GENDER OPPRESSION AND PENTECOSTAL CHRISTIAN RELIGION: AN EXPLORATION OF THE POSITION OF AFRICAN MIGRANT MARRIED WOMEN IN DURBAN

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DECLARATION

I, Ajimakin Ifedayo Adesola, hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work and has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university. All references, citation used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God, the giver of knowledge and unexplainable grace. Also, to my most loving parents, Engr and Mrs FGN Ajimakin, for your love, kindness, and support. Thank you for providing me with financial and moral support I needed to complete this project. May the good lord reward your good deeds. I love you both.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIC   Africa Instituted Churches

SAHO   South Africa History Online

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ABSTRACT

Discourses about oppression against women are linked to different factors. Against this background, this study explored the nexus between gender, religion, migration, and patriarchy in a context of black migrant women living in Durban, South Africa. Accordingly, this study argues that Pentecostal hermeneutics is an incubator for subtle oppression against married women. Although the church has been presented as a place for liberation, it is still a place where patriarchal values thrive. The study also explored the gender ideologies associated with migration, as the women found themselves in a new gender regime as it differs from their previous gendered lives; as such they were faced with gender-specific problems and gender roles that challenged their quality of life and self-identity. It became more complicated as these women's experience of gender oppression in their marriage affects their self-esteem and they continue to contend with these gender challenges, and they respond differently as well, either to adapt or to resist patriarchal values.

To this end, the study adopted a qualitative research methodology to explore the lived experiences of black migrant women on gender oppression through the lens of Pentecostal Christian religion. It presents the key narrative of these women's experience of oppression to gain an insight into the role of Pentecostal churches in the establishment of women's identity. Drawing from the arguments of selected socio-religion scholars, this study advances the argument that African women across traditional African cultures and history adopt various strategies and ideas for circumventing and negotiating patriarchal structures and thus gain a position of significance within familial and intimate terrains. In this research, the theoretical arguments of social constructionism, gendered geographies of power and Nego-feminism were deployed to examine the nature of gender oppression in transnational spaces and how they negotiate their space for shared autonomy in marriage.

This study discovered that too little attention has been paid to the role of Pentecostal Christian religious teachings and the interpretation of the Bible in shaping power relations, oppression, and its corresponding effect on women's identity within marriages. Further findings are that negotiation, compromise, food and sexual activities are strategies adopted by these women to influence the power dynamics of their households.

Contents

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CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1   INTRODUCTION

The study investigates the gendered lives of African migrant women in Durban, in the context of their Pentecostal adherence. Gender in scholarly works has consistently focused on patriarchal gender inequalities that subordinate women to men (Burman & Chantler, 2005; Ojong & Muthuki, 2010, Kumah, 2021). These scholars address the injustices of patriarchy and gender inequality across society. Patriarchy is an ideology that legally, politically, culturally, religiously, and economically enforces male dominance and power (Rakoczy, 2004; Kumah, 2021). In approaching this study, it was discovered that little attention has been paid in the literature to the role of Pentecostal Christian religious teachings and its specific interpretation of biblical exegesis in shaping power relations, gender oppression, and their effects on women's identity, specifically in relation to migrant women.

South Africa has attracted a large number of migrants since its post-apartheid era in 1994, a country where majority of its migrants were largely male workers from a limited range of countries now encompasses men and women migrants from other regions of Africa (Ojong, 2002). South Africa has been considered a wealthy nation and there has been an increase in the number of migrants coming into South Africa from other African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Zimbabwe (Castles & Miller, 2003). Scholars have argued that the dramatic increase in the cross-border migration from other African countries into South Africa since the end of apartheid and this increased number of migrants has resulted in the qualitative and quantitative change in the composition of migrants and immigrant activity in South Africa, these changes have been on the rise because viewed south Africa as an 'Eldorado' (a wealthy city or country) (McDonald 2002). People have migrated into South Africa for reasons that include escaping war in their home country, bad economic situations in the home country, unemployment, business, studies and the need to live in a democratic society (Maharaj & Moodley, 2002). As a result of the large influx of migrants coming into the country, there are now increased numbers of African migrants living in various parts of South Africa.

African academics and researchers have critiqued the injustice of patriarchy in various forms through books, articles and literature such as poetry, novels, and autobiographies. Many

feminist scholars who research in this area of gender inequalities have been affected by patriarchy, but their interpretations, lived experiences, performance of gendered roles and how they have resisted patriarchy are often muted in research (Nkealah, 2011; Anderson, 2018). They often raise suggestions and recommendations on methods to address and reduce patriarchy in the public (social) and private domain, in efforts towards achieving a more balanced society that is socially relevant to women.

Specifically, gender studies on marriage reveal differences according to the context of communities; the marriage status of one black woman may differ from that of another black woman (Nkealah, 2011). In this study, the aim is to explore and explain how migrant women in heterosexual relationships experience gender oppression and perhaps, how they build resistance to male hegemony in their marriages.

Gender, Christianity, and migration studies have been researched by numerous studies in diverse directions, however, there appears to be dearth of research regarding the intersections of gender, Christianity, and migration. More research needs to be carried out in the interconnected areas of immigrant relationships, religion, and transnationalism (Hingston, 2014), especially within the African continent. This study argues that gender cannot be separated from migration, as migration in itself is often intended by women to be a liberating process from whatever subjugation women face in their home country. Besides, there are gender relations arising from Pentecostal teachings and interpretation that require negotiation. Additionally, gender in the context of Pentecostalism evidently is a site for challenges in which migrants' gender identities are constantly challenged, negotiated, and reinforced. The study thus examines the challenges these women encounter in their new gender regime and their responses to it.

Migration is a transnational process that involves multiple moves and planning, in which migrants establish social fields that cuts across geographical, cultural, and political borders (Sharpe, 2001). Basch, Glick-schiller and Szanton (1994) describe transnationalism as the process in which migrants progress and maintain relationships that links their host country and land of settlement together. This study contributes to discursive literature and knowledge about gender relations, Pentecostal Christian religion, migration, women's identity, and power dynamics in marriage.

1.2   BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This background will discuss the genesis of oppression as it applies to the aim of this study, specifically, within the African context. In seeking to understand both the ideology of gender oppression and the experience of women in Christendom and marriage more broadly, it is imperative to first discuss the root cause of this oppression which has been argued to have stemmed from the biblical categorisation of women as weaker vessels (Ani, 2011, Breke, 2016).

The teachings of the church leaders and their perception of women have over long periods of time impaired the chances of Christian women gaining total freedom from oppression. Wood (2017) and Sawyer (1996) explain the views of the church fathers, such as the Latin church fathers and Greek church fathers, which were built not only upon their understanding but also on Scriptures, especially on the writings of Apostle Paul. Paul's epistles were applied in defining the position of women in the family as well as in the church. Scriptures of 1 Corinthians 14:34–35 were often cited and used as a justification for gender inequality.

Church leaders based their views of women on texts such as Genesis 1:27, Genesis 2:20–23 and Genesis 3:1–24 in the Old Testament. In the New Testament, texts that support gender inequality include 1 Timothy 2:8–15 1 Corinthians 11:7–9, 1 Corinthians 14:33–35 and Ephesians 5:22–23. Lerner (1993) points out that these texts are constantly interpreted in different ways to further drive home patriarchal values. Kgatle (2019) and Lerner (1993) state that the church leaders have continued to identify today's women with Eve, leading to an argument, according to these church leaders, that women are responsible for sin as the root of all evil. This became the beginning of women's subordination.

Firstly, women are viewed as the second sex (created from Adam's rib), which indicates a sexual hierarchy that has become applied in Christianity (Davies & Thate, 2017, Clark, 1994). Secondly, women (Eve) are blamed for introducing sin into the world. Passages such as 2 Corinthians 11:3 and 1 Timothy 2:14 became the argument for the subordination of women and their inferior status within the church and the society at large (David & Thate, 2017; Sawyer, 1996). Clark (1994) asserts that the fusion of all women with Eve came with apostolic sanction, and Eve become the justification for the limiting of women's activities and authority and to generally justify women's submission to men. The church still upholds this stereotypical belief which positions women in a regulated and subordinate status to men in the church.

Recent studies (Kalu, 2008; Masenya, 2009; Gabaitse, 2015) indicate that, while the Pentecostal movement in Africa is potentially a liberating space, in reality at best ambivalent attitudes towards women still exist. The Pentecostal church remains a space that subjugates women "even as it offers them a unique permission to speak" (Gabaitse 2015:p.3). For a long time, scholars of Pentecostalism focused on the emancipatory role of the Holy Spirit, focusing on the fact that Pentecostal women can preach and teach under the infilling of the Holy Spirit. However, little attention is paid to the oppressive practices justified by Biblical interpretations or to the Pentecostal's patriarchal tendencies in general that support and uphold male power. Gabaitse (2015) claimed that it is evident that women and men do not occupy the same status in African Instituted Churches (AICs), and Pentecostal churches remain patriarchal and resistant to gender transformation as well. Zondi (2007) argues that there have been cases where some privately-owned Pentecostal churches do not allow women to step on the altar or in the tabernacle, as they are reported to carry demonic spirits that desecrate the altar of God.

Most African practices are gendered and oppressive when a woman is involved (Rudwick & Shange, 2006). If we wish to explore the experiences of women on their understanding of oppression and power relations in their marriage, within a Pentecostalist context, the institution of marriage must be discussed. According to Carlson and Sperry (1991) and Christerson and Richard (2017), the institution of marriage is evolving and in recent years the narratives of married women have shifted. There are observable changes in marriage on the issue of gender-equal rights amongst black women. Shope (2006) explains that, in the traditional marriage structure, the husband is the breadwinner and the wife the caregiver as such a woman is expected to be submissive and dependent on her husband. However, in modern times, women have been seen increasingly as being independent, which has diluted the traditional role of husbands' expectations as providers and women as caregivers (Adepoju, 2006). Migrating into a new country exposes these women to new challenges, while going through the process of acculturation in various degrees and forms (Pessar & Mahler, 2001), as they try to adapt into their new society and their cultures. Despite this opportunity, women still find themselves in marital relationships where cultural expectations of gender oppression still dominate (Naidoo & Jano, 2002). While migrating into a new country, people experience other cultures, gender ideologies and practical change as they begin to cooperate and or struggle with the structures of their host country. People who have migrated have not only struggled to adapt to the social structure of their new society but also had to adapt and grapple with the gender issues in many areas such as household, new religious sentiments, social life,

and employment. However, as a result of differences in nationality, ethnicity, cultural background and social construction of gender, lived experiences are certainly dissimilar across different groups of migrants and these experiences needs to be documented.

1.3   STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The understanding and practice of gender oppression in Christian marriage are similar to married couples of different religions. When we deal with the issue of oppression in marriage, we should note that, traditionally, the Pentecostal hermeneutics is deeply rooted in headship, as enshrined in the gospel of Ephesians 5:22-31, *"wives be subject to your own husbands as to the lord, for the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, himself the saviour of the body. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands. Husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her. 28- Even so husbands should love their wives as their own bodies, he who loves his own wife loves himself'"*. The traditional and religious view of this scripture aligns with African cultural views on power relations in marriage. African Christians have been influenced by both religious, cultural, and customary views in their marriage (Masiri, 2016). This study focuses on understanding gender oppression through submission in marriage, as a clear narrative of patriarchy and infringement of women's rights and power relations within the institution of marriage.

Debates on the issue of submission are centred on passages of Colossians 3:18-19 *"Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is right and fitting and your proper duty in the Lord. Husbands, love your wives and do not be harsh, bitter or resentful towards them"* and Ephesians 5:21-31 (presented above), which provide a biblical model of Christian marriage. The fact that Christians use the Bible, which originated from a dominant patriarchal system, has ensured that women continue to remain subservient in the society. This patriarchal ideology has influenced the perception of gender roles within the society (Mwaura, 2013). Patriarchy within the African society has treated women as inferior, which further perpetuates the oppression of women within the society (Ojong, 2013).

One of the obvious examples of male domination in African Christian marriage is the discourse that undermines women's rights, which is often in the legitimation of violence against women, as supported by clergies (the spiritual heads) who are aligned with Christian fundamentalist ideas (Horn, 2013). The discourse of men being appointed as the head of the family is used as a concept by clergies to justify rape and domestic violence on their wives. In

exploring the experiences of married women, in a study that examined frontline feminism among Black married Ugandans, Horn (2013:p.14) reports the plea of a certain married woman named Dlamini who expressed that:

> *One of the things our religion teaches is that once you are married, you are automatically consenting to sex and you do not have a reason to say NO, whatever the situation may be. Our pastor excuses it by preaching that, 'if your husband is abusive, it means you have not prayed enough…you have to pray and fast in honesty and faithfulness then the Lord will answer you."*

This is one of the narratives presented by a married Christian woman, the idea of domestication that frames the power relations and gender roles relating to women is to generally remain subservient and be a well-defined homemaker and mother. African Christians have adopted the ideology of biblical patriarchy and they seem comfortable with it and address it as "the way God wants things to be" (Mwaura 2013:p.412; Masiri 2016:p.2). As a result, male domination is accepted as a biblical norm, which has transcended into the everyday subjugation of women. An explanation by Olusola (2012) express that the passage of Ephesians 5:22 is often interpreted to suit patriarchy, especially in Pentecostal churches. This interpretation is done in a way that constantly reminds the wives of their vow of submission/subjection to their husbands.

Kambarami (2006:p.4) argues that the Pentecostal hermeneutics of the scriptures only reinforce existing cultural norms, which gives room for the further oppression of women. An African scholar presents the view that the problem of power relations in gender arises from the relegation of issues of power that puts women at the margins of the society (Ojong 2013). In her analysis, Ojong (2013) argues that the starting point of unravelling gender imbalance should be understanding and exploring the experiences of women in society. She asserts that the acceptance of male-dominant ideologies and the one-sided interpretation of the Bible is the reason for the continued subjugation of women, which keeps them at the margins of humanity and society.

Thus, this study identified the research gap. Several studies have examined and explored the role of Christianity on gender and marriage, the role of Bible and church leaders in domestic violence. However, there is a dearth of studies that fully explore the understanding of married Christian women and their experiences on gender oppression in their marriage. Thus, this study will explore the position of migrated African married Christian women on gender

oppression in marriage and on their gender performance, in a context of migration. As suggested by Ojong (2013), the beginning to the solution of patriarchy in marriage is to understand the experiences of women. Particularly, she claims, the dimensions in the battle over women's right and gender roles remain unattended. In addition, this study identifies the research gap that arises, given the little attention paid to the conceptual dimensions of Christian women's rights and identity.

1.4   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

African women have been subjected to oppression in various ways. This study aims to develop an in-depth understanding that describes the position of migrant African Christian women and their experiences of gender oppression in marriage. Specifically, the study has the following research questions:

1. What are the key narratives of the experiences of migrated black African women in Durban on the issue of gender oppression in marriage?
2. What role has the church played in defining the identity of Black African women?
3. What is the role of patriarchy in the interpretation of biblical text (Ephesians 5:22) and how does it apply to black African marriages? Is there any relevance of patriarchy in the interpretation of the biblical text and how does it apply to black African marriages?
4. What are the values that influence African Christian marriage with regards to power relations?

1.5   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The following objectives were formulated for this study

1. To investigate migrated black African women's experience of gender oppression in Christian marriage.
2. To examine the role of the Pentecostal church in the establishment of black women's identity.
3. To explore the role of patriarchy in interpreting the biblical text (Ephesians 5:22) and how it applies to black African marriage.
4. To explore the values that influence African Christian marriages with regards to power relations.

1.6   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study examines three major dimensions: the gendered lives of African migrant women, Pentecostalism and marriage. It explores closely their transnational lives, their integration, the subjugation they have experienced in their home country and the continuously gendered lives

they live in their host country. This study chose the Pentecostal Christian religion due to its belief that Pentecostalism is a movement that includes many churches, it is a movement of renewal of hope and research proves that they are growing strongly in renewing the ideologies of Christianity (Reiss, 2000).

The study sheds light on how Pentecostalism influences the subjugation of African women and how these women redefine, reinforce and renegotiate their space in Durban, in South Africa, which they have considered to be a more liberating democratic nation. The study explores how patriarchy is refashioned and how these women experience it in their immigrant situations. Therefore, this study adds to the body of knowledge on the gendered lives of African migrant women within Africa, as well as the gendered lives they live as influenced by biblical exegesis and Pentecostalism. It is also significant in that it adds to the knowledge of patriarchal and marital values that cut across diverse African cultures.

The study sheds light on Pentecostalism, gender oppression and migrants from across different nationalities in Africa, in contrast to most migrancy studies focus on a particular nation or focus on Africans living in Europe or the western countries (Isike & Isike, 2012, Adeagbo, 2013, Hingston, 2014). As such, this study is significant as it provides knowledge on the diasporic nature of intermigration within Africa, thereby contributing to the knowledge of gender oppression, migration, and Pentecostalism. This study differs from the ones indicated above as it encompasses major dimensions of significant issues that impact the lives of Africans, through exploring religion, patriarchy, marital cultures, and migration. which I argue to be an integral part of African lives.

Additionally, one major significance of this study is that it adds to the body of knowledge on the interface between gender oppression, Pentecostalism, marital values and migration within South Africa Hence, this study is significant in closing some of the research gap on African migration and gender oppression.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

This study is structured by the following chapters:

1.7.1 Chapter Two: Literature review

A literature review is a way of explaining and exploring research topics that have been conducted and published. As the second chapter of this research, it serves as a presentation of the current state of knowledge on a topic, which is designed to highlight past research

findings and to pave the way for a specific study. This study's literature review chapter encompasses the review of available literature on gender oppression, culture and values that guide traditional African marriage and the Pentecostal hermeneutics that influences gender oppression. Specifically, it explores the power dynamics and relationships in marriage and how women have developed and are currently building resistance to patriarchy.

