of Mabel Shaw Girls Boarding Mission School in Zambia1915-1940 and its effect on Girl- Child Education. Vol 116*, No.1. Scriptura Journals.ac.za.

Surgirtharajah, R.S. (2002) *Post-colonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*. New York: Oxford.

Sibanda, M. (2011) *Married too soon: Child Marriage in Zimbabwe*: *The Research and Advocacy Unit*: Harare.

Strydom, H. and Reid, S. (2008) *Research at Grassroots for the Social Sciences and Human Service Proffessions:* Van Schaik Publishers.

Strydom, H. (2005) *"Information Collection: Participant Observation". In Research at Grassroots: For the Social Science and Human Service Professions 2nd ed.*, edited by A. S. de Vos et al, 278-290. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Sundkler, B. (2000) *A History of the Church in Africa*: Cambridge University Press.

Spivak, G. (1988 *Can the Subaltern Speak MacMillan Education*: Basingstoke?

Spivak, G. (1990) *The Post-colonial Critique: Interviews, Strategies and Dialogues*: Routledge.

Tafumaneyi, R. (2011) Available on www.keycorrespondents.org/2012/06/29/for-my-people-perish-says-the-lord/ the International HIV/AIDS Alliance supported by International HIV/AIDS Alliance. Copyright.

Ter Haar, G. (Eds) (1988) *Religious Education in Africa - Traditional, Islamic and Christian. Netherlands*: Bulletin of Third world Christian Literature.

UNICEF. (2012) *Apostolic Religion, HIV/AIDS Denialism, and Rights of Women and Children in Zimbabwe.* Altar Sacrifice by B. Maguranyanga, S. Laver, M. Chizororo, W. Mushayi, O.

Vansina, J. (2009) *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology. Translated from the French by H. M. Wright.* Brunswick and London: Aldine Transaction.

Vengei, E. (2014) "African Apostolic Church of Johane Marange and Gender Based Violence in Zimbabwe" in Chitando. E and Chirongoma. S (Eds) *Justice Not Silence, Churches facing sexual and Gender based Violence. Stellenbosch:* Sun Press.

WA Thiong'o, N. (1981) *Education for a National Culture*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Wiredu, K. (2004) Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time in K. Wiredu (ed.), A *Companion to African Philosophy*. Malden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, p. 1-27.

Zindi, F. (1996) *Towards the Elimination of Disparities in Educational Provision: A Look at Zimbabwe and South Africa.* Journal of Social Development in Africa, Vol.11, No. 1.

Zvobgo, C. J. M. (1976) *Shona and Ndebele responses to Christianity in Southern, Rhodesia 1897 1914.* Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. VIII, No. I.

Zvobgo, C. J. M. (1996) *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe*, 1890-1939: Michigan State University.

Zvobgo, C. J. M. (1986) *Aspects of Interaction between Christianity and African culture in colonial Zimbabwe*, 1893-1934. Zambezia, Vol. XIII, No. I.

APPRENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview guide for women who drop out and those never attended from School and end up in marriage

1. What factors contributed to your dropping out of School?

2. How do you see your current educational status today?

3. What is your Church's perception on women's education?

4. What is your perception on western formal education?

5. Are you married? If so how did you and your partner meet? How many children do you have? Who decides on the number of family in your home?

6. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of getting married young?

Women who never attended School

1. How far did you go with school and what made you not to finish School?

2. How do you feel about not going to School and why?

3. What is your Perception on western formal education?

4. Why did you get married so young? Is your husband by your choice?

5. How many children do you have? Who decided on the number of children in your home?

6. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of getting married young?

Shona Translation

1. Munoonawo sei nyaya yekuti vakadzi vadzidze kana kuti vaendewo kuchikoro kusvika pazvidzidzo zvekumusoro? Semaonero enyu zvinechibatsiro here muupenyu hwavo

tichitarisa nezvenhau dzekodzero dzavo panyaya dzeutano hwepabonde nekuberekwa kwevana muwanano?

2. Sangano renyu rinoonawo sei nhau yekukosha kedzidzo yemunhukadzi panhau yekodzero dzawo pakusarudza nyaya dzebonde uye nhau dzekuwanda kwevana vavanoda muwanano?