1.7.2 Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

A theoretical framework aims to stimulate research and give overall meaning and reasons for the research findings to be meaningful and acceptable (White, 2011). This study engages the use of social construction theory and Nego-feminism theory to conceptualize and understand the lived experience and narratives of migrant black Christian women on gender oppression and the Pentecostal Christian religion. The third chapter begins with the introduction and overview of the social construction theory and transits into Nego-feminism. The chapter further details the way these theories are applied as the theoretical framework for the study. It equally discusses the critiques of the theories as well as the integration of the theories as they apply to the research topic.

1.7.3 Chapter Four: Research methodology

An inductive qualitative research methodology was utilised that employed the data collection method of focus group discussions, as outlined in this chapter. This chapter discusses the phenomenological research design that was employed in this study, the chapter further reports the qualitative research methods and thematic data analysis. It also addresses the ethical issues.

1.7.4 Chapter Five: Realities of women and their experiences of oppression in marriage

Research findings are discussed thematically (set out under the headings of the themes) in line with the study's methodological approach, theoretical framework, and research questions. Where appropriate, illustrations are employed to present findings. This chapter presents the integration of research findings of the first research question, presented in two major themes and sub-themes that are fully addressed in the chapter. The chapter also analyses findings according to the literature and the theoretical framework underpinned by the study.

1.7.5 Chapter Six: The church, women's identity, and patriarchy

This chapter discusses the findings of the second and third research question. The chapter presents four major themes and other sub-themes that emerged from data analysis. It focuses

on the church and the gendered lives of women and sets out the discussion of self-identity among migrant women. It also discusses the theme of submission and self-esteem and how this is affected by biblical exegesis. Similarly, the chapter discusses the findings on the relevance of patriarchy in biblical interpretation and how this affects migrant women.

1.7.6   Chapter Seven: Gender and power dynamics in the household

This chapter discusses the findings of research question four. It also presents four major themes and other sub-themes as generated from the data gathered. It discusses extensively the relationship between gender relations and power dynamics in migrant women household. The chapter also analyses the role of negotiation, and the values and strategies employed by African women to maintain power dynamics in their household.

1.7.7   Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This chapter reviews the findings in themes, summarize salient points and discuss inferences reached considering the research findings. It further draws from the literature review (Chapter Two) and theoretical framework in outlining the experiences of black migrant women on gender oppression through Pentecostal Christian religion. This chapter also concludes the study by presenting a summary of the overall research, stating the limitations of the research and providing recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Kaniki (2006) argues that, in academic writing, a literature review is imperative as it situates the research project into context by showing how it fits into a particular field and this involves the identification and analysis of information resources and the literature relating to one's research project. The literature review process includes identifying relevant sources, assessing these sources and construction of these ideas and how these integrate with one's research project (Kaniki, 2016).

The literature review of this study draws on previous relevant studies that lead to a better understanding of the research topic. Therefore, the literature review contains pertinent literature on the research topic. The literature from the study has been drawn from journals, books, published and unpublished thesis/dissertation and electronic materials. To enable a focused reading, the literature review of this study has been structured and thematically presented. The literature review of this study is informed by the research objective, and it is presented in different sections.

According to Whitehead (2002) and Kgatle (2019), one cannot embark on studies about women's oppression in society without taking into consideration that relationships between men and women have never been equal. For many years, the physical difference between men and women has been used as the basis for gender inequalities that tend to favour men over women (Hosseini-Nezhad, Safdar & Luu 2022). However, there has been an emphasis on liberating women from domination (Enaifoghe, 2018a, Enaifoghe, 2019). One such effort is that of Racheal Mayanja of the United Nations, whose idea was to create a convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). This organization has been successful since 1995. Most of such liberating campaigns both at the international and national levels have included many African countries.

Increasingly, African women have made significant strides through diverse avenues in building resistance against domination or any acts that they perceive to be domination. One such avenue is the increased involvement of African women in the political and religious arena, thus taking a major step by promoting gender parity in top decision-making positions (Mmolotsane, 2018; Enaifoghe, 2018a). On the other hand, men strive to continue maintaining their dominant status quo.

Considering the power struggles going on, the literature review section is organised in themes and sub-themes for a logical and structured presentation. Based on a search of the literature, key themes are explained and linked directly to the research objectives of this study. The sections in this chapter draw on literature that discusses the conceptualization of gender, evolution of patriarchy in Africa, gender oppression and power relation in African marriages, and biblical patriarchy in Pentecostalism and African culture. The precariousness and vulnerabilities of women in marriages as well as discourses surrounding migrated women in South Africa who are in heterosexual relationships are further discussed in this chapter.

2.2 CONCEPTUALIZING GENDER AND GENDER OPPRESSION: GENDER AS A SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Gender is construed as a socio-cultural value that distinguishes a man and woman; it is a way society adopts in separating the social roles of man and woman (Oakley, 1995). According to Newman (2002), gender is a social stratification where sex is biological, and gender is implicated in the interpretation of the sexual orientation of an individual (Enaifoghe, 2019). Gender is a social construction that does not only encompass an individual but embeds them in the social contexts and values of their society (Arthur, 2017, Merkle, Reinold & Siegel, 2018). Reid and Whitehead (1992) define gender as a cognitive ability of an individual to construct a sense of self, and a sense of identity through daily interactions and community building with other members of his society. These gender constructs developed are maintained through daily interactions; this varies according to culture and history. Arthur (2019) and Thompson (1993) state that gender is embedded in the ideologies, beliefs, stratification, and hierarchy of an individual's culture. There are claims that gender is beyond biological sex; thus Thapa (2013) claims that the gender identities of men and women are psychologically and socially determined.

In contemporary social science discourse, gender scholars have developed a conceptual framework that describes gender as a social structure (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Bem, 1993; Udry, 2000; Risman, 2009; Hosseini-Nezhad, Safdar & Luu, 2022). The social framework of gender produced four distinct theoretical traditions that explain gender. The first is the focus of gender on the individual difference of sexual orientation, whether biological or socially (Udry, 2000). The second is the deceptive distinctions that emerged as a reaction to the first, this focuses on how the social structure (as opposed to sexual orientation biologically) has fostered people to create gendered behaviour. The third theoretical tradition of gender argues

that social interactions and accountability to other expectations with the focus of "doing gender" create an atmosphere for inequality (West and Zimmerman, 1987:p.127).

The fourth tradition of gender explains that gender structure is a complex discussion, gender identities are constructed along individualistic and culturalist dimensions which are bound to vary from time to time. Mofokeng and Kgatle (2019) and Risman (2009) claim that, in any society, gender structure is fleeting due to the nature of individuality, which is influenced by race, culture, social class, and ethnicity. Discussing gender as an institution that embeds all social process, social organization and individual life, Lorber (2008) argues that gender difference is a primary means that justifies sexual stratification and the endemic nature of gender makes it obscure reality; as Lorber (2008:p.532) claims, until "we see the difference, we cannot justify inequality". She further expresses that the continuous purpose of gender as a modern social institution is to create women as a group that is subordinate to men.

There is therefore much cross-cultural, literary, and scientific evidence to show that gender is socially constructed and universally used to justify social stratification. Similarly, Risman (2009) claims that the assumption of gender difference within society is the foundation of gender inequality. A structural perspective of gender as a social structure is established in the structuration theory articulated by Giddens (1984), which explains gender as highly embedded within the society; the analysis of gender is a recursive relationship between social structures and individuals. This explains that social structures shape an individual, while simultaneously an individual shapes the social structure (Mmolotsane, 2018). Giddens (1984) further explores the transformative power of human actions; structural theory explains the connectivity of reflex and actions that translates into human lives. Social structures not only act on people; people act on social structures. Kobo (2018), adds that social structures are not mysteriously created but enforced by human actions. Therefore, humans must be concerned about their actions that construe the social structures that the society lives with.

2.2.1 *Empirical reflection on the conceptualization of gender across African culture*

This section seeks to discuss gender as a structure across diverse African cultures and experiences of women through the lens of feminism. The focus here is on some of the theoretical positions in African gender discussion, with emphasis on the need to understand that there are many cultures, multiple and complex identities that needs to be studied and understood across Africa. Thus, there is a need to understand the diasporic nature of Africa,

and its implications for the growing focus on representation, identities, subjectivities, security, sexualities as well as linguistic diversities.

Sociology scholars have argued that there are challenges faced by Africans in constructing gender, which is influenced by the variance in cultures, language, and ethnic diversity (Mang, 2014). Therefore, McDowell (1993) and Oyewumi (1997) argue that, to understand the dynamics and the fluid nature of gender, it must be understood from the perspective of a woman. In contemporary African gender studies and culture, Osirim, Beoku-Betts and Ampofo (2008) claim that there are rapid changes in the issues of differences, power, knowledge production, representation and presentation of women identities, which were previously homogenized. Collins (2002) claims that in gender studies, understanding and theorizing women's experiences from multiple angles will generate new questions that will broaden and unravel the complicating analysis of political, cultural, social, and economic challenges faced in Africa.

The traditional gender role expects that women are supposed to be operating within the private, domestic sector of the family, while the man is encouraged to take the role in the public sector of politics and world economics; such interpretations of gendered roles have been accepted as natural and normal (Kyei, Rafal & Setrana, 2021). African patriarchy has led to a continuous vicious cycle of customary mistakes that will continue to threaten the lives of women and society will continue to regard them as second-class citizens (Oyewumi, 2002). The position of this cultural absurdity continues because "Africa has not deemed it necessary to protect its women. Across Africa, generation after generation, the same mistakes are made because we prefer to plaster over these atrocities or justify them with our traditional beliefs" (Shonayin, 2012:p.98).

Johnson (2006) explains the imbalance of power between men and women in society as categorized as gender inequality. This inequality reflects in the fact that women have less political power than men, less economic say within the community, and women have also been subjected to gender-based violence within and outside their homes (Kyei & Rafal, 2019). Women who are inactive paid labour are also expected to be productive at home. Kyei and Rafal (2016) report that, within religion and culture across different African societies, gender inequality is very evident in the fact that men overly dominate the highest level of hierarchy in these sectors. The fact that this problem is considered as an acceptable norm that posits the

limitation of human potential in both males and females, which has encouraged the fundamental inequality in society.

To understand the themes of gender in the African context, Osirim *et al.* (2008) point out that African gender scholars articulate concerns over culture and identity that differ from those of western global north scholars, they further express that in determining the struggles of gender issues as Africans. Kapinde and Eleanor (2021) note that Pan-Africanists reject the notion that stemmed from colonialism that African women are viewed as commodities and objectification of women. Njambi and O'Brien (2005) claim that the difference between the experiences of Africans and westerners has fostered tensions between the two groups, fuelled by the indignation over the marginalization of African gender scholars in the dissemination of feminist knowledge production. Therefore, the experiences of westerners cannot be taken into consideration when discussing the issue of Africa.

Arguments on gender within the African system assert that Africans cannot tell one and the same story of their experiences; the construct of gender is construed according to individuals, but largely influenced by the society they live in. Osirim *et al.* (2008) claim that there are issues of concerns across African gender ideologies, evident in the region of southern Africa where there are explorations and theories on sexualities, particularly homosexuality, that provide anthologies for same-sex encounters that testify to a wide range of sexual relations. Within the West and East Africa region, the reflections of gender are different; the economy and political reforms focus on getting the women in such region strong (Pereira, 2003) while in North Africa, gender relations are largely based on issues of religion and culture.

Charrad (2001) claims that one of the major contributors to be considered is the relationship between Islam and women's rights which has shaped a patriarchal community with its gender policy. In addition, Osirim*, et al.* (2008) add that African constructs of gender cannot be gathered as one; a transient society that cuts across different regions has various construed gender ideologies. However, Steady (2006) opines that efforts to promote gender equality under the agreement of African development programs have been criticized for failing to identify and implement specific gender policies.

2.2.2   *Contextualizing patriarchy systems in African society*

Patriarchy has formed an integral part of African life, roots and discourses and it is deeply entrenched in the norms, values, and customs of this society. While the emergence of patriarchy in African society has diverse histories and this study is centred on African

women's experience, the need to discuss the origin and relevance of patriarchy needs to be engaged with; hence, this section focuses on similar discussions from various African societies on the relevance of patriarchy systems and values. From time immemorial, scholars have argued that cultures across African society have been patriarchal a feature seen as a major traditional feature of the Africans (Kramarae, 1992; Stacey, 1993 Aina, 1998). Patriarchy originated from the Greek word 'Patriakhes' which is understood as the 'father of a race' (Bernard, 1981:p.2).

Several authors have traced the root of patriarchy from different perspectives, Igbelina-Igbokwe (2013) explains patriarchy to be a social organization marked by the supremacy of a father in a clan or family. Facio (2013:p.5) has this to say about patriarchy "it is a term that is used to explain the position of a man as the head of a household, which progressively ensured the systemic rule of male supremacy and female subordination in the society". In Walby's (1990) words, the society we live in is highly patriarchal, which is characterised by the historically unequal power relations between men and women, whereby women are the ones systematically disadvantaged and oppressed. Walby (1990) further observes that the underrepresentation of women in key institutions is a major feature that patriarchy continues to ensure.

The London feminist network regards women abuse as an inherent factor of patriarchy; this claim accentuates the argument pursued by this study which is on the gender oppression experienced among married Christian women, who are abused between the thin lines of submission and oppression in their marriage. Discussion surrounding patriarchy cannot be discussed to the exclusion of femininity and masculinity, as these concepts are embedded in the re-enforcement of patriarchy within societies.

2.2.2.1 *Conceptualizing femininity*

Gasteiz (2010) asserts that, in line with different cultures, femininity is designed to keep the roles of a woman in its domestic sphere. Emphasizing the assertions of Gasteiz (2010), Acca (2014) explains that femininity is a construct of patriarchy as it has assisted women to accept the less prestigious role that keeps women domesticated. Femininity entails that a woman should be sentimental, passive, dependent and live with fear (Gasteiz, 2010). Assertions from Foucault's (1991) view on patriarchy, power and self-surveillance includes these, that women continue to take on subject positions of "good women" who have so restricted themselves into house chores, care for husbands and in-laws and childbearing, among other duties, so much that any deviation

from these duties is culturally unacceptable. Further discussion around femininity highlights the enforcement of women's subjected positions derived from the common belief after a marriage has been contracted. Ademiluka (2018) discussed the domination of women in marriage on payment of bride price as a reflection of marriage process that encourages the domination of women, the idea of a bride price communicating the message that the husband owns the wife.

In most parts of Nigeria and other African countries, the payment of bride price is an outright transfer of a woman's right to the husbands' family; after the wedding, the woman is compelled to bear her husband's surname (Aina, 1998; Kealotswe, 2009; Ademiluka, 2018). It is for this reason that Goldman (1969 cited in Marso, 2003:4) opines that, in marriage, women are condemned to:

> *...life-long dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness, as an individual as well as socially. Marriage compounds the degrading effects of capitalism, annihilating woman's social consciousness, paralysing her imagination, and then imposes its gracious protection, which is a travesty on the human character.*

The home, though not so large a prison as the factory, has more solid doors and bars. Therefore, marriage is assumed to compound the uselessness of women.

2.2.2.2 *Conceptualizing masculinity*

The term masculinity is considered as a social condition that affects power relations between a man and his counterpart (Foucault, 1998). Men are socialized into what it traditionally means to be a man; the attributes of being masculine come with their roles and expectations. Morrell et al. (2012:p.24) claim that patriarchy is closely knitted with masculinity and masculinity refers to the social constitutes of a 'real man'. These standards and forms of masculinity are culturally informed, which shapes the cultural distribution of power to favour men. Davies and Eagle (2007) express the view that masculinity is not a character type but rather a strongly dominant position in a pattern of gender relations that has aided the success of patriarchy in various struggles. For patriarchal notions to progress in the society, masculinity is designed to suppress any ideology that boosts women's equality to men and elevates masculinity (Davies & Eagle, 2007, Imperatori-Lee, 2016). These ideologies, therefore, claim that men are conscious of what society expects them to be, which is to be strong, courageous, competitive, smart and independent (Totten, 2003, Gasteiz, 2010).

Hadebe (2017) and Matshaka (2009) argue that these cultural expectations that are attributed to masculinity are the reasons the gendered stereotypes drawn by society favour men's superiority. Hearn et al. (2012) claim that masculinity is not constant, as it is undergoing reconstruction. Discourses of gender equality, changing gender relations and modernity have been very useful in the discussions of reconstruction of masculinity. It is probably because of this reconstruction that some men are now willingly partaking in traditionally female roles.

2.2.3 Principle of patriarchy

Historically, the principle of patriarchy has been central to the social, legal, political, and economic organization of many ancient cultures (Rawat, 2014). The nature of control and subjugation of women varies from one patriarchal society to the other. Therefore, patriarchy is not a constant gender relation, it is considered as a dynamic and complex ideology that has changed throughout history (Baffoe, 2013). Following this discussion, some arguments present that patriarchy is fluid. Closely looking at the definition of patriarchy, Coetzee (2001) refers to it as an ideology, given the fact that an ideology at a given time is dependent on situations that makes it applicable in the context of discussions. Therefore, it can be argued that an ideology cannot be a universal truth to which every society ascribe.

There are various complexities that limit the extent of patriarchy and its ideology. For instance, gender and power are entrenched contextual social identities (Totten, 2003, Shields, 2008). In agreement, Risman (2009:83) states "gender structure is not static … individuals are the products of their social worlds yet are not determined by them." The constructions of patriarchy in the society, therefore, vary according to the time, situation and actors involved in any given gender and power relations. It is possible for someone with socialised into men's superiority to adopt a contrary view based on life's experiences, cultural understandings, and education. Hence, Acca (2014) claimed that it is not definite that men are always superior to women. Although discourses on patriarchy construct men as more powerful than women, in conceptualizing patriarchy in power relations, Foucault (1982) accentuate the fact that power is not solely rooted in patriarchy. Instead, he identifies that, regardless of gender, origin, and socio-economic status, both men and women can constitute, exercise and resist power based on the prevailing knowledge that is acquired through social and interpersonal interactions (Aymer, 2019).

Patriarchy largely draws on the hegemonic position that encourages the subordination and oppression of women. To sustain this supremacy, Coetzee (2001:p.4) points out three

strategies, identified as "legitimation, eternalization, and dissimulation" that are put in place to promote patriarchal values in everyday life. Coetzee describes legitimacy as traditions that culturally give men authority over women and, he further explained that legitimation of patriarchy in the society flows from diverse religious teachings that uphold men as instituted heads of families and as ordained by God.

2.2.3.1 Eternalization

Eternalization is portrayed as a transitory, historical state of affairs instead "as if they were natural, permanent, untouched by time" (Coetzee, 2001:5). Detailing further, he explains externalization about the Bible, the historic human creation account in which man was created before the woman and that woman's creation was out of man's rib is an example of eternalization. The Bible also states that men named everything including a woman. Such eternalization from the biblical account portrays the inequalities between men and women as fixities that have existed since time immemorial.

2.2.3.2 Dissimulation

Dissimulation is the obscuring of women's subordinate status through claims that there is an existence of equality among men and women but simply the existence of difference. This claim continues to compound the power implications of equality and the difference between men and women. Explaining this claim, Acca (2014) viewed that, despite the differences in sex, equality means having the same rights regardless of cultural background or social affiliations. Claiming therefore that women are equal but just different is a disguised emphasis of the existence of inequality between men and women (Adasi & Frempong, 2014). Eternalization, legitimation, and dissimulation are so pronounced in the discourses that favour patriarchy that both men and women, regardless of their socio-economic and education status, have been disposed to the acceptance that men are culturally superior to women (El Kharouf and Daoud, 2019). Furthermore, patriarchal norms place a woman under the watchful eye of real or imagined men, pressuring women to do what pleases men (Ojong and Muthuki, 2010).

By elevating men, patriarchy gives men an edge over women and grants men the autonomy to treat women in ways aimed at ensuring that women's subordinate positions are instilled for lifelong generations (Gavey *et al.* 2001, Adelman, Erez & Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2003, Sokoloff, 2004, Kiwanuka, 2008). In patriarchal communities, there is high acceptance of discriminatory decision making that favours men even on matters that mostly affect women. Such matters include ways of disciplining children born into a family (Owen, 2012) and expenditures of

household incomes (Drinkwater, 2009). There is considerable literature on the constructions of these concepts in the light of women's oppression in various societies. However, there is a dearth of knowledge of how gender oppression affects women in Christian marriages from the Pentecostal teachings and how this affects marital relationships of Black women migrants into South Africa. It is an understanding of these that this study contributes.

2.3 GENDER OPPRESSION IN MARRIAGE: OVERVIEW OF MARRIAGE

The construct of marriage is sensitive as, by definition, there are many variants of marriage across African nations; these variations are dependent on how a particular social or ethnic group view marriage (Crapo, 1996; Boehnke, 2011; Brown & Stone, 2016). Therefore, there is no single way to define marriage; rather definitions of marriage are relative to an individual's belief or to the specific construct of marriage in the ethnic group they belong to. Within the social constructionism paradigm in which this study is rooted, it is impossible to formulate a definite definition of marriage since the paradigm acknowledges that people are different in their identities, hence, people's way of constructing marriage will be different.

Having acknowledged that there is no single definition of marriage, this section will briefly highlight the various ideas of marriage. According to Waller and McLanahan (2005), marriage embodies two distinct views: "his" and "hers"; they believe that women and men have differing subjective experiences of marriage as a result of gender inequalities in society. Therefore, each partner brings a set of beliefs and different characteristics into the marriage (Eisenchlas, 2013). Similarly, marriage is considered as the relationship between a man and a woman in which independence is equal, dependence is mutual, and obligations are reciprocal (Crapo, 1996).

Wimalasena (2016) describes marriage as a physical, as well as moral union recognized as the basis of a family; it is a sacramental and indissoluble union for life and a civil contract between sexes for sexual satisfaction and procreation of legitimate children. With these few definitions, the construction of marriage shares similar themes of formalization of an intimate relationship between a man and a woman. A relationship with defined roles and legal commitment. Although this is a widely accepted ideology, it is not necessarily the only way to interpret marriage (Diako 2012).

2.4   MARRIAGE ACROSS AFRICAN CONTEXTS

A healthy way of understanding marriage through the social constructionism paradigm is to explore marriage within the African context. Kyalo (2012:212) refers to African marriage as a system that is multifaceted, the definitions of which are reflected in their diversity, he further explains that an African marriage is often marked by traditional ceremonies as this is the behavioural pattern of Africans. The co-existence between families, division of labour, procreation, sharing of values, child-rearing and training are the hopeful values that the African marriage holds (Freedom House 2017). Ayiri (1997) pointed out that, in African marriages, the coming together of a couple is for procreation, stressing that an African marriage can be affected if it becomes childless. In the African perspective, a childless marriage is meaningless. Kyalo (2012) further asserts that for every marriage to be legal, there are certain requirements to be fulfilled and the marriage must be preceded by customary observances.

A deeper understanding of marriage in the African context reveals that there are at least three aspects that define an African marriage as identified by Ayiri (1997) and Hendrix (1998):

First, marriage is a transfer of legal rights from a woman's household to her husband. In this type of marriage, the husband owns the right to the wife's labour, sexuality, offspring and he also receives compensation for harms done to her by others. Such an approach is practised by such people as the Kigombe tribe of Tanzania.

Secondly, marriage operates on the idea that when a wife is handed over to her husband, it is counted as a loss to her own family. Immediately a woman moves to her husband's house, she is no longer considered as part of the kindred anymore. This type of marriage can destroy the relationship between a bride and the household (Ayiri, 1997).

The third aspect of marriage is as an agreement or a contract between two families. African society views marriage as a relationship to co-exist with another group of people, which is believed to create a structural link between groups (Hendrix, 1998; Ghaffari 2020). The third marriage is a link between kin groups as it is a union of husband and wife, the union is marked ritually, as typically practised among tribes such as the Akans of Ghana, Anlo ewe of Togo, Creoles of Sierra Leone, and Ibos of Nigeria (Verdon, 1983). African marriages promote unity not only among kindred but also among communities; these communities share their existence in the reality that they have become one people as families are united. This

becomes a wider participation of both clans (husband's and wife's) to remain as one (Ghaffari 2020; Megasa, 1998).

In African marriages, the absolute connection does not happen between the individuals or the marrying parties alone. It is a deeply rooted culture in which couples begin to identify with the larger community, which contrasts with the feeling of isolation experienced by modern-day couples, and which, according to Kyalo (2012), is the reason why modern-day marriages often fail a few seasons after being joined in holy matrimony. Grubbs (2017) asserts, however, that modern-day African marriage has shifted its focus from the original African traditional marriage, which he claims enhances the union of two communities and in the wake of any discord between the couples, is quickly restored by members of the community.

2.4.1 Traditional values associated with African marriages

In the traditional African marriage systems, there are values, interests, preferences, duties, morals, obligations, desires, and several modalities of selected orientations that help shape African culture (Larkin and Ragon 2008). Identifying some marriage values of the traditional African culture in this study will not be broadly or narrowly conceived, but the limits will not be arbitrarily set to any particular African location. A broad conception of African values will be explored. Hanna (2021) explained that the first traditional African value is procreation, which is believed to help strengthen the gaps in the family. It is considered essential in all African cultures to procreate; a lifelong union of husband and wife is dependent on mutual support and childbearing to continue the ancestral line and to promote the clan.

Kyalo (2012) added that as Africans, they have been taught to consider any deliberate act to obstruct childbearing or human life as evil. Johnson and Loscocco (2014) claim that, in all African societies, people do anything possible to get married and as well, prepare their offspring for marriage and channel their thoughts towards marriage. Hence, any African woman or man under normal circumstances who refuses to get married is considered as committing a major offence against society (Patoo, Haghighat & Hassanabadi 2014).

In some parts of Africa, parents choose life partners for their children from conception. This is commonly practised among the Bangante tribe of Cameroon and the Hausa of Nigeria; this practice is said to strengthen family ties and key elements into forging a better political allegiance in cases where the husband's family is highly placed in the society, this is also practised to ensure that everyone gets married (Kisembo, Magesa and Shorter, 1998). In some other parts of Africa, the young ones are encouraged and allowed to find love for themselves,

after which their parents and relatives are informed, this creates an avenue for the social gathering to celebrate the union in traditional rites and encourage communal living (Patoo *et al.* 2014). Therefore, the obligation to get married is considered the only means of survival within the African context.

Africans sees the society through the lens of marriage and childbearing, through which human life is preserved, propagated and it deepens the existence of humans (Kisembo *et al.* 1998; Haghighat 2014). Hence, marriage and childbearing are the focus of human life, it is at the centre of human existence. Another value of the traditional is the proverbial word that says, "a pretty girl steals or wets the bed", by this, they mean that being attractive and beautiful is not enough to make the marriage work, beauty fades away and more value should be put into a woman's industrial work; rather than beauty, her demeanour towards elders guarantees a good reputation for her, which is defined by the ethics of the community (Hanna 2021). These characteristics are also extended towards the parents. Wealth on the part of the husband guarantees that he is ready to be a husband. However, in cases where the husband is not financially strong, the wealth of his parents can be relied on before getting married (Moneta 2002).

One aspect of African marriage is the significant value placed on communal living. In marriage, the husband's clan becomes the responsibility of the wife and likewise, the wife's clan becomes the responsibility of the husband, as marriage symbolizes the union between communities. However, in the wake of discord amongst the community, marriages can be nullified (Johnson & Loscocco 2016). In African value systems, it is believed that if two clans or tribes are enemies, men and women from such clans are not allowed to be married. Such case is evident in the Igbo culture of Nigeria; the tribes of Nwadiala who are recognized as the true "sons of the soil" are not allowed to be associated in marriage to the Osus who are categorized as the "outcaste, strangers and slaves", these groups are not to be seen together, as it is considered a sacrilege to join any one from these tribes of Igbo culture together (Madubike 2014). This explains that the value of African marriage exists in communal living, the couple's consent has validity only in the context where the marrying tribes are at peace with each other.

In the African matrilineal societies, as in the case of the Ashanti of Ivory coast, Akan of Ghana and Bakwaya of Tanzania, the basis of all marriage and social relationships among these people is the bond between mother and child, which proves that values of marriage still

holds bilateral orientations and kindred affiliations which are sustenance mechanisms for every African marriage (Moneta 2002). However, in these matrilineal societies, the father has no legal rights over the children, other than to ensure the children have their social and civic training to succeed in their endeavours.

Marriage in Africa confers a person with dignity and an upgrade in their status. Ayiri (1997) and Helgeson (2012) assert that marriage confers the right of the wife to perform corresponding duties, this responsibility becomes important in the sense that there are no absolute breakups in the African marriage system. The idea of divorce in African marriages is, however, now widespread, which happens to occur less among patrilineal societies then among matrilineal societies, because all rights in marriage are bestowed on the wife and the wife's brother. This is because, in patrilineal societies, there is an incorporation of wives into her husband's lineage through the attachment of childbearing (Wimalasena 2016).

2.4.2 *Power dynamics and gender relation in African marriage*

Marriage systems across different African societies were explored by Van Vlaenderen and Cakwe (2003). These scholars discovered that the African traditional system constructs women's identity strictly, especially their gendered roles in the aspect of being a mother and a wife. One major importance of marriage is the affordance of the significant transformation that allows women to develop their identities in marriage. Marriage is a structural context within which couples have the opportunity to behave in a way that validates their identities as male and female, which displays the visible effects of their gender ideologies (Home Office 2019). In this case, marriage is considered a hierarchical form of authority, where the husband and wife plays their different roles (Atkinson, Greenstein and Lang 2005).

The conceptualization of marriage as a party where the husband exercises the power of master-slave-owner over his wife is one of the fundamental assumptions the feminist ideologies seek to correct (Rakoczy 2004). Although marriage is conceptualized as a socio-religious practice, the androcentric exegesis of marriage is increasingly harmful to women (Siwila 2012). According to African feminists, the power factor in marriage is emphasized on religious and traditional bases, with fixed and unchanging roles that have been socially constructed to enhance the adaptation and supremacy of patriarchy within marriages (Oduyoye 2001; Dreyer 2011). Other scholars of African feminism, like Rakoczy (2004), Tamale (2004) and Tamale (2014) agree that the scriptural texts used by faith-based religion suggest that God is male. From this premise, men have been bestowed the authority to be

masters over everyone else. The literal interpretation of the scriptural text and the culture supports the authority given to the husband over his wife and family. Furthermore, Siwila (2012) adds that one of the concerns of the feminist ideologies lies in naïve biblical interpretations, which are full of gender favouritism which can be oppressive to women, particularly married women.

Social and religious feminists conceptualise the idea of power relation in marriage to the ideology of capitalism. Rothman (1994) claims that motherhood within a patriarchal society is what mothers and babies signify to men. Hoominfar and Zanganeh (2021) likens this ideology with the three American motherhood concepts that shape the experiences of women; these concepts include an ideology of patriarchy, which this study focuses on, an ideology of technology and an ideology of capitalism. All these ideologies on motherhood identified by Rothman position women beneath men and treat women as private property. In the analysis of power dynamics and gender relations within marriages, Marxist feminists explore the treatment of women as private property; this is where capitalism and patriarchy intersect (Rothman, 1994).

Patriarchy and capitalism intersect because of the inequalities in marriage, which are similar to those of capitalism, thus Marxist feminists equate patriarchy with capitalism as the cause of women's oppression. McLaren (2002) argues that the view of married women as private property and the stringent use of power increase their vulnerability and put them at risk of gender-based violence. Tamale (2004) links the susceptibility of women to oppression that treats them as privately owned properties to be bought by bride price. This is acknowledged by men as a right to treat women as property, to be owned and controlled. In a study conducted by Phiri (2003) to understand power relations in African marriages, it was discovered that the payment of bride price increases the vulnerability of women to gender injustice, while Hosseini-Nezhad, Safdar and Luu (2019) note that the transactions made during engagement enforce the treatment of the wife as a commodity that has been ceremoniously acquired.

In addition, Chisale (2016) adds that it is a difficult task to curb the payment of bride price within the African marriage system and this will continue to jeopardize women's opportunity to get gender justice, even if these women are highly educated. Power dynamics in marriage are exercised in different ways, Sportel (2016) claims that the most common way of exercising power in marriage is importance in making decisions, particularly relating to

finance and children. There are various kinds of literature on power dynamics in marriage; Emery (2012) highlights that generally husbands hold the highest authority and make final decisions and the wives have less power and make fewer inputs into decision making.

Recent literature claims that a shift has occurred from a rigid marriage where the husband is the sole decision-maker to contemporary marriages, which are now egalitarian, flexible and more considerate of women than those of the past (Kornrich, Brines & Leupp, 2013; Sportel, 2016). Kornrich et al. (2013) also highlight that there are challenges in measuring marital power because of its complexity and diversity. Sportel (2016) further argues that gender injustice is fostered by the power dynamics in marriage because women do not seem to benefit from the marriage but usually experience powerlessness in their marriage. Emery (2012) argues that marital power dynamics are evident when there is a case of divorce and the children are caught in the power struggle with their parents.

The argument presented by Van Vlaenderen and Cakwe (2003) is that the education and financial status of a woman does not liberate her from marital power. Karimi (2015) argues that the empowerment provided to women through education is an escape route for women to move from traditional gendered roles of dependence to become independent women. However, Mazibuko and Umejesi (2015) add that the educational status of a woman is unrelated and does not protect her from an unequal relationship in marriage. This is also supported by the findings from the study of Choi, Cheung, Cheung and David (2014) that a woman as the breadwinner of the house can be experienced by a man as dangerous and that the educational status of a woman does not grant her immunity from power or violence at the hands of her husband.

According to Atkinson et al. (2005), the primary predictor of tussles for power and violence between married couples is the income they earn. Choi et al. (2014) claim that a husband with higher social standing who earns more than his wife is less likely to be violent to his wife than a man with a social class lower than that of his wife. King and Sondhi (2016) argue that violence replaces material resources and acts as a source of power for the husband of a lower social class. As a result of this, Atkinson et al. (2005) argue that a wife who earns more than her husband is likely to face abuse in whatever form it is presented in the marriage, because her social and financial status contradicts the gender ideologies. However, Choi et al. (2014) add that women who are economical and financially dependent on their husbands are also likely to face oppression in their marriage.

Flowing from the traditional gender roles that maintain that women should be domesticated and restricted to unpaid household labour, patriarchy implies that men are heads and custodians of the family authority and the wife is expected to depend on the husband for everything. This indicates that, no matter a woman's level of education, she is not immune to the oppression and abuse of power in a marriage (Walby, 1990). For this reason, feminism theories including African feminism have countered the ideologies of the institution of marriage, which is considered as an institution that oppresses women (Klysing, 2020; Dube, 2007; Tamale, 200; De Beauvoir, 1997). Marriage is considered a fertile ground for gendered roles and patriarchal values to keep thriving. Kyalo (2012) suggests that, for power relations and dynamics in marriage to be resolved, partners in the marriage contract must constantly reflect on their identity as part of a multifaced group of human diversity. Therefore, there is a room for egalitarian ideology to be adopted by partners to overcome the challenges posed by power struggles in the marriage.

Oyewumi (2016) adds that marriage is a way of expanding lineage and family structures, thus she calls for the universalization of gender categories and for the ungendering of marriage as a fundamental means of organizing principles for all societies across time. It is safe to conclude that, within the African marital systems, there are values that rule and guide the marriage system, either in a patrilineal or matrilineal society. There are values that require that a proper marriage is long lasting. However, Kyalo (2012) claims that there is more to marriage than the equal rights and duties applied to husband, wives or the community; there is the God factor and the teachings that will uphold a valued Christian marriage.