3. Makagumirawo papi dzidzi yenyu/chikoro? Chii chakaita kuti mutadze kupedza chikoro/ musaende kuchikoro?

4. Munonzwa sei iko zvino nepamakagumira nechikoro/ nekusaenda kuchikoro kwamakaita?

5. Chii chakaita kuti mukurumidze kuroorwa muchiri mudiki? Makasangana sei nemurume wenyu akakuroorai? Makazvitsvagira mega here?

6. Mune vana vangani? Ndiani anosarudza kuti ngatichiitei mwana mumba menyu?

7. Semafungiro enyu munofunga kuti kukurumidza kuroorwa kwakanakra chii uye kwakashatira chii?

Appendix 2: Interview guide for Senior Members of AAICs

1. How did you become a member of your church?

2. How does your church perceive Western Education?

3. What are the teachings of the church on women education?

4. What do you think influenced the church's teachings on women's education?

5. In your opinion do you think it is good for a woman to be educated just as a men?

6. As a senior member of the church how do you see your church's teaching on women education?

7. What does the church teach on marriage especially to a woman?

Shona Translation

1. Makapinda sei musangano renyu? Makazvarirwamo here kana kuti makazopindawo mega chii chakaitika?

2. Sangano renyu rinoonawo sei nhau yedzidzo yevanhukadzi uye vanewo zvavanodzidzisa here panhau yekuti madzimai aende kana kurega kudzidza?

3. Semafungiro enyu chii chakaita kana kuti chakakonzeresa kuti sangano renyu risanyanye kukoshesa dzidzo yemadzimai?

4. Mupfungwa dzenyu munofunga kuti zvakakoshawo here kuti vanhukadzi vadzidzewo sevanhurume zvikuru takanangana nenhau yekodzero dzavo panyaya yekuchengetedzwa kwehutano hwebonde nekuronga mhuri?

5. Semunhu avanenguva ari muchurch munoonawo sei dzidziso yemusangano menyu pamusoro pemunhukadzi zvikuru panhau yekodzero dzemadzimai muwanano nebonde?

6. Sangano rine here dzidziso rainopa kune wanenge waroorana? Kana iripo vanodzidzisa kuti chii zvikuru kumunhukadzi?

7. Sangano renyu rinobvumira here kuenda kuzvipatara? Kana risingabvumiri ndedzipi nzira dzinoshandiswa kubatsira madzimai akazvitakura uye pavanozvara zvese nekuchengetedzwq kwehutano hwemunhukadzi panhau dzebonde nekuronga mhuri?

Appendix 3: Interview guide for the AACCZ top leadership

1. How do you perceive the women in AAICs?

2. What is your perception on western formal education?

3. What is your teaching on women education?

4. Do you think it is good to educate women?

5. What influenced the AAICs teachings on women education?

6. How do you perceive western modern medicines in your church?

Shona translation

1. Munoona sei kodzero dzemadzimai mumasangano echipositori panhau dzehutano hwepabonde nekuronga mhuri?
2. Munoonawo sei nhau yedzidzo takanangana nenhengo dzenyu dzechipositori?
3. Munodzidzisawo chii pamusoro pedzidzo yemadzimai nehutano hwavo hwepabonde nekuronga mhuri?
4. Chii chakanakira kuti madzimai adzidzewo sevanhurume? Chii chazvakanakira?
5. Chii chakakonzera kuti machechi echipositori asakoshesa nhau yedzidz uye kuyenda kuzvipatara?
6. Munoonawo sei nhau yekurambidza nhengo dzavo kuti dzisaende kuzvipatara zvikuru takanangana nehutano hwemadzimai panhau yebonde nepawanenge wakazvitakura kussikira pakuzvara, zvese nekuronga mhuri?
7. Munofungawo here kuti munhukadzi akaenda kuchikoro zvinechekuitawo pakumupa simba pakodzero dzake panhau dzehutano hwebonde nekuronga mhuri?

Appendix 4: English Briefing and Consent Letter to the Participants

School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg,

Republic of South Africa.