2.4.3   Christian discourse on marriage

The introduction of Christian marriages into the African continent by Christian missionaries aimed to substitute customary marriages, which were thought to be barbaric (Mann, 1983). Christian marriage stood a better chance because it promoted monogamy as a fundamental marriage practice and a construct that unified one man to one woman. Weber and Craig (2003), in a study conducted in West Africa, discovered that missionaries regarded monogamy as the fundamental characteristic of Christian marriage; Christianity provided Christians with the rights to monogamy. Diako (2012) explains that, in Christian marriage, the exchange of marital vows was designed to unite two individuals while setting the responsibilities for both husbands and wives. Arguing with this notion, Baloyi (2007) points out that the difference between Christian marriages and traditional African marriages is that

while the Christian marriage is a union between two individuals, the traditional marriage is seen as uniting two kindreds.

In the Christian discourse of the unification of a man and woman, scholars have argued that it began with the biblical story of creation, which explains that, after the universe was created, God created man and immediately created a female helpmeet to be a companion (Byrne & Carr, 2000; Weber & Craig, 2003; Baloyi, 2007). Diako (2012) illustrates the unification of man and woman as explained in Genesis 2:18, when a woman was formed from the ribs of a man. In this way a man and woman become jointly united. This unification is currently understood as being in a marriage (Baloyi, 2007; Diako, 2012). This Christian framework thus defines marriage as a precedent for the establishment of societies and culture.

The discussion around Christian literature also documents the distinct roles and power relations between husbands and wives. The text of Ephesians 5: 22-24 states "wives submit to your husband as to the lord. For a husband has authority over his wife and so wives must submit completely to their husbands just as the church submits itself to Christ". Thus, women are expected to be submissive to their husbands. This led Baloyi (2007) to claim that, within the Christian family context, the man is seen as equivalent to Christ. Christians are Christ-followers that regards him as superior and by positioning a man as equivalent to Christ, clearly indicated that man is superior in the marital and family context and it is within this framework that Diako (2012) argues that God expects every individual to be submissive. Hence, submission is a feature of the Christian lifestyle.

Weber and Craig (2003) argue that there have already been established requirements of how partners in a marriage should behave. In Christian values, the wife was created as a helper and for that reason, she was subjected to her husband. Over long periods, the dominant discourse on Christian marriage clearly has distinguished the roles of husbands from wives. Mann (1983) claims that husbands are economic providers for the family while wives are homemakers. The submissive roles and behaviour of women are emphasized throughout the Bible and this demonstrates that within the prevailing Christian discourse wives will be inferior to their husbands. These claims are supported by the Bible verses of Titus 2:4; 1 Peter 3:1 and Colossians 3:18. Furthermore, Mann (1983) posits that the responsibilities of wives as homemakers encouraged the missionaries to depict Christian wives as the exemplar of morals and the custodian of family and societal values.

Due to the influence of Christianity in African marriages, Bishop (2019), Diako (2012) and Baloyi (2007) argue that many biblical texts have been used by African men to justify the forced submission of their wives and further entrenching the socially constructed power that is exercised within their various family unit. They further argue that most African communities have treated women in manners that have made these women believe that they cannot do anything without the consent of their husbands.

2.5   THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY ACROSS AFRICA

To understand the dynamics of Christian Pentecostal fundamentalism in Africa, it is important to explore the history and the contemporary dynamics of Christianity in the region. The histories of Christianity and the charismatic movement are diverse, due to different accounts from various schools of thought. However, this section will highlight the key trends that helped situate the contemporary Pentecostal Christian religion within the Africa setting. Christianity was first introduced to Africa within the 1st and 2nd centuries, which provided the foundation of the spread of the gospel through the development of Coptic and Orthodox churches in the Horn of Africa. According to Van Dijk (2000) it was the Portuguese explorers and colonist that fostered the spread of Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa in the 15th century,

Furthermore, Koenig (2018) also claims that both Catholic and Protestant Christianity spread within sub-Sahara Africa and gained major popularity in Africa from the 16th century through European colonial masters who actively led the slaves and their offspring to be converted. The propagation of Christianity in Africa was established with the European mission schools to educate the generations of African offspring in Christian theology, a mission that was established across the African continent (Van Dijk, 2000; Woods, 2017). In the early 20th century, in response to the Eurocentric focus of the European churches, a wave of African religious leaders began to found churches that focused on indigenizing Christianity by creating an atmosphere to incorporate African elements of worships (Lindsey, 2015). These institutions were later called the African Independent churches, also known as African Instituted churches (AICs) (Onyinah, 2007; Oden, 2007; Kalu, 2008; Van der Merwe, 2016). Horn (2013) posits that the African movement gained momentum in the 1930s and grew in the years of independence from colonial masters. The movement of the AICs became more "Africanized" and their practice of Christian rituals drew many members into the church (Horn, 2013:p.6). AIC churches included the Zionist churches in southern Africa in the early 1900s, the Kimbanguist church from the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1921 and those

founded in Zambia. Maluleke (1997) states that the work of African Christian theology has been dynamic and these organizations (AIC) have built a mandate of African autonomy that adds value to African models of community building in how Christianity operates.

Scholars of African Christianity have acknowledged the tremendously rapid growth of the church in Africa from the twentieth century (Asamoah-Gyadu 1998; Powers, 2001; Kalu, 2008; Alexander, 2009). Isichei (1995) observes that, despite the Christian presence in Africa in the first five centuries AD and again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through Catholic Portuguese traders, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century that any sizeable conversions were made. As of then in the nineteenth century, it is only in places like Buganda and the Creole community in Sierra Leone, that a handful of people became converts (Selokela, 2005).

2.6 THE ROLE OF PENTECOSTALISM WITHIN MARITAL AND FAMILY VALUES

This section discusses how the Pentecostal church applies the patriarchal model to the gendered roles in marriage. This concept will be explored through defining the role of Pentecostal teachings, Pentecostal gender and leadership theories and ideologies, the associated ideological practices of complementarianism and juxtaposition of the egalitarianism standpoint. The section will also discuss the ideology and practice of submission in relation to marriage and to, servant and headship leadership. This will provide context to guide the objective of this study in examining the role of the Pentecostal church in the establishment of black women's identity and to determine whether these perceptions differ by gender. A clear theme that is presented in this section of the literature is the Pentecostal way of continued gender subordination and redefinition of ideologies in the defence of marital values.

2.6.1 Male-headship within Pentecostal teachings

Headship within the African marriage is a key ideology that the Pentecostals have adopted for the continuous principle of tradition and moral values displayed in the traditional family model (Kaunda, 2016). This practice is one where the family gender roles consider the male as the breadwinner and the female as domestic. Crucial to this model of belief is the fact that males are granted final decision-making authority within the family. Kaunda (2016) argues that the Pentecostal community does not perceive the term headship within the church as

gender-specific, but the authority over family relationships from the perspective of Pentecostals is male. This ideology calls for wives and children to acknowledge the hierarchy of family standards. According to previous studies on family values and headship, research by Pew (1996) confirms that 85% of Pentecostals believe that husbands should lead the family regardless of their financial and emotional capabilities. Similarly, another study conducted by Ringel and Belcher (2007) confirmed that men and women of the Pentecostal community accept that man should head the house as a role mandated by God. Affirming the claims of Ringel and Belcher (2007), Elisan's (2016) study demonstrates the view that women's roles are to support their husband and care for the children, as this is the importance of female submission in marriage. From these findings, Pentecostal men and women perceive these ideologies as non-oppressive. However, Wilcox (2004) claims that the teachings of gender roles and authority within the Pentecostal community are manipulative.

One of the Pentecostal beliefs is that headship is biblically aligned and God assigned (Wilcox, 2004). This belief places men as the lord and authority in charge within the contract of marriage. This Pentecostal belief affirms that this male-headship within marriages does not contradict gender equality, with emphasis on the weight of responsibility placed on the husband and not on the submission of women. Smith (2001) argues that men are not compensated for their service in marriage, therefore, women are expected to be held responsible for being 'godly' and submissive to their husband's authority while overseeing all domestic services. This patriarchal model and defined gender roles have been redefined as "mutual submission" or "servant leadership" by the teachings of the Pentecostal community (Bishop, 2019:p.31). It is from this philosophical teaching of the Pentecostals that men have gained strength to continually adhere to headship, so any opposition to these teachings is regarded as callousness and anti-family, including in this category the social movements of feminism (Elisan, 2016).

The ideology of headship has been identified as central to Pentecostal beliefs and understanding of gender roles. However, research has also defined variations on how members of the Pentecostal community apply these Pentecostal teachings and ideologies in their personal lives (Mahmoudi, 2019). A study conducted by Bishop (2019) revealed that, among Pentecostal men and women, male headship and gendered roles are a continuous practice. This finding demonstrates that headship and gender identity within marriage remains

a key ideology of the Pentecostal faith. These ideologies will be examined in detail while discussing complementation and egalitarian.

2.6.2 Complementarianism

This ideology of the Pentecostal community describes the difference between men and women regarding their divinely instituted capacities or positions (Perry, 2017). This perspective states that God instituted the gender-specific roles of men and women, a perspective that affirms an ideology of male headship (Malekan, 2015). The standpoint of complementarianism calls for men to take leadership roles in the church and the family, while women can supplement them through submissive-servant roles and are prevented from leadership of any kind, including of teaching men (Hull 1998; Smith, 2001; Bryan, 2009). Pentecostal scholar, Powers (2001), explains that the Pentecostal churches preach gender roles ideologies with the intuition that it is biblically informed. The literal interpretation of biblical passages that support gendered marital roles is promoted. One example is Ephesians 5:22-23, "Wives, submit to your husbands as to the lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church." This is a classic example that fosters the ideology of biblical manhood and womanhood.

The complementarian ideology argues that there is a clear distinction between man and woman, where the ultimate authority within the marriage is held by the man (Colaner, 2009). The Pentecostal community applies the male headship ideology as a primary belief within its congregation. Engaging the ideology of complementarianism beyond household and marital values, Malekan (2015) and Stackhouse (2000) explain that this ideology demonstrates its support for women to engage in minor leadership facets, such as fundraising, Bible school training and inspirational leadership. Furthermore, Stackhouse (2000) expresses the view that the surprising capacity that women have developed in their minor leadership roles has brought questions on how the Bible directs gendered roles. Hence, the ideological opposition to Pentecostal complementarian religious teachings is the juxtaposition provided by the egalitarian ideology.

2.6.3 Egalitarianism

The egalitarian ideology is a philosophical perspective that claims that each human being has a fundamental worth that should be protected and treated as equal. Egalitarianism is a theoretical standpoint that proves the significant value of equality, as well as an attempt to regulate the conceptual boundaries and provide answers to some of the basic societal

challenges that assail the human society (Afolayan, 2015). Arguments are that egalitarianism has major setbacks: that all human beings are equal, and that they are also unequal. Smith (2001) explained the counter-arguments as, first, that there are natural endowments, capacities, talents, vices, and limitations that characterize our existence in the world. Secondly, there are unequal social advantages and disadvantages that humans are born into as members of society. It is in this sense that Afolayan (2015) claims that, for egalitarians, the cause of justice and equality in human society will only be served if equal resources – wealth, opportunities and incomes are provided in equal measure to all. Hence, Brown (1991) claims that the affirmation of egalitarianism is to stand for equal measures for all, regardless of their societal affiliations. However, while it seems obvious that no human being is superior to another by moral standards, another obvious conclusion also seems certain that no human being is equal to another (Afolayan, 2015).

The egalitarian ideology supports the notion of a shared Pentecostal faith and thus an ideology that stands in opposition to complementarianism. The standpoint of egalitarianism is that it supports the biblical truths of gender equality and that marriage is a commitment to mutual submission to the will of God (Smith, 2001; Colaner, 2009; Nahidi, Blignault, Hayen & Razee, 2018). An argument presented by Hancock (1975:11) is that "mutual submission" is an inherent idea of partners trying to calmly make each other happy, as a principle that recognize the competencies of and respect between couples. Hancock further argues that mutual submission comes down to respect, and that the Bible does not command the husband to rule over the wife but rather for the wives to submit to their husbands. From this standpoint, Hancock (1975) explains that there is no cause for mutual submission because, for submission to be evident, there is a dominant party; in this case the husband is the dominant party. This provides a different view of submission in marriage, as second-wave feminism seems to foster a respectful relationship between couples.

However, Smith (2001) claims that egalitarian ideology stands to correct the teachings of Pentecostals on biblical manhood and womanhood, this ideology is reinforced and takes its belief through biblical scriptures that include Galatians 3:28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for you, all are one in Christ." From this perspective, neither of the genders is obligated to fulfil certain roles, but each person is handed the opportunity to fulfil God's will. Egalitarianism challenges headship positions in marriage, arguing that partners are to be made equal in marriages, in church and

in careers (Jankowski et al. 2018). Research scholars of Pentecostalism, Warner and Warner (2005) argue that Egalitarianism was inspired and supported by the second wave feminism movement from the 1970s. This movement has helped Pentecostal women support their personal goals while practising their faith.

According to Ridgeway (1978), the second wave of feminism actively made Pentecostal women who subscribed to the egalitarian ideology see themselves as equal to men. They pursued their equitable career with their male counterparts and even engaged in training and higher education as well as assumed leadership roles. Beyond such personal development, Gallagher and Smith (1999) and Manning (1999) argue that the egalitarian ideology led women to informally challenge men, mainly because of the teaching styles and principles of the Pentecostal church. However, within Pentecostal churches, the subscribers to egalitarianism are considered as marginalized communities associated with secular feminism and accused of undermining literal biblical interpretations that counter the biblical message of the church (Gallagher, 2004).

The ideology of gender and leadership provides an insight into the belief systems of the Pentecostal community. However, understanding how these ideologies of gender, power and leadership impact on marriage can only be shown through the application of these beliefs (Parker, Horowitz & Stepler, 2017). This study further explores the patriarchal model that informs submission, gender identity and power relation of equality within Pentecostal marriages. Marriage is the presentation of how an individual makes sense of their religious faith. Within the Pentecostal community, relationships shape individuals' understanding of their position within their relationship as well as a religious community (Irby 2014). Most literature focuses on gender norms of marriage and family; however, religious traditions and roles within marriage have been established before the couple take their vows of marriage (Coltrane & Adams 2008).

Irby (2014) claims that what makes the experience of evangelical gender identity unique is that, while dating, men do not have full authority of headship, but as soon as they enter the vows of marriage, the authority of headship is fully vested in men. The Pentecostal community has also been identified as part of the structure that fosters male hegemony in Christian marriages, and this may affect couples when they reflect on their actions. They might feel the need to judge each other, and this results in unwanted gender power struggles within marriages (Gerson 2002).

What is unique to this Pentecostal marital and family satisfaction, is the shared understanding of commitment by both genders. The satisfaction of Pentecostals for a successful marriage is the stronger association with gender roles than gender ideology (Wilcox & Nock 2006). Avlor and Dainton (2004) argue that gender roles within marriages have fuelled power and relational struggles that may occur within the relationship. Research on Pentecostal families has shown significant variation, with some abstaining from gendered ideologies and others maintaining gender roles and ideologies (Pessin & Arpino, 2018). Primarily, though, gender roles align with the ideologies and relationship norms of Pentecostal leadership, in which the recurring patterns of family functions are based on masculine and feminine traits (Galvin, Bylund & Brommel, 2004).

2.7   PENTECOSTALISM AND GENDER OPPRESSION

Some studies have noted the preponderance of women in the African Church (Isichei, 1995; Phiri, 1997; Daneel, 1998; Sundkler & Steed, 2000). This suggests women's heightened susceptibility to conversion at the pioneering stage of the missionary endeavour and still today. To this end, Hastings (1979:38) proposes some factors were examined, first, the essential message of Christianity that advocates equality for all; "A sense of freedom, that creates a supportive effort in which men and women were both actively engaged in communicating to the converts." Women were taught that they were equal, free, and capable of independent responsibility. Secondly, missionary Christian morality tended to impinge particularly upon specific aspects of female existence. In a study conducted by Mwaura (2013), it is claimed that:

"African women experienced Christianity as empowering, it gave them a place to stand; from which they could challenge the male dominated sacred world and traditions. Such the traditions were the killing of twins, the pursuit of alleged witches and polygamy". (p.411)

The missionary interest in the vulnerability of women attracted women into Christianity to relieve them from oppression. Thirdly, missionaries exaggerated the marginalization of women in indigenous patriarchal communities. The joy that came with the introduction of Pentecostalism to women was the promise of liberation and empowerment, the potential of greater freedom than with other denominations of Christianity (Gallagher, 2004). The acceptance of the Pentecostalism movement as a mainstream church was because of its charismatic movement; this movement was influenced by the theology and ecumenical unity that existed within the church (Karkkainen 1998). However, the ecumenical unity and

teaching has given Pentecostals the opportunity to explore the limitations of the charismatic experiences (Razavi, Shaban-Azad and Srivastava, 2020) that pose challenges to the Pentecostals, as these charismatic values need to be re-evaluated.

Alexander (2009) opines that women were attracted to Pentecostalism because it promised freedom to be fully involved in the ministry of God. In the same line of discussion, Asamoah-Gyandu (1998) posits that the Pentecostal church does not impose the traditional taboos on women, as the church regards these ancient traditions as not in line with the teachings of the New Testament, particularly the experiences of the apostles in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Act of Apostles chapter 3.

Similarly, Röder (2014) and Kalu (2008) agree that Pentecostal churches are gender-friendly and opened for more involvement of women in the church. However, they claim that the African Instituted churches still limits women's role by adapting the traditional gendered ideology of ancient practices that oppress women. There are limits to what women can do in the Pentecostal churches; for instance, a woman cannot minister if she is on her menstrual period even if she is led by the Holy spirit (Gabaiste, 2015). Studies indicate that while the Pentecostal churches are a potential space for liberation, its gendered practices towards women cannot be left unchallenged (Powers, 2001; Mate, 2002; Yong, 2005). Gabaiste (2015:p.2) argues that the Pentecostal churches remains a place that will continue to subjugate women "even though it offers them a platform to speak".

However, there is a dearth of attention paid within Pentecostalism to the oppressive interpretation of the practices of the Bible and Pentecostal's patriarchal policies that uphold male domination. This led to the assertions by Mate (2002) and Masenya (2009) that the gender boundaries of exclusion that exist in Pentecostal movement in Africa and the western world are evidence that women and men do not occupy the same status in the church and Pentecostal churches remain patriarchal. Similarly, Yong (2005) adds that, not only is the Pentecostal church patriarchal; it is also resistant to adopt any new gender transformation. Gabaiste (2015) claims that the teachings of the Pentecostal churches and their leadership models are authoritarian and very hierarchal, promoting male headship while leaving women and youths at the bottom ranks. Gabaiste (2015) captures this well by further arguing that this style of teaching and leadership does not stop within the church bur is carried into their families and workplace. All these teachings are done through the use and interpretation of a few biblical texts to drive male power and female submission.

Given the notion that Pentecostalism does not promote the full privileges of women in any way, Mate (2002) explains that Pentecostal churches are not doing enough to destabilize patriarchy; rather patriarchy is reinforced through teachings that encourage forced female submission and male headship. The domestication and subordination of females are classic characteristic of patriarchy, which are reinforced and maintained biblically through texts such as Ephesians 5:22 and Ephesians 6:4, which, if read without critique, seems to be in support of deeply patriarchal ideologies (Yong, 2005). Providing details of the subjugation of women in the Pentecostal churches, Tan-Chow (2007) expresses the view that by advancing female submission through selective interpretations of biblical texts, the church is not threatening patriarchal ideologies but rather these ideologies are kept alive and maintained by the clergies and pastors. Order and Muhlau (2014) explain the failure to destabilise patriarchy causea tension within the teachings and belief of Pentecostal hermeneutics.

Mate (2002) proposes that in the Pentecostal movement, major problems arise when it comes to women's subordination. First is the fact that because the Pentecostal church has acknowledged the equality of man and woman in the works of the Holy Spirit. There are thus claims that the use of language does not put into practice the work of equality and that women remain at the periphery of gender hierarchy in the church. This is further substantiated in the writings of Masenya (2009) that claim that a pastor will anoint his male child to take over the handling of the church before he considers his female child worthy of the position, even though the works of the Holy Spirit are more established in the female child. Therefore, Mate (2002) and Masenya (2009) agree that the Pentecostal church has continued to fail the hopes of women through the continuous use of biblical texts that promote male power.

Secondly, Mate (2002) claims that, while it is true that Pentecostal women and men can be filled with the holy spirit and share parallel experiences with that of the apostles in Acts, 2, it is also true that Pentecostal interpretations of the Bible insist that women must submit to men even though the man has not proved himself worthy of submission (Safdar & Kosakowska-Berezecka, 2015). Thus, Pentecostal women are still in the spheres of male domination even though there is a claim that they can receive the Holy Spirit and operate for the work of God. Yong (2005) points out that women must still work under men. Hence, the marginalisation of Christian women is due to the oppressive and constant reminder of the Pentecostal hermeneutics.

2.7.1 *Forms of Pentecostal hermeneutics*

The term *hermeneutics* is the unavoidable activity of interpretation as an intellectual quest to unravel meanings to major questions (Kennedy, 2006). Nel (2015) explain that it is a basic technique that has been deployed to explain and translate something foreign, strange or an unexplainable experience, to make it comprehensible and familiar. It is an interpretation to make unfamiliar things familiar. In discussing Pentecostal hermeneutics, Grabe (1997) emphasise the terms of the hermeneutics of metacriticism, which explains that the foundation of knowledge, which is the basis of understanding the biblical text and modern reading, is addressed.

Pentecostalism scholars, Archer (2001), Elberts (2006) and Rance (2009) emphasize the major elements of the Pentecostal hermeneutics as the interrelationship between the scriptures and the Holy Spirit. This also empowers members of the believing community with the ministry in a way that suits the culture of the community. Gabaitse (2015:p.5) presented the two kinds of Pentecostal hermeneutics, the "articulated Pentecostal hermeneutic and unarticulated Pentecostal hermeneutics". The articulated Pentecostal hermeneutics is explained as the exercise of reading and interpretation of the Bible in the context of the time it happened with enough room for the Holy Spirit manifestation. Thomas (1994) and Archer (2009) express the desire to construct Pentecostal teaching that will fully adopt the system of complete interpretation and preach against any teaching that has no role for the Holy Spirit.

The above interpretation provided by Thomas (1994) and Archer (2009) of the teachings and traditions present within the Pentecostal teaching aims to appreciate the works of the Holy Spirit and religious experiences in interpreting the Bible. In the discourse of Articulated Pentecostal Hermeneutics, Thomas (2001) and Archer (2001) provide a clear principle of interpretation that proposes the tridactic model of interpretation, which consists of scripture, the Holy Spirit, and the community. Concluding the discourse of Articulated Pentecostal Hermeneutics, Mate (2002), Yong (2005) and Gabaitse (2015) point out that articulated hermeneutics conforms to the principles of contemporary critical understanding of the Bible, like an academic process, even though the hermeneutics is Pentecostal. The Bible is read and interpreted critically, taking into consideration the context in which that scripture was written, why that scripture was written and what it was addressing at that particular time and the culture of the people the scripture was written about.

The unarticulated Pentecostal hermeneutics happens within the Christian community, in churches, and the pews. Nel (2015) explains that this is practised and performed in the churches as Pentecostal members engage in shaping and developing this hermeneutic. Unarticulated Pentecostal hermeneutics is an unconscious strategy used in the Christian community (Nel, 2015; Gabaiste, 2015; Martin, 2018). Most Pentecostal churches and their members are unconsciously engaging in unarticulated hermeneutics, as they participate in activities such as preaching, Bible studies, prayer meetings and testimonies. This strategy of hermeneutic is patently pre-critical and it is characterized by the understanding of the Bible at surface value; it lacks in-depth explanations of the contexts in which the scriptures of the Bible was written (Luther, 2004; Horton, 2011).

The practices of this kind of hermeneutic do not always consider the history of biblical texts; the culture of the writer, the agendas of the biblical writers are ignored. What is important is that the "Bible is the word of God" and it should be read and obeyed without hesitation (Horton, 2011:p. 116). Archer (2001) and Masenya (2009) explain that this kind of hermeneutics is practised in most Pentecostal churches and significantly among the African instituted Pentecostal churches. This hermeneutic tends to be uncritical towards the Bible in general and specifically towards scriptural texts that seem to support the marginalization of women. Due to this uncritical surface reading of the Bible, texts that call women into undue submission are read, interpreted, and digested without taking the context in which they were written into consideration.

Martin (2018) points out that some texts written by Saint Paul were imperial and was written in the Greco-Roman patriarchal environment, However, he claims that these texts are now applied as though they were written as laws that dictate and prescribe gender relations and identity of Christian women in the 21st century. Following the discussion of the two forms of Pentecostal hermeneutics, this study takes a broader view on the essential aspects of Pentecostal hermeneutics that have the bearing on the marginalization of women as identified by Pentecostalism scholars (Powers, 2001; Archer, 2001; Mate, 2002; Tan-Chow, 2007; Masenya, 2009; Gabaiste,2015). These are the literal interpretations of the Bible and proof-texting of the Bible; additionally, the discussion of theological category and the Pentecostal doctrine of the trinity (which is derived from the Bible) further contribute towards the marginalization of women.

2.7.2 *Literal Bible reading towards marginalisation of women*

In the writings of Christian literature, one of the most dominant models of biblical interpretation in Pentecostal churches is the literal reading of the Bible. This explains that the Bible is read on the surface value with no critical understanding of the context of what was written, it is read as the "Bible says it and I believe it" (Gabaiste, 2015:p.5). A literal reading of the Bible does not take into consideration the historical context of the biblical text seriously; the Bible is read in the present tense to mean what it meant to address. Mate (2002) claims that the effect of literalism can be very dangerous, especially in relation to the treatment and performance of women in the church. According to Archer (2001:p.34) the commitment of the Pentecostals to interpret the Bible in literal forms depicts that "Scriptural directives that claim that women must be silent in the church are also taken literally" as they are obeyed and enforced.

He further claims that some Pentecostal churches do not allow women to take up leadership positions in the church. Similarly, Tan-Chow (2007) reports that, in the text of 1 Corinthians 11:3-9 and 1 Timothy 2:9-15, the verse says "Let a woman learn in silence and full submission. I do not permit any woman to teach or have authority over a man; she is to remain silent." The rationale of that verse is pinned on the fact that "Adam was formed first, then Eve, but Adam was not deceived but the woman and she became a transgressor (1 Timothy 2:8-14)." According to this text, women are to remain, silent worshippers, because they sinned first. And lastly, women "will be saved through childbirth, if she remains modest in faith and sanctification" (1 Timothy 2:15). Hence, Tan-Chow (2007) argues that the gospel claims that eternal salvation for women comes via obstetrics. However, he further added that these scriptures are interpreted literally and with a legislative force that excludes females from the centre.

Discussing Pentecostal hermeneutics, Nel (2019) points out that African Pentecostalism is growing rapidly, and it has changed the face of Christianity. However, he explains that the literal reading of the Bible among Pentecostals neglects the history that led to scriptures that focus more on the marginalization of women. Nel (2019) claimed that most of those scriptures emerged from specific Jewish, Greco-Roman patriarchal cultures. Hence, there is a need for lay readers to read beneath the surface of the biblical text to question the contexts in which the texts were written, what the text meant, who the text was addressing and how much can be carefully relayed to the 21st-century believers of the Bible. Similarly, Martin (2019) expressed

that literal readers and preachers of the gospel do not pay attention to contexts of the Bible, especially because it is a deliberate act to further marginalize women and support patriarchy.

The letters of Apostle Paul to the various churches in the Bible and the injunctions concerning women are read in the 21st century as immediate and must be applied without interrogations. This claim of biblical patriarchy values is a confirmation and support of existing African dominant ideologies that place women under gender oppression (Gabaitse 2015). According to Tan-chow (2007), the level of inconsistency among a Pentecostal literal reading of the Bible is not evident in every sense of their reading; however, he claims that when it comes to the reading of the text that marginalizes women, they become inconsistent with their interpretations.

This was made evident in the study of Gabaitse (2015:p.6) on research among Pentecostal churches in Botswana. He reported an encounter with a male pastor who argued that he believed every sentence in Genesis 2:22-24. That details the second version of the creation story. According to this pastor, the fact that God created Adam first and Eve was created from his ribs means that it was God's way of demonstrating that men are superior to women. On the other account of the creation story in Genesis 1:27, which claimed that both men and women were created at the same time, surprisingly, the pastor argues that verse of the Bible should not be taken into account because it was just an "introduction to the original creation story in Genesis 2, which is the account that tells the actual story of creation." This is a confirmation of the claims of Tan-chow (2007) that expressed that interpretation of the Bible among Pentecostals lacks consistency and demonstrates that they engage in selective hermeneutics that marginalises women. Masenya (2009) argued that certain scriptures of the Bible that specifically commands women towards submission are given more interpretative power than others.

In the above report provided by Gabaitse (2015), it is clear that the text of Genesis 2:22-24 that seems to promote male supremacy is taken with utmost seriousness and emphasized in every sense, while Genesis 1:27, which seems to be suggesting an equal status between men and women, is not properly interpreted and is downplayed as an incomplete story. Masenya(2009) claimed that because of power and leadership tussles in churches, some male heads of Pentecostal churches are willing to hold onto readings of the text that grant men power over women to secure their patriarchal grip within the church and society, while they abandon the literal readings of scriptures that seem to promote gender equality and justice.

This was made evident in the teaching of Peter in Acts 2:17, that said that in the last day's sons and daughters will prophesy and that the Spirit will be poured out on both men and women. This is evidence of the equality teachings of the Bible that are mostly ignored by Pentecostal interpretations.

Hence, Pentecostals engage in uncritical interpretations of certain scriptural texts to ensure the subordination of women is justified. Nel (2015) maintains that the rigidity of Pentecostal hermeneutics that supports male dominance and subordination of women is a problem that caused tension within the Pentecostal churches because women did not remain ignorant of their strengths and equality. Given the above notions, Pentecostals hold that the interpretation of the words of God is given through the divine inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which means that interpretations of scriptural texts can have multiple meanings under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (Somech & Drach-Zahavy 2016). However, Masenya (2009) argues that scriptural texts such as Ephesians 5:22 1 Timothy 2 :1-15 1 Corinthians 11: 3-9 have always been traditionally used to marginalise women have never been interpreted in different contexts, especially during weddings and church service. Additionally, Masenya (2009) points out intriguing questions as to whether these texts will be allowed to have new interpretations that can instruct women and men to occupy the same status within the church and the society, helping women identify their power within the church.

2.7.3   *Proof-texting of the Bible towards marginalisation of women*

The art of proof-texting is the harmonizing a few biblical texts to support any arguments narrowly without considering how this text relates to the Bible as a whole; this aspect of Pentecostal hermeneutics further implicates the marginalization of women (Gabaitse 2015). Martin (2019) claimed that these Pentecostal doctrines are supported and proven through stand-alone scriptural texts, which he explained that proof-texting of the scriptures ignores the principles and context of the cultural context of the writers of the scriptures. Similarly, Nel (2015) explains that according to the principles of context, the Bible should be read and duly interpreted with a view to the context in which it was written, which differs from the contemporary context within which it is been interpreted with African instituted churches. Furthermore, Nel (2015) points out that when readers of the Bible engage in proof-texting, they ignore the fact the Bible stories are always connected and should not be preached as a stand-alone piece.

Flowing from the ongoing discussion of the marginalization of women in Pentecostal churches, African feminists and activists, Kaunda and Pillay (2016) expressed dissatisfaction in the understanding of women; they expressed that, until the recent wave of feminism, most Christian women are not aware that they are being marginalized by Pentecostal hermeneutics. They expressed that the strategy of the male preachers has been justified by Bible verses and supported by women. This strategy advanced female submission and male headship without any argument from the womenfolk, which has greatly caused societal imbalances of power for women in the church, society, and home. According to Powers (2009:147) proof-texting has led a lot of Pentecostals to believe the claim that the subordination of women is the way God wants things to be, "a creation principle that must be acknowledged by anyone who acknowledges the authority of the Bible." Gabaitse (2015) claimed that the use of proof-texting is paramount among Pentecostals worldwide.

The finding from the study of Gabaitse proved that, in many African countries, Pentecostal pastors are in denial of accepting a gender-friendly doctrine even though they preach it. The study conducted by the scholar in Botswana on the debate of the Marital Power Amendment Bill, introduced in Botswana in 2004, revealed that a Pentecostal preacher argued that, if the government implement the bill of abolishing marital powers, then the government has gone against the principles of God as stated in the Bible (Gabaitse (2015). The above argument presented by Gabaitse shows that women must submit to the authority of a man and the argument was justified by the preacher from the scriptures of 1 Corinthians 11:3 and Ephesians 5:22-24. Similarly, a Pentecostal writer within the Ghanaian context, instructs women with the support of biblical verses of 1 Peter 3:1 and Ephesians 5:22-24 that "the lordship of a man and that of your husband in the home is a command by God" and as such, the command cannot be compromised (Adjabeng, 1995).

Another preacher from Cameroon, Grudem (1998) taught using scriptures of Ephesians 5:22-24 that wives should willingly "submit to your husband's authority in marriage", he expressed that this submission should be done in good or harsh conditions. Countering the above assertion, Rollston (2012) claims that most of the men in contemporary marriages are not worthy of submission, as they have not proved themselves worthy of substance and unforced submission. Given the account of these pastors from the different African countries, it is evident that the same hermeneutical strategy is applied in supporting submission of women and encouraging male headship. The few scriptural directives of 1 Corinthians 11:3;

Ephesians 5:22-24; 1 Peter 3:1 are used to argue that the subordination of women is ordained by God, neglecting God's commandment in Acts 2:17-18 and Galatians 3:25-29 that preached gender equality among Christians.

The foregrounding of proof-texting of the Bible to marginalize women was further explained by Rollston (2012) in asserting that the scriptural texts of the book of Proverbs showed the qualities of marginalization. The scholar expresses the view that the phrase "my daughter" rarely occurred and the commands of the words were to the "sons". Further, texts state that sons should beware of a seductress (Proverbs 5), but daughters were never warned to beware of male seducer. Rollston (2012) critiques the authors as the words of Proverbs 25:24 says living with a contentious woman is terrible but no verse addresses living with a contentious man. Furthermore, he claimed that the scriptures were written to men and the famous Proverb 31: 10-31 woman is to love her sons and her husband, the perfect noble wife is described. However, Rollston (2012) claims that nothing in the scriptures of Proverbs advises a woman to find a noble husband. This claims that a woman is a prize, a valued property that has been reared to satisfy her owner. Hence, the subordination of women is deeply rooted in biblical practices which informed most of the African traditional practices that oppress women (Masenya 2009).

Discussing further the elements of proof-texting by Pentecostal scholars, Boudou, Leaman and Scholz (2021) states that proof-texting poses danger to the health of women as it has enforced unhealthy submission to both good and bad husbands. Submitting to a harsh husband has its implications and, as identified by Boudou et al. (2005), a woman submitting to a violent and abusive man endangers a woman's life and that of her offspring. Similarly, Woods (2019) claims in her study of African women and submission that her findings reported that when African women report to their pastors that they are in marriages where their husbands are infidels, it becomes the fault of the woman. Such women get accused of not praying enough for her husband; this is backed up in the text of Malachi 2:16 which states that "God hates divorce," Hence, this kind of advice and interpretation from people in a position of authority in the church is dangerous because it gives room to legitimize violence; physical and emotional abuse are encouraged when people in authority do not seek justice. Although the biblical text does not encourage submission to harsh husbands, the interpretations given to these texts do not exclude submission to harsh husbands.

However, the interpretations and teachings of the church subject females' submission to harsh husbands, and this informs the practice within homes, so both men and women conduct their lives from the practices of what they have been taught by their church authorities. Kaunda and Pillay (2016) claim that women are encouraged to accept abuse and submit to their husbands because the Bible commands it. Pentecostal women's willingness to stay in life-threatening relationships is a direct result of how the Bible has been constantly interpreted and the faulty exegetical methods used in the Pentecostal churches. Therefore, proof-texting is a faulty and dangerous double-edged hermeneutical strategy that encourages the marginalization of women, gender inequality, violence against women and putting them in violent situations where they are terrified of getting out, undermining women. All of these are legitimized through selective interpretation of the Bible as a hermeneutical approach by the Pentecostals (Nel 2015).