Dear participant

My name is Lindah Tsara. I am currently registered for a PhD in African theology at the University of Kwazulu Natal. My contact details are: Cell. Number: +263782279812; E-mail:lindah.tsara@yahoo.com; Postal address: No. 5 Thorn park Drive Marlborough East Harare.

My thesis is titled women education and Reproductive Health Rights: A case of African Apostolic Indigenous Churches of Tangwena Area in Nyanga District, Zimbabwe. My supervisor is Dr .L.C Siwila and his contact details are: Mobile number +27794580868 and email Siwila@ukzn.ac.za. Please feel free to contact her if need arises on your side based on your participation in this study.

This study seeks to investigate the teachings of African Apostolic Indigenous Churches on women education and sexual and reproductive health rights among the members of Bonagesi Apostolic Church, Johane Marange Apostolic Church and Topia Sungano Apostolic Church of Tangwena area of Nyanga District and tracing what influenced the shaping of that theology. The choice of the research is informed by the observation that many girls are dropping out from school in AAICs and end up in marriage at a tender age.

In the light of the above I would greatly appreciate it if you afford me time to interview you or participate in a focus group discussion. I hope the information will help you make an informed decision on participating in this study. If you are willing to participate please sign the declaration below. For any further enquiries you are free to contact my supervisor whose contacts I have given above. You can also contact the University of KwaZulu-Natal ethics department if need be on the following address: P. Mohun (HSSREC Research Office), Office Tel: +27 31 260 4557; E-mail: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Having read the consent letter, if you are accepting participating in this research project please sign the declaration below.

Yours

Lindah Tsara

 DECLARATION

I (………………………………………………………..) have read the above information and hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project. I therefore agree to participate in this study.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview   YES

Audio and video-record focus group discussion   NO

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   DATE

………………………………………   ……………………………..

Appendix 5: Shona Translation of Briefing and Consent Letter to the Participants

APPENDIX 2: Tsamba Yechibvumirano

School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics

University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg,

Republic of South Africa.

Kune Mubvunzwi

Zita rangu ndinonzi Lindah Tsara. Ndirimudzidzi we PhD ku Univesity yeKwazulu Natal kuSouth Africa. Nhamba dzangu dzembozhanhare dzandinobatika ndedzinoti; +263782279812; Imeiri adhiresi yangu inoti: Lindah.tsara@yahoo.com; Adhiresi yepamba pandinogara inoti Nhamba 5 Thornpark Drive Marlborough East Harare.

Musoro wenyaya wandirikunyora nezvavo unoti Dzidzo yemadzimai nekodzero dzavo panhau yebonde nekuchengetedzwa kwehutano hwemunhukadzi pavanenge vakazvitakura kusvika pakuzvara ndakanangana nedzidziso yesvondo dzechipositori pamusoro pedzidzo yemunhukadzi dzirimuno maTangwena dzinosanganisira Bonagesi, Topia Sungano neJohani Marange. Mudzidzisi wangu arikundibatsira muzvidzidzo izvi anonzi Lilian Siwila, nhamba dzake dzembozha nhare dzinoti; +27794580868; imeiri yake inoti siwila@ukzn.ac.za. Sunungukai kumubata kana paine zvimwe zvamunoda kuziva pamusoro pekushanda kwatichaita tose panhaurirano iyi.

Chidzidzo ichi chirikuda kutsvakurudza kuti machechi ese echipositori ari maTangwena anodzidzisa kuti chii nenhau yedzidzo/kuenda kuchikoro kwemunhukadzi nekodzero dzake panhau yebonde uye nepaanenge akazvitakura kusvika pakuzvara. Ndinodawo kuziva kuti chii chakaita kuti machechi aya awe nedzidziso yavo yakadaro kunhau yedzidzo yemunhukadzi uye nhau yekodzero dzake pabonde, nepakuzvitakura kusvika pakuzvarwa. Apa ndinoda

kunyanyoziva kuti chechi ine chekuita here pakusawana dzidzo yakakwana kwemunhukadzi kana kuti chechi hainawo chekuita nazvo. Kana isina chii chinokonzera kuti vanhukadzi vagumise zvidzidzo panzira maTangwena muno woroorwa vari vana vadik?