2.7.4   *The use of Trinitarian teachings to marginalise women*

The marginalization of women is the third aspect of spiritual antics engaged to marginalise women within Pentecostal churches as identified by Pentecostal scholars (Powers, 2001; Archer, 2001; Mate 2002; Tan-Chow, 2007; Masenya, 2009; Gabaiste, 2015). This aspect of marginalization towards women is based on the theological teaching of the trinity (Gabaitse, 2015). Within the American context of Pentecostalism, it is believed that God established a chain of commandment that is evident in the teachings of the trinity (Johnson, 2009). The argument is that within the trinity there already exists a chain of subordination, which is where God the Son is subordinate to God the Father. The relationship that exists between the trinity is ordered in the pattern of hierarchy. The trinitarian teaches that God is at the top of the hierarchy, followed by Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, since Jesus submitted to God, the hierarchy between men and women is divinely ordained by God (Mate, 2002).

Johnson (2009) critically problematizes this hierarchy of the trinity, as she explains in her argument that this hierarchy is used by Pentecostal preachers to legitimise male-female hierarchy as well as validate teachings that hold men at the top of gender hierarchy and constantly remind women that they have no position at the top. According to Johnson (1994), Christians share a great belief in the hierarchy of the trinity, which advocates the hierarchy between men and women. In the explanation of hierarchy, men occupy the highest status followed by women and children. Further, the physiological differences between men and women are used to strengthen the beliefs in gender roles and hierarchy. The proponents of the

trinitarian theology express that God made men and women physiologically different to ensure that men and women hold different positions, but using these differences to assign roles is faulty (Gabaitse, 2015). According to this perception, men have the divine right to rule, and women must obey; the performance of gender roles that creates hierarchies between men and women is meant to create a divine order.

In addition, Johns (2009) claims that the appeal of the Pentecostals to hold the doctrine of the trinity is an effort to keep patriarchal works viable, to ensure that male hegemony is maintained on a religious level to validate the marginalization of women and to ensure that there are no viable reasons for gender balance. Further discussing the use of trinitarian teachings to promote the marginalization of women, McClintock-Fulkerson (1994) observes that the Pentecostals will not discourage women from speaking through the help of the Holy Spirit but will continue to use language that encourages strict and inalterable gender margins within Pentecostalism. She further argued that the trinitarian hierarchy should be deconstructed during biblical interpretations, otherwise women will always occupy the marginal status and men will always be at the centre. In the explanation provided by Johnson (1994), the essence of the trinity is modelled in their interdependence.

Gabaitse (2015:p.9) agrees that the relationship between the trinity encourages equality, community in diversity, mutuality and interdependence; she submits to the claim that "the persons of the trinity are constituted" so that one does not function except connected to the other. This should be emulated in relatedness to the discussion of equality within the church. Additionally, Gabaitse (2015) claims that elevating God above the other two persons of the trinity is what is used to justify the social structure of dominance that is inimical to the equal dignity of women. Similarly, Martin (2019) expresses the view that there is no hierarchy in the discussion of the trinity, rather the trinity is a representation of relationship and coexistence, and further claims that the trinity should be explained in relatedness to mutuality and interconnected relationships; this will help men and women to enjoy their relationship of equality.

Gabaitse (2015) argued that if all these connections are put in place by Pentecostal hermeneutics, the marginalization of women through a literal interpretation of the text, proof-texting of the Bible and use of a thoughtful trinity discussion, women will be seen as equals with men in all spheres of life. Of more critical importance to the understanding of the use of trinity in promoting the marginalization of women are the power, force and character that

plays among the Pentecostals, which is the Holy Spirit. According to Mate (2002), the Holy Spirit is a living power that is experienced in both men and women, the power that directs both an individual and the church community. The Holy Spirit is experienced as a critique to cultures and interpretations of the Bible that marginalize or oppress people, especially women. The essence of the Holy Spirit is foregrounded in the existence of the Christian community. Hence, without the participation of the Holy Spirit, there cannot be a true Pentecostal community. The theology of the Pentecostals proves that the Bible "is not the word of God without the inspiration of the Holy Spirit" (Nel, 2015:20):

'…the Bible and the Holy Spirit are essential authoritative aspects of Pentecostal hermeneutics since Pentecostalism is not only centred within the text but with connection from the Holy Spirit, therefore, there should be no room for any literal, proof-texting of the Bible that marginalizes people.' (p.20)

Gabaitse (2015) claims that Biblical texts that call women into submission should be interpreted in new ways because the Holy Spirit provides new meaning and transformation of life. The Pentecostal church will become a liberating, empowering and transformative space if the leaders allow the Holy Spirit to truly transform and rule the hermeneutics of the church. which will give women a new status that inhabits the centre and not the margins that they currently hold (Nel, 2015).

Finally, there is a need for the Pentecostal church to give room for the Holy Spirit to critique and wash it of its sins of patriarchy; it is only after the church gives room for true manifestation of the Holy Spirit to lead its interpretation of the text that the church can proclaim true gender powers among men and women (Gabaitse, 2015). The marginalization and exclusion of women are hostile to the true spirit of Pentecostalism, for the simple reason of not allowing the Holy Spirit to purge it of its patriarchal ideologies and prerogatives. Powers (2001); Archer (2001) and Masenya (2009) submits that if the Pentecostal church remains patriarchal, the Holy Spirit will continue to critique and cause unsettlement within the church that preaches equality among men and women on the surface while in reality, it elevates the status of men through uncritical interpretations of the Bible.

2.8 BIBLICAL PATRIARCHY MOVEMENT IN PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

The Holy Bible consists of historical works of literature, laws, oral tradition, and knowledge; with all this woven together it serves as a compilation of a book of law that governs Christian

belief. For Christians, this anthology serves as a guide to living a Godly life and is interpreted as the timeless and inerrant word of God. Christian Fundamentalism emerged in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North America amongst conservative Protestant denominations that "yearned deeply to identify and reaffirm the true and original meaning of Christianity." (Dann, 2008:p.5). This section will demonstrate the scriptural discussions through both literal and feminist lenses simultaneously. Firstly, it presents the background of Christian patriarchy that informs biblical manhood and womanhood. Secondly, it sets out the focus on women's position specifically within patriarchy in the context of male headship and female submission. Thirdly, this section will explore the experiences of Christian women who have served Christ while being marginalized within various African Pentecostal churches.

In traditional Christian interpretations, the Bible is read as timeless and inerrant, and its teachings and wisdom are digested factually. Christian Fundamentalist views scripture through a patriarchal lens, interpreting the scriptural text to provide biblical justification for placing men in roles of authority and wives and daughters in dependent submissive positions. In the Christian doctrinal interpretation, the story of human creation and the downfall of humanity, as provided in Genesis 2-3, are very important in the formation of the basics of biblical gender roles. Sims (2016) claims that this interpretation of Genesis 2-3 holds that the first wife, Eve is created as a 'helpmeet' for her husband, wives in these doctrinal circles are therefore trained at a tender age to fulfil this 'Godly' expectation, and further interpretations continue to blame Eve for the fall of humanity, which have placed men in the position of faultlessness over women.

Dann (2008) claims that the authoritative structure of male headship and female submission in marriage is at the heart of biblical manhood and womanhood. This integrates with the very literal biblical doctrine and interpretation of scriptures to drive home the oppression to women; hence this is considered Christian patriarchy. The subjugation of women has been ranging over centuries; it flows from the old biblical tradition (Hadebe, 2007). This subjugation has ranged from a series of untenable philosophical arguments, untrue stories, myths, and man-made traditions (Casmir et al. 2014). The truth to this history is that man has always honoured religion with a theological interpretation in which a man's relationship to a woman is regarded with the same unquestionable law, which the church regards as the law of God that mortals cannot or should not question.

But this said interpretation of the Bible was carried out by men – yet they are human mortals and subject to human error of faith and reasoning. This explains a possible transformative turnaround in the established infallibility doctrine of the church. Wood (2019) further asserts that the early church fathers used texts from the Bible to legitimate the marginalisation and subordination of women. Texts such as Genesis 1:27, Genesis 2:20–23 and Genesis 3:1–24 in the Old Testament and New Testament scriptures 1 Timothy 2:8–15, 1 Corinthians 11:7–9, 1 Corinthians 14:33–35 and Ephesians 5:22–23 were regularly cited and used to oppress women. This led Sims (2016) to develop a protestant theology that is based on the transparent reading and interpretation of the Bible. The scholar examined the above scriptures that have been used to push women into conservative submission. Sims (2016) revealz that the misinterpretation of the scriptures is intentional on the part of the church leaders to further drive home fear and manipulate women into unjust submission. Thus, Sims (2016) argues that all daughters of Eve should be allowed to hold their space in marriage with both faith and freedom.

Biblical patriarchy in its simple terms refers to the gender roles and the hierarchy of authority described and to be followed by the Bible (Johnson, 2003). The Bible depicts that the value of a woman is more than that of a precious jewel, this explains that women come vast in price and value. However, the leaders of the church insist that the Bible explains that a virtuous wife must submit to her husband; dress conservatively to his satisfaction, bear and rear children, be intimately available to the husband, keep the house clean and tidy, must adhere to his instructions of her husband, she must refrain from having authority over her man, she must submit to her husband in all her doings. These instructions are biblically embedded in the readings of the New Testament specifically in 1 Peter:3-6

"Wives, in the same way, accept the authority of your husbands so that even if some of them do not obey the word, they may be worn over without a word from their wives' conduct when they see the purity and reverence of your lives. Do not adorn yourselves outwardly by braiding your hair and by wearing gold ornaments or fine clothing, rather, let your adornment be in the inner self with the lasting beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit which is very precious in God's sight. It was in this way long ago that the holy women who hoped on God used to adorn themselves by accepting the authority of their husbands".

The hierarchy of a biblical family is thus explained: children submit to their parents, wives submit to their husbands and husbands submit unto Christ, the head of the household. Joyce

(2009:7) contributes views from the Christian Patriarchy movement which explains that women's roles are to be dedicated to "bowing to the headship of the husbands", which simply means that a woman lays down her ambitions to pursue her husband's cause on earth. In this construct, a submissive wife gives her life to the literal interpretation of biblical womanhood, and in the process of defining her womanhood she gives up her identity to live as an extension of someone else (Sims, 2016). Discussing the experiences of Christian women, Sims (2016:23) provided a detailed phenomenological study on Hispanic women living in the United States; the study discovered that "fear" was a tool used in Christian households to enforce submission.

Having identified fear as a tool, there are further evidential reports that in Christian homes, women are enslaved to continuously be subjected to various forms of submission. Further explaining these Sims (2016) explained that in a Christian home the woman is responsible for more than 50 percent of the family duties, keeping the home, church activities, parenting and nursing the home front as well as satisfying the husband's desire including intimacy. The tool of fear is being immersed in women, by making them understand that she can lose her husband to other women if she is not able to satisfy her husband's sexual need. This explains that, if a woman cannot satiate her husband's desire, it is regarded as defrauding him of his rights and she is also inducing him to sin. Therefore, shifting the blame of a husband's failings on the wife are issues that are frequently practised in Christian homes. Similarly, Joyce (2009) claims that approximately 15 percent of evangelical churches practise church discipline that involves treating women in the church as outcasts and blaming them for any conjugal violence in their marriage.

Joyce (2009) gives instances where women are held responsible for their marriage, to the extent that in cases of domestic violence the woman is blamed or assumed to have provoked the husband by nagging and not respecting his authority. In terms of infidelity, the woman is blamed for not being sexually available or not being able to satisfy the sexual desires of her husband. Joyce (2009) further asserts that in evangelical churches no woman is immune to critics of her marriage within the church community. The notion of women's subjugation transcends its focus on various expressions to keep married women submerged. One such expression identified by Dekker (2007:p.571) is the adage of "Stand by your man", this phrase has pioneered and stays as a mechanism to keep women in abusive marriages. This simply implies that a married woman wronged by her husband must be determined to stick to

him and continue her wifely vows. With such in mind, she must view whatever wrong is done to her by her husband as a test from God on her marital vows.

Dekker (2007) affirms that this act is the peak of the patriarchal movement on women. Further exploration of the experiences of African Christian women and the marginalization they faced while doing the work of God in Pentecostal churches are detailed in the study of Selokela (2005) who examined the lived experiences of women in pastoral ministries in South Africa. The study revealed that African women although educated have struggled with patriarchal domination in Christianity from time immemorial. However, he mentioned that women are now actively involved in working hard towards resisting patriarchy. Discussing the experiences of these women, Selokela (2005) pointed out the marginalization of women as detailed in the narrative of his study; this was the story of Pastor Lesego who served God in the Africa Faith Mission (AFM) for several years and who understood the calling and the ministry God had put in her hands and who enrolled for theological training college.

This required defying all obstacles, such as that women were discouraged from studying the Bible because pastoral ministries were for men alone. Selokela (2005) reports that Pastor Lesego was defiant to the acts of patriarchy. However, she was denied ordination as a pastor after she graduated from Theological college and rather was given the title "Full-time lady worker" as only males were titled "pastors" She was directed to work under the Sunday school, children, and youth church. Sekolela (2005) claims that children and youth ministry were the kinds of ministries designated for women. This pinnacle of the struggles she faced as a servant of God lasted from 1970 to 1994 after South Africa gained freedom from apartheid. She was ordained and received her title as a 'pastor'. The extent of the oppression she faced from her male counterparts and as a servant of God did not stop her from preaching the gospel, she expressed that

"The pulpit is not the only place to preach the gospel, I used all platforms available to me. They thought I will shrink by putting me in Sunday School and Youth Church, but God helped me to proceed and draw children to God. I was not allowed to contribute in the board meeting of the church, and I served under my male counterpart because he was already ordained a pastor" (Selokela, 2005:p.20).

The struggles and oppression faced by pastor Lesego continued even though she was ordained a pastor, she, decided to start her parish and continued facing setbacks as there were traditional beliefs that women cannot lead a church, as well as a man, cannot bow and serve

under her leadership. However, she pointed out that she was lucky to have men who submitted under her calling, even though they faced challenges. These were the oppressions faced by women in the Christian ministry and it still proves to be a struggle within the 21st century of Pentecostal ministries.

Similarly, another narrative of biblical patriarchy enforced by the Pentecostal teachings is the account of a female pastor who was called to serve God at the age of twenty-seven but was ordained at the age of seventy-three (Phiri, 2000). This narration exposes the oppression caused by patriarchy among Christian women and the ministries God assigned them to. Regarding the experiences of Pastor Lerato of the African Faith Mission (AFM), she recounted that her case was worse because she was unmarried and without children and serving the Lord. In her nine years of service to God under the AFM, her ministry proved to be a difficult time and from her observations, she claims that the cause of women's oppression within the church is men's ego. She claims that women pastors are only tolerated and not accepted; patriarchy has caused society to think that women cannot be taken seriously as pastors.

Selokela (2005:p.23) asserts that most Pentecostal churches put women in a pastoral position as 'cosmetic dressing', this is done for the church to be seen as politically and socially correct by allowing women in leadership and by allowing women to preach. Pastor Lerato states that Pentecostal churches are tolerating women until the women exhaust themselves and they are tired of trying because they are allegedly the weaker vessel, in her experience. She reports the struggles of her toil and labour to be acknowledged in the AFM but it was unfortunately not honoured. It was only until she received an invitation from other pastors outside AFM to preach and minister at conferences that she started gaining relevance within the church after years of rejection from male pastors in the AFM. In addition, Phiri (2003) claims that the ability of Christian women to pray, fast and stay steadfast in God has proved to be their strength towards resisting patriarchy.

This subjugation faced by women led the late Papal Pontiff Pope John Paul to make a historical apology to women for the years of obnoxious subjugation and relegated treatment meted out to women by the church as a result of a dogmatic, wrong interpretation of the biblical text which has strong gender-related constructive text, specifically on the "submission clause" (Karant-Nunn & Weiser-Hanks, 2003; Casimir et al. 2014:p.167). The oppression of women in the society in African culture and its religious traditions have been ascribed by

gender activists and scholars to the use of misinterpreted teachings from the Bible to justify the institutional and social denials of women's rights (Olusola, 2012; Casmir et al. 2014). Nguyen et al. (2016) assert that women in Africa have been submerged by the exploitative customary traditions, although women in Africa had hoped that the church would liberate and restore their denied human rights for their human development. Unfortunately, the church has supported the ancient culture that sustained the patriarchal structure and constantly perpetuates injustice against women.

2.8.1 *Women and resistance to patriarchal values*

To fully understand and build resistance against patriarchy in society, Ogunjimi (1997) argues that feminist scholars must identify how women have been negatively portrayed in various discourse, then exemplify the victories of what liberated womanhood looks like. This opinion is relevant to this section of literature, which reviews in more detail the uprise of new formations of women who are building resistance to patriarchy and debating for equal rights within the public and private domain. This section also discusses silence as a tool used by women to resist patriarchy. It further discusses the capacity of Pentecostalism for the reimagination of femininity and the challenges faced by women of faith within the Pentecostal community. Women who stand against oppression and patriarchy are labelled and stigmatized as rebels by their families and society (Oduyoye, 1994; Siwila, 2012). A book written by De Hernandez et al. (2010:p.3) claim that "African women had the unwavering attitude to the challenges they confront while creating a vision of a positive future, using writing as a means of bearing witness to the oppression, and to share successful strategies to resist patriarchy".

Siwila (2012) maintains that education has empowered women to engage in different platforms such as literature, poetry, songs, writings to protest and fight against patriarchy. In the findings of Scott (1990), he provides a theory for feminist who discussed the lived experiences of women who faced patriarchy. Scott (1990:p.4) encourages the use of 'public transcript' to describe the open interaction between subordinates and the oppressed and 'hidden transcripts' to describe the interactions that happens offstage beyond direct observation of power holders. African feminist, Haddad (2004), engages the use of Scott's hidden and public transcript to articulate how African women resist patriarchy. Haddad (2004) describes that African woman resist patriarchy by joining the Prayer Women's League (PWL). She adds that women use prayer as a safe space to unburden their challenges to God in the absence of people. Haddad considers this act as a means of resisting patriarchy within

their family and community. According to Tamale (2004), African women use their sexuality to resist patriarchy. She explains that African women may conform to religion and culture, but they have devised means in resisting patriarchy in their way.

The scholar asserts that in the private domain, African women have ascribed the use of "silence" as a form of resisting patriarchy (Tamale, 2004). The use of body politics through sexual engagements was identified as an empowering way for women to build resistance, self-identity, self-desire, pleasure, and negotiation in marriage (Tamale, 2004). She further states that silence may be used as a catalyst for oppression, it can also be a tool for resistance by those marginalised, with emphasis on the fact that silence may be beneficial to the oppressed since it is un-engageable. In agreement with this, Motsemme (2004) agrees that women use silence as a means of resisting patriarchy. She claims that everyday silence can be used as a means of reconstituting new meanings and can be used as a tool of enablement for the oppressed. This means that silence is constructed to mean either acceptance or refusal. According to Cruz (2015), African women were born and socialized into the culture of silence. Scholars have argued that there is strength and weakness in silence as a tool of resistance (Jack, 1999; Bosacki, 2005). Jack (1999) maintains that the form of silence women use to resist patriarchy in their marriage is a different form from that which may have psychological effects such as depression.

However, women use different forms of silence to mask or control anger, or to hurt, at other times. Jack (1999) identifies the forms of silence, which include hostile silence, controlling silence, resisting silence, political silence, and safe silence. These forms of silence might be considered safe and liberating for women. Exploring the normed experiences of women in the Pentecostal community, studies have concluded that women have adapted to performing passive roles to improve their lives, within and outside their families (Davidman, 1991; Gallagher, 2003; Chong, 2006). Women, in whatever community they belong to, have actively sourced opportunities within their church to give a voice to the oppression they experience (Kleinman, 1984). These churches support male headship as the standard for authority, but with a rise in the number of women studying to be leaders within their religious community. Women adhering to the standard of male headship from centuries back have contributed to the setback faced in recent times for feminist ideologies to battle gender equality within all social spheres (Frederick, 2011).

A study conducted by Warner and Warner (2005) discovered that Pentecostal women are striving and developing resistance to patriarchy through engaging in professional careers, while also maintaining their passive gendered roles within the family. Their study further revealed that Pentecostal women are faced with the challenge of reconciling their aspirations with their perceived marriage roles as dictated by the church. Within the gendered realities of the church, women cannot have the opportunities and positions provided to men (Glass & Nath, 2006). As discussed in an earlier section of this study, the misinterpretation and surface reading of the Bible is a major setback for the liberation of women in the Pentecostal churches.

Chong (2006) asserts that women who have based their marital and family values on the strict hermeneutics of the Pentecostal church are usually bound to pursue goals that are stereotypically feminine, such as the education of children and youth and particularly roles that are characterized by gender limitations. This power dynamic in favour of men enforces soft patriarchy and places a burden on women's intention to contribute within the family. From the assertions of Perry (2013), women within the Pentecostal community discovered that to successfully resist patriarchy, they must be empowered, and this is done through engaging and creating small groups with their leadership roles. Furthermore, Perry (2013) claims that the strongest support against patriarchy within the faith for women has been through the organized effort with women of like mind. The role of using feminine spirituality, power and transformation poses as an encouragement towards the liberation of women from the Pentecostal patriarchal system (Griffith, 1997).

Within the arguments posited by Kalu (2008), one is that feminine spirituality has been recognised from the days of the Bible. He claims that the power of God has been predominately within the feminine imagery concerning God's salvation that was activated by Elizabeth, Mary the Mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene. These were women who dared to accept the power of ministration and were the first users of the work of God. However, Kalu (2008) expresses that the transition of the church into a place that oppresses and marginalize women, especially within the Pentecostal setting, is a crucial area that calls for research. According to Griffith (1997), women were rich in their knowledge and understanding of the Bible and this helped them construct their understanding of Christian womanhood, prayers, and their understanding of submission. Griffith (1997) points out that women will voluntarily submit to divine authority, and forced submission is imprisonment of a woman's liberation.

In Africa, there is an increased need to discuss the use of churches as a tool that drives patriarchal values. Soothill (2006) claims that power and patriarchal structures within the society, poverty, inequality and ethnic structures are challenges faced by African women that increase their fear, while they claim that church and prayers soothe their pain. Although women face challenges in their religion, Olademo (2012) claims that the greatest challenge faced by women is the structural hierarchy of Christianity has been and will remain patriarchy. She further adds that people perceive patriarchy as a product of male elitism which arises from the Christian doctrine based on the ideology that salvation granted by a 'male saviour' will continue to perpetuate patriarchal oppression (Olademo, 2012:p.66).

Sharma and Young (1999) asserts that diverse methods have been adopted by African women to resist patriarchy. These include intellectual activities of female scholars in religion. African women have called for an imperative change from a male-dominated leadership to a leadership method that is inclusive of all gender and marked with mutual respect. Olademo (2012) further asserts that the pluralistic understanding of the concept of power within the African system is now being utilized by women in the church to create alternative spaces for empowerment. These women empowerment programmes have gained worldwide support to elevate women's status. The strongest support within the Pentecostal faith for women has been through efforts of like-minded organizing church conferences, for women only, to discuss their liberation (Griffith, 1997). An example of this kind of organization is the Women's Aglow Fellowship International, to connect women working together to evangelize the word of God as well as striving for equality, personal growth, self-esteem and development. These types of organizations are combined with messages that are meant to inspire women, with biblically informed values and opportunities for women to grow beyond traditionally gendered norms.

Kepler, Shane and Heights (2007) assert that this introduction of organized conferences into the Pentecostal setting has encouraged several Pentecostal women to start their own business and this has helped them derive a means to balance gender roles and ideologies. The introduction of Pentecostal women into empowerment programmes has not gone without criticism. Barsher (1998) argues that any deviation from the beliefs or values of the Pentecostal hermeneutics of gender ideologies is considered as inappropriate and aberrant behaviour. Similarly, Oates et al. (2005) add that the primary image of a woman is for domestic use and any subcultures that suggest women should be actively engaged are

considered inappropriate. As stated, one of the manifestations of patriarchy within the church is the exclusion of women from leadership structures, based on the notion that women are weaker vessels.

Accordingly, Olademo (2012) asserts that the experiences of women in Christianity have been a roller-coaster, with different experiences right from the inception of Christianity. The diverse methods employed by women to resist patriarchy these include the intellectual writings and gatherings of women in Africa as a group to call for a change, to negotiate the space of leadership from a male-dominated leadership structure to that of mutual gender marked space with respect. Olademo (2012), in her writings, acknowledges that motifs from the African culture such as group formation and understanding the concept of power have been utilized by women in the church to negotiate their space for power by creating alternative spaces for empowerment. She claims that women are now featured in the various cadres of leadership, this being attributed to the success of African women scholars who have empowered other women to build resistance to patriarchy.

Consequently, the introduction of women conferences for the teachings of equality, personal growth and financial capacity by fellow women led to the empowerment of women and improved their chances at resisting patriarchal values. One such is evident in the suggestions and creation of groups by African feminist scholars (Olademo, 2012; Oyewumi, 2016), such as the creation of DODIM – Daughters of Deborah International Ministry – that was founded in Nigeria to empower and teach women how to negotiate their space within a traditional African system that is deeply rooted in patriarchy. The ministry of DODIM was created by Reverend Busola Olotu on the 1st of July 2007, having received a mandate from the Lord to liberate women (Olademo, 2012). The ministry holds an annual convention in November of every year with women attending from various parts of the world. Their activities range from 30-women prayer meetings to a four hour of divine visitations in prayers, "A one woman, who art thou conference", and, finally, outreach programmes to women and children in rural settings.

The DODIM ministry is involved in widow empowerment. The ministry provides support and encourages women to acquire skills; for example, it trains women in vocational fields such as hairdressing, cosmetology, catering, computer and secretarial training skills, and provides money to equip women who want to start up personal business. The foundation and empowerment of women provided by the DODIM is a manifestation of Oyewumi's (1991)

and Kepler et al.'s (2007) assertion that, for African women to be free from marital oppression, there is a need to build their financial capacities, as this would improve their chances at decision-making process in their marriage. The ministry of DODIM has encouraged women to liberate themselves and become more than just household beings. Olademo (2012) claims that the need to prioritize women's experiences is a cardinal point of seeing changes within the society.

2.9 INTERSECTIONALITY OF MULTIPLE DISADVANTAGES OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.9.1 *Conceptualising migration*

Castles and Miller (2003) define migration as a permanent or semi-permanent move to change residence, without considering the length of time involved in migration. It puts into perspective the origin, the destination, and obstacles ahead of the migrant. The National Geographic Society (2005) sums up migration as the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence. Individuals usually migrate for factors that could include better economic opportunities, hope for a better future for their children, ambition, and zest of a new adventure. As argued by Castles and Miller (2003), migration is one of the most important factors in global change, as millions of people regardless of their race are seeking to live outside of their country, and this can take different forms. Similarly, Van Naerssen, Spaan and Zoomers (2008) explain that migration is becoming very complex because of the various types of migrants. These migrants are categorized as follows: voluntary migrants, coerced migrants, circular migrants, long and short distance migrants, temporary and permanent migrants. Van Naerssen et al. (2008) further argue that migrants can be sub-categorized by gender, age, education, skill set, etc. All these factors sum up the diverse links they have with their home country, resulting in different impact on developments in their host country.

The National Geographic Society (2005) identifies different types of migration by their causal factors, ranging from voluntary, forced, factor of economic determinants, war, conflicts, human trafficking and rural-urban environmental upgrade. Migration is usually a voluntary action where people move across borders for different purposes, but for some individuals, migration is coerced and a means of survival, such as in cases of civil unrest, war or downturn of political issues (Hunter & Skinner, 2003). Notably, there are different forms of migration: intercontinental migration (migration from one continent to another) or intra-regional

migration (moving from one country to another within the same continent), while internal migration is the movement of people from one state to another usually from rural to urban areas within a country (National Geographic Society, 2005).

Migration has been argued to be an old phenomenon; however, what is different now is the number and rate at which individuals or family are migrating and the increase in global impact. Over the years there has been an increase of over 180 million international migrants and a recent publication by the international organization for migration (IOM) gives a global estimate of 281 million international migrants as of 2020 (IOM, 2022).

2.9.2 African migration patterns

Migration within Africa is a dynamic and complex situation, migration has placed central roles in the livelihoods of both urban and rural African population (Adepoju 1991). Migration is plagued by the strong influence of colonization; as Adepoju (2005) points out, during colonial times Africans were shipped off to western countries as slaves and laborers. Colonial ties are still very important in explaining present day migration patterns, However, studies prove that since the 1980s there has been a clear diversification of migration patterns within African continents away from the old migration patterns as determined by colonial divisions (Akokpari, 2000). African migrants have begun their journeys within the African continent and often to neighbouring countries within the African continent. Akokpari (2000) claims that migration within Africa has generally been informal and undocumented; he notes that there has been an increased wave of migration within the African continent. Adeopoju (2005) notes that Africa is characterized by dominant migratory flows such as labour migrations between west and central Africa, refugee flows of migrants within Eastern Africa, the clandestine migration of different ethnic group and nomads in west Africa and East Africa, and more labour migration from Eastern and Southern Africa into South Africa.

According to Adepoju (2005), part of the features of African history has been the continuous migration of people across space in response to the changing conditions of the African continent, Presently, South Africa is one of the largest importers of African labour from surrounding countries such as Lesotho, Eswatini, Malawi, Mozambique, and Swaziland. The south, particularly South Africa and Botswana, are major present-day importers of migrants within Africa and migrants to these countries are coming from all corners of Africa and are engaged in different forms of labour and employment (Mafukidze, 2006).

Intra-African migration is mainly to countries with higher economic values and increased economic growth and social values such as South Africa (Mafukidze, 2006). Arango (2000) asserts that economic disparities within African countries are a major influence of migration within the continent. As migration scholars have argued, there are overriding rules that direct migrants' search for greater economic and social wellbeing. With these spectacular economic differences in the nations of Africa, migratory flows are directed towards impoverished countries (Adepoju, 2005; Mafukidze, 2006). Adepoju (2006) clams that poverty is a fundamental issue in Africa as compared to the rest of the world, and this is accompanied by political corruption and ethno-religious clashes that fuels migration of Africans to the other part of the world. He further adds that migration studies in Africa need to consider not only the economic and political imbalances but also the social conditions as factors that determine migration process and the kind of social resources that facilitate migration. In most cases of intra-migration within Africa, migrants often originate from rural and underdevelopment countries to settle and work in diverse areas at their destination, for instance is the case of seasonal immigrants from Lesotho who works across the border on asparagus farms in South Africa (Adepoju, 2003).

2.9.3 Gender and migration

It is important to explore issues of gender in the experiences of the migration process. Gender is different from sex, sex is the biological make up of individuals, while gender is the social construction of femininity and masculinity (Connell, 2002). There are two main approaches to the gender/sex distinction: biological essentialism and social constructionism. The biological approach focuses on gender identities and roles that are considered natural to the biological makeup of men and women; such differences are characterized by bodily strength, physical skills, speed, interests and sexual desires. Connell (2002) argues that natural differences provide the basis for a societal pattern of gender formation where men maintain their dominance through use of their greater physical strength.

Social constructionism on the other hand considers gender as a structure influenced by social and cultural forces that are predicated on activities, tasks, appearances, and other factors based on the perceived differences between men and women (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). Social constructionism theory captures the extensive patterns of social relations that are caught up in the concept of structure. Gender is then observed as the structure of social relations that assigns different tasks to men and women based on real or assumed biological differences

(Connell, 2002). He further adds that the structure of social relations may not mechanically determine how people react or act, however gender defines the possibilities and consequences of gender performance. In the migration process, gender is a core principle that facilitates or constrains movement and related processes such as adaptation to the new country, continuous relationship with home country and possible return. Dannecker (2005) posits that transnationalism is gendered, as men and women navigate their experiences in different ways. Therefore, it is imperative to discuss gender, from the perspective of social constructionism, as embedded in migration processes, an issue that has received relatively limited attention in migration studies

Early studies on migration focused mainly on male migrants and women were portrayed as passive companions migrating to accompany or reunite with their migrant husbands (Bohning, 1981; Portes & Bach, 1985; Crush, 1991). This male bias in migration studies was countered in the 1980s by feminist scholars who highlighted the predominance of women in migration processes (Morokvasic 1984; Ong, 1991; Pedraza, 1991; Donato, 1992). Feminist scholars highlighted that woman were increasingly migrating as the major providers of their households. In the African context of migration, the traditional pattern of migration within Africa, which was previously male dominated, has also experienced shift in the measures of things as it is increasingly being feminized (Adepoju, 2004). He adds that in recent years there has been a new phenomenon of women migrating for different reasons. Pessar and Mahler (2001) confirm that a major trend of new migration to South Africa has been the increase of women for a broad range of education, social, economic, and productive reasons. The inflow of women migrants has been specifically migration of domestic workers and caregivers, migration as sex workers and organized migration of women for arranged marriage, which are all forms of feminization of migration. These women also fulfil their economic and social needs as opposed to just joining their spouse of other family members (Adepoju, 2004). Historically, Hiralal (2013) claims that there is new evidence that women have been more independent factors in migration issues. Lefko- Everett (2007) argues that there should be a focus on the feminization of migration while seeking to make gender and gender differences an important category of migration analysis. Analysis from the study of Lefko-Everett (2007) confirms that there has been an increase in female migration in the last decade. In 2005, 94.5 million out of 191 million global migrants were women. This has increased the proportion of women to 49% of the number of global migrants.

Hiralal (2014) advances the importance of gender analysis in migration issues as a significant pattern in population movement. Flowing from the arguments of Lefko-Everett (2007), there is an important understanding of the complexities and intersections of gender and migration. This claim supports the arguments of Palmary et al. (2010) that explain that the feminist approach to studying the migration process has helped to locate the analysis within the contexts of identity, livelihood, language, employment, and sustainability of women's agency. While early studies (Bozzoli & Nkotsoe 1991) have shown the vulnerability of women as those who have laboured under harsh conditions and as people who lacked choices, and were perceived, and treated as passive minds in the migration process and weak social status, the feminist approach to migration has challenged traditional theories that continue to portray migrant women as weak through conventional economist models. Feminists particularly situate their arguments within intersectionality theory, which explores how gender intersects with race, class and identity to illuminate a wide range of women's experience in the migration process (Nolin, 2006).

2.9.4   *Insights into gender and migration in South Africa*

According to Vale (2003), the analysis of migration in South Africa is often centred around men, with women being treated as adjuncts to men because they came as part of family migration. Cohen (1997) posits that migration of families has put women in a position where they are considered a residual category, they have been treated as dependent family members, often considered as the baggage of male migrants.

The new gendered perspective on migration has highlighted women's agency in various geographical settings; it considers women as not as passive victims but as principal earners and decision-makers in the migration process (Harilal, 2013). Palmary et al. (2010) claim that the importance of understanding the complexity and intersectionality of gender in the migration process is based on the meanings attached to different kind of immigrants, their movements, their motivation for moving and how this meaning shapes the kind of support they get, either negatively or positively. Recent studies have explored the influence of women's agency in the migration process. These studies illuminate women's experience using a conceptual model of "gendered geographies of power", which they claim captures the understanding that gender operates concurrently on diverse social scales – the family, their culture and values across social settings (Mahler & Pessar, 2001:p.445). Asserting further, Mahler and Pessar (2001) claim that it is within this social setting that gender identities and

relations can be formed or transformed. According to the arguments presented by Clifford (1994), the dialectic nature of gender relations in the migration process has led to unwanted patriarchal structures. He explains that migrants maintain a connection with their homeland and build a new religious and cultural connection. New political spaces and demands in their host country are opened by diaspora interactions. Another study on South African historiography studies on women immigrants, from a historical and contemporary perspective, reveals that there are diverse insights into understanding the complexities of migration (Van-Heltan et al. 1983). The study explored the lives and experiences of middle-class settler women in the Cape Colony and Natal, which was centred on race and nationalism. They discovered that women's actions were dictated by nationalism and a desire to spread victory, notions relying on domesticity and motherhood.