Musoro wenyaya yangu ndakautsvaga mushure mekuona kuti vanasikana vazhinji varikugumisira zvidzidzo panzira vachienda kunoroorwa vari vadiki vasati vanyatsosvika pazera chairo rinotarisirwa kuti vave vanamai.

Nekuda kwetsananguro yandapa pamusoro apo ndingafara chose mukandipawo nguva yenyu yekukurukura nemi uye pandichazodawo kutaura nemi muri chikwata. Ndinovimba netsananguro yandapa muchakwanisa kukurukurirana nenimakasununguka. Kana mandibvumidzawo kukurukurirana nemi ndinyorereiwo siginicha yenyu nezita renyu pazasi apo. Kana pane zvimwe zvamunoda kuziva pamusoro pangu makasununguka kutaura nemudzidzisi wangu wandakupai nhamba dzake pamusoro apo, kana kubatazve

weUniversity yeKwazulu Natal wekubato rinoita zveongororo yekodzero dzevabvunzwi. Munokwanisa kuvabata panhamba dzinoti +27312604557; imeiri yavo inoti: mohunp@ukzn.ac.za.

Mushure mekuverenga tsamba iyi mandibvumidzawo kutaurirana nemi, ndiisireiwo siginicha yenyu patsamba inotevera inoratidza kuti murikubvumirana neni.

(Ini…………………………….) ndawerenga zviripamusoro ndikabvumirana nazvo zvese nezvirikubvunzwa pamusoro wenyaya wakasarudzwa uyu. Ndinobvuma kubatirana netsvakurudzo iyi.

Ndazvinzwisisa kuti ndinobvumirwa kurega hurukuro pandodira.

Ndirikubvuma kurekodhwa	Ehe
Kurekodhwazve munhaurirano nevamwe	Ehe
Siginicha yemubvunzwi	Zuva

…………………………   ……………..

Appendix 6: ACCZ letter granting permission to study AAICs of Tangwena Area

APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAN COUNCIL of Zimbabwe

Mash central office
No1 ve ley graders
Robert Mugabe Street
Bindura,Zimbabwe

All correspondences to be addressed to the Chief Registrar

cell +263775731147
+263774083412
+263772762831

ACCZ. MASH CENTRAL
COORDINATOR/REGISTRAR
DATE 21/04/2017
SIGN

19 April 2017

Linda Tsara
House No 9229
Budiriro
Harare

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN NYANGA DISTRICT ON AFRICAN APOSTOLIC CHURCHES OF TANGWENA AREA ,TOPIA SUNGANO,JOHANE MARANGE AND BOANERGESI: NYANGAA DISTRICT, MANICALAND PROVINCE.

Reference is hereby made to the Secretary for Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe on the 19th of April 2017 granting you permission to carry out a research titled:
    "INVESTGATING THE THEOLOGIES OF AFRICAN INDIGENOUS APOSTOLIC CHURCHES ON GIRL CHILD EDUCATION
                    AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS"
Permission is hereby granted. However you are required to liaise with the ACCZ Provincial co-ordinate Manicaland Province who is responsible for the churches which you want to involve in your research. You should ensure that your research work does not disrupt the normal operations of the church. You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the secretary for Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe by
.... 15th .... of .... December 2018

N.Muringai
Secretary (Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe)

Rev S Chimhanda
Provincial Co-ordinate for Mash-Central.

SIGN
DATE
COORDINATOR/REGISTRAR
ACCZ. MASH CENTRAL

Appendix 7: Ethical Clearance Letter from the University of Kwazulu Natal

UNIVERSITY OF ™
KWAZULU-NATAL

INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

23 January 2018

Mrs Lindah Tsara (216062204)
School of Religion, Philosophy & Classics
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mrs Tsara,

Protocol reference number : HSS/1841/017D
Project title: Girl child education and Reproductive Health Rights : A case of African Apostolic Indigenous Churches of Tangwena area in Nyanga, Zimbabwe

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol
With regards to your response received on 30 November 2017 and 14 January 2018 to our letter of 02 November 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Dr Lilian C Siwila
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Denis
cc School Administrator: Mr Alleyne Coleman