Flowing from the above, Kihatso (2010) argues that it is imperative to understand the complexities of gendered migration, particularly that of women's daily lives. She further adds that women have a more powerful agency than has been acknowledged in the migration process. With an active decision-making process, women will become more beneficial of the strategic benefits of migration. International studies have explored how immigrant women are constantly trapped in abusive relationships largely through migration policy, language barrier, lack of financial resources, isolation, and cultural challenges (Dutton, Leslye & Hass, 2000). Among the Latinos that have migrated into the United States, there have been increased cases of domestic abuse. Similarly, Orloff and Garcia (2013) also explain that the level of domestic violence among immigrants is higher than among locals; they explain that women are subjected to higher rates of violence because they lack access to legal and social services.

In another study conducted on South Asian women in the United States, Kallivayalil (2010) argues that gender violence is shaped by specific cultural norms that include gender roles and patriarchal ideologies they experience in their new environment, which are different from their existing culture. Kallivayalil (2010) situates her argument on the basis that migrated South Asian women have experienced greater rights that exist in the marriages of their counterparts in the United States and this strikes an idea for them to emulate in their marriage. Unfortunately, this results in domestic violence, because Asian culture puts women in subordinate roles which is emphasized through Asian traditional gender ideologies. Reviews from this literature indicate that the connection between migration and intimate partner violence has affected different regions of the world.

In studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a dearth of literature available on migrant studies and women's agency. Kistner (2003) claims that there is little knowledge available in the literature about the experiences and situations of refugee women in South Africa. However, despite these limitations, a few studies have documented the experience of women in the migration process. The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA, 2008) refers to South Africa as a popular destination for migrants but it is also a region that is intimidating, where women and migrants suffer violence, hostility from locals, social exclusion as well as economic exploitation. In South Africa, there has been a significant increase in the number of international migrants and refugees from other African countries. Migration is no longer male centralized as there is an increased rate of women migrants in Africa (Kiwanuka, 2010).

Many of these migrants consider South Africa as a prime destination within Africa, as it is perceived by many to be a region that is economically stable and relatively peaceful. Kallivayalil (2010) claims that on arrival many migrants settle in urban areas where employment opportunities exist. However, these immigrants soon realize that the socio-economic stability of South Africa is different from what they imagined. These challenges are enormous and prove to be a disadvantage for women migrants (Kihatso, 2007; Kallivayalil, 2010).

2.9.4.1 *Reperforming gender roles in the destination of migration*

In a study conducted by Ojong (2009) it was found that in the destination of migrants there is a process of renegotiation and redefinition of gendered roles. She focused on Ghanaians in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa and explored how Ghanaian men have now entered the hair-dressing venture, which was previously female dominated in Ghana. In Ghana and many other African countries, men and women are socialized based on their gender roles and there are tendencies to strictly adhere to gender roles. However, upon migration into South Africa, specifically due to lack of employment opportunities in KwaZulu-Natal, Ghanaian men are not opposed to taking on what were predominantly female roles and occupations. Migrating into a new country, survival becomes the most important factor, culture and male ego are considerably pushed to the back seat. Ojong (2009) asserts that the number of Ghanaian men in hairdressing ventures in KwaZulu-Natal has increased and there has been a considerable renegotiation of the once gendered hair-dressing space. Also, since most Ghanaian women have been in the hairdressing space they have been financially independent

and are able to provide for themselves and their families. As such, this group of Ghanaian women are no longer subordinate to their husbands in terms of financial capacity and this causes men to lose their traditional role of being the sole provider for the family.

The gender relationship between men and women is often altered at the destination of migration, however, this is not to say migration affects all gendered relationships and role performance. Ojong (2009) explains that men were compelled to share domestic duties with their working wives as they need surplus income in their host country; these changes gradually placed a heavy strain on many marriages, resulting in domestic violence and divorce in some cases. Notably, living in a new environment in most cases provides alternative models of gender realities as women began to question male privileges. Also, this does not mean gender patterns are changed by migration or yield positive gains for women in all cases. However, more often than not, the gender realties of individuals changes at the migration site. In another study conducted by Abdulrahim (1993), who examined the gender relation among Palestinians in west Berlin, she argued that gender and social relations are historically specific, she adds that Palestinian women in Berlin were mostly confined to the private and domestic sphere and a major part of the social life for women was typically regulated. This indicates that migration can lead to a loss or gain in the status of women, and this varies depending on the immigrant context and cultural background. Furthermore, Ojong (2009) adds that in some situations new economic and social responsibilities have been the basis for a woman's increasing her importance within the family, whilst for some other women her role in the family has been undermined. On the whole, migration to a certain extent can alter gender relations and ideologies.

2.10 CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO MIGRANT WOMEN OPPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The previous section discussed the flow of immigrants into South Africa and the decentralization of migration from a male-dominated sector to feminisation and inclusion of women into the decision-making process as well as discussions on gender complexities. This section builds on the discourse of language, xenophobia, unemployment, culture and migration policies, and family isolation as factors that influence the continuous oppression of immigrant women.

2.10.1 Language

According to Ojong (2002), language is a major challenge for immigrant women, as the inability to communicate in the local language is considered a stigma. Her study revealed that immigrant women were stigmatized for "not understanding the language" (Ojong, 2002:67). The struggle for immigrant women to learn isiZulu and other indigenous languages had important ramifications in the way immigrants are treated by locals. Harilal (2017), in her study that examined women and migration challenges in South Africa, revealed that language was a prerequisite for social inclusion, she expressed that "if you cannot speak Zulu or the local language you are a foreigner, they discriminate against you" (Harilal, 2017:p.168).

Failure to learn the local language stands the chance of exacerbating immigrants' inability to blend into the community (Harilal, 2017); she further asserts that most immigrants also have challenges speaking English with a different accent, which also poses a challenge. Similarly, Kiwanuka (2008) maintains that immigrant women are usually frustrated in relating with locals. Women indicate that the language barrier is a serious challenge to them as they cannot report their abuses to the police. The domestication of women within family roles is also considered a challenge. As demonstrated in the study of Hiralal (2015), most immigrant husbands are restrictive of their wives learning English or relating with local women, as South African women are perceived to be promiscuous.

Migration-related challenges like language have heightened the women's fears of public violence. As Kiwanuka (2008) argues, immigrant women will adequately tolerate domestic violence, but they rather not expose themselves to public violence that could make the situation worse for them. Orloff and Garcia (2013) argue that language is a significant barrier to accessing police assistance during an abusive episode faced by immigrant women. The nexus between language and violence is highlighted in its contribution as a barrier that hinders women from reporting domestic violence and seeking social service support (Erez, 2002; Raj & Silverman, 2002). Furthermore, Orloff and Garcia (2013) add that language barriers are worsened when women report situations to the police and they are responded to in the local language; this further aggravate their frustration. Learning English and the local language proves to be difficult when an immigrant lacks the funds, time, and resources to attend languages classes. Hiralal (2017) concludes that immigrant women are working as primary home keepers; street vendors often have little time to dedicate to learning the

language. Hence, language is a major barrier that will continue to impede migration settlement by immigrants.

2.10.2 Xenophobia

South Africa is considered home to more than 3 million foreigners; as of 2014 there were over 230,000 asylum seekers and over 65,000 refugees. These refugees originally migrated from Angola, Ethiopia, Somalia and a considerable number of the unskilled labour force come from Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe (Wilkinson, 2015). Harilal (2017) claims that, in South Africa, 11% of the migrants are employers, 21% are self-employed and 32.65% of them are employed in South Africa's informal sector. The presence of these foreigners has given rise to anti-foreign attitudes. The hostility meted out to immigrants has further contributed to the challenges of foreigners being assimilated into the society. A review of literature dates xenophobic attacks back to 2008, when violence was launched on different African migrants as well as Pakistanis.

The constant show of violence by locals on foreigners has heightened the fear of migrant women in the country. Wilkisinson (2015) asserts that often these migrant women in unskilled labour are already experiencing domestic violence, then the fear of intermittent xenophobic attacks increases their level of uncertainty within South Africa. Harilal (2017) claims that when these foreigners experience these attacks, they become threatened and often withdraw themselves from society and seek refuge among fellow foreigners. Given this hostile and unfriendly environment, husbands often prey on the fear factor in their women, they use this as an advantage to reiterate their masculine and physical control over women who are powerless to seek police or social assistance. Furthermore, given that the woman's immigration status is dependent on their spouse, this factor is often utilized to force women to remain in abusive relationships.

2.10.3 Family isolation

Scholars of migration studies have identified family isolation as one of the major factors that influence the oppression of women in marriages (Sibanda, 2008; Kiwanuka, 2008; Hiralal, 2017). Often, women experience family isolation upon arrival in their host country due to the constraints of communication and family interaction. Kiwanuka (2008) claims that, in times of hardship, these women cannot seek help from their families, and it becomes increasingly difficult for these women; they become more vulnerable to domestic violence. A similar study conducted by Abraham (1998) on south Asia and Latino immigrant women in the US

revealed that lack of family and financial support has made women powerless and fearful in their marriages.

Social settings such as unemployment, lack of funds, fear of social exclusion and lack of community support are factors that have lessened divorce rate among migrant marriages (Hiralal, 2017). Hiralal links the xenophobic behaviour of South Africans as a tool that traps migrant women from speaking about their experiences, for fear of being discriminated against or harmed. A study conducted among Tanzania and Burundi migrant women indicates that women are beginning to seek help from foreign aid programmes in South Africa that serves as a helping hand against gender-based violence, regardless of one's nationality, by providing counselling and medical health care for women facing abuse in their marriages (Human Right Watch, 2000). Migrant women are forced to stay in abusive relationships due to lack of funds, lack of social support and unemployment. Hiralal (2017) concludes thatz, until the South African community implements more policies to protect its women, the oppression of migrant women will persist.

2.10.4 Cultural and migration policies

Cultural factors in many instances hinder women from reporting domestic abuse. In the study of Hiralal (2017), migrant women have reported that their cultural beliefs play a significant role in the continuity of women's oppression. She claims that the patriarchal values that support male headship and female submissiveness is a major influence of migrant women being oppressed. According to Sibanda (2008), cultural factors has eaten deep into the mind of women, to the extent that in an abusive relationship, women are not expected to challenge the male authority. This claim is evident in the findings of Kiwanuka (2008:p.193) where a respondent claims that "it is not in our culture to leave our husbands; it will bring shame to my family and my parents."

Similarly, Hiralal (2017) adds that women who have experienced violence in their marriages have asked their husbands to seek medical help. However, the situation gets worse because it is not socially accepted that African men can seek help and does not believe in therapy. The fear of separation or divorce, limited access to children, lack of relevant immigration policies and fear of deportation play a contributory role to women being oppressed by their partners in the host country. Siddiqui et al. (2008) assert that cultural beliefs integrated with patriarchal values have led women to accept the idea that the honour of being a good wife is based on to what extent they can internalize acts of violence committed against them by their spouse.

Studies have made significant attempts to understand the intersections of migration and gender violence. According to a study conducted by Hiralal (2017) in Johannesburg on gender violence due to immigration policies and unequal power relations it was discovered that the state has set its policies on strict employment qualifications in ways that indirectly frustrates immigrants' opportunities.

The results of such frustration often times fuel partners' violence against each other in a context where policies are also aimed at policing and deporting undocumented migrants in South Africa with limited access to immigration legal services (Kiwanuka, 2010.). Hiralal (2015) asserts that many female migrants into South Africa are disadvantaged by a low literacy level, unemployment due to policies set by the government and a lack of funds. On the contrary, Aaca (2013) argues that migration takes a different toll on men. It is therefore not surprising that her study reveals that migrant men are dependent on South African women for basic needs and protection from the state – for citizenship. Patriarchy still privileges men as heads of the families and key decision-makers. However, when roles are reversed, in cases where the man becomes dependent on the woman for continuous stay in the country, the dynamics of gender relation are bound to change. It gives the woman an edge over the man (Aaca, 2013:15).

Hiralal (2017) further argues that many of these women struggle to make a decent living. Thus, they enter the labour market as semi-skilled or unskilled workers; they are equally subjected to sexual abuse and police harassment and patriarchal oppression. This informal sector of unskilled labour – street vendors, hawkers have been a major source of livelihood for many women immigrants and these women have to multi-task and navigate the new and complex society they find themselves in. While embodying their multiple identities roles as a wife, mother and woman, they face many challenges and uncertainties (SAIIA, 2008; Hiralal, 2017). Dutton et al. (2000) claim that married immigrant women are more susceptible to domestic violence than unmarried women. Collectively, all these challenges faced by migrant women in South Africa have exacerbated violence against women.

2.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored literature on the institution of marriage, Pentecostal hermeneutics, migration from an African perspective. Interestingly, literature from feminist perspectives presents marriage as a site for patriarchal oppression of women, yet they nevertheless acknowledge marriage as an effort to protect the motherhood role. The integration of foreign

nationals into South Africa seem to influence the patriarchal challenges women face. In addition, this chapter has critically reviewed literature on Pentecostal Christian hermeneutics as an ideology and a source of oppression to women. It further presents the discussion of complementarianism and egalitarianism as ideologies central to the understanding of Pentecostalism and gendered roles.

According to literature, patriarchy is nurtured within the context of marriage. This is supported by the traditional African values that guide marriage. These patriarchal values are nurtured by religious and cultural beliefs that drive home more oppression against women. This supports the review of literature that discussed biblical patriarchy as an ideology used by Pentecostals for gender oppression. Similarly, this chapter discussed power relationships and dynamics within African marriage, detailing the importance and distribution of power within marriage. Although patriarchy is considered mainly a religious ideology, women have developed ways of resisting it.

Therefore, a section of this chapter critically discusses how women have developed resistance to patriarchy in their marriages and within the Christian community. In revisiting the discourse of patriarchy and migration, this chapter discussed the major challenges posed by migration policies that affect the social interaction and social relevance of migrated families in South Africa. The reviewed literature of this study shall be used in conjunction with theory to present the themes in the discussion of research findings. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study it discusses the integration of social construction and Nego-feminism theory as the foundation of this study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter was designed to review relevant literature that is related to the topic under study, by presenting the views and findings from other scholars. This current chapter discusses the theoretical background for this study, setting out the foundation for the theoretical discourse and how it applies to the research under investigation. The chapter presents three theories: gendered geographies of power, social construction theory and the Nego-feminism theory that together form a framework relevant to this study because it parallels the aim of the study, the research objectives and the research methodology.

The gendered geographies of power theory examines gender across transnational spaces, as in this study, which explored the lived experiences of migrant women from different African countries. It becomes imperative to examine these experiences through the lens of a theory that explores the gendered lives of people in migration.

Social construction theory is relevant as this study does not aim to conclude generalized findings but rather aims to identify, describe and understand how a group of women in a particular social context constructs discourses around gender oppression influenced by Pentecostalism. This is embedded within a broader social environment, which contributes to how women and the society interprets lived experience.

Nego-feminism theory considers the cultural imperative that modulates dynamic global exigencies. Most ethnic groups in Africa have a culture of negotiation and compromise when it comes to reaching agreements. This study probed into an understanding of the negotiation of power in heterosexual marriages.

The study aims to relate these frameworks to the research focus, as it will be reflected in the findings and discussion chapter

3.2   GENDERED GEOGRAPHIES OF POWER

While discussing the literature review of this study, the emergence of migration discourse could not be excluded. How we understand gender identities and migration needs to be identified and relationally discussed. The challenges that have emerged from exploring gender ideologies indicate that gender is far from being a stable conceptual category, as applies also to migration. In this study, transformations and renegotiations of gender relations have taken

place in transnational spaces. Women in transnational spaces are a major group highlighted as the research population for this study. Hence, it became imperative to include a theoretical framework that can be applied in understanding a particular social or psychological phenomenon, in this case the gendered lives of migrant women. Mahler and Pessar (2006) posit that bringing a gendered lens to migration studies benefits both the study of transnational processes and the study of gender. To this end, they have developed the gendered geographies of power framework to conceptualise the study of gender identities and relations when conducted and negotiated across transnational space (Mahler & Pessar,, 2001; Mahler & Pessar, 2006).

Mahler and Pessar (2001) developed the gendered geographies of power as a framework to examine gender across transnational spaces. Migration scholars have engaged extensively with this framework (Kyle, 1995, Goldring, 1996, Mahler & Pessar, 1996, Glick, 1999, Keck & Sikkink, 1998, Muthuki, 2010, Hingston, 2015). The gendered geographies of power theory is argued to be a useful theoretical framework for exploring people's social agency, relating both to their own experiences as well as their positions within multiple hierarchies of power that operate within and across many terrains. The gendered geographies of power was informed by Giddens' theory of saturation in embracing both individual and societal characteristics in order to gain a fuller image of migration (Mahler & Pessar, 1996). Older studies that have engaged the use of gendered geographies of power usually situate the discussion of migration on women who are disenfranchised, mainly uneducated women, refugees, domestic workers, and commercial sex workers. These literatures have portrayed migrant women as unskilled workers, always existing in the margins of the economy (Glick, 1999). This study has employed gendered geographies of power framework to examine the lives of women who are suitable research participants for this study since they are required to adjust to new situations. Their narratives become salient because they have first-hand experiences of gender ideologies, migration and oppression within the South African context.

As this study explored African women migrants in Durban, these women are positioned in a transnational space and in a new gender regime with its own operative power. The gendered geographies of power framework is therefore suitable to examine their gendered lives. This framework has four major elements.

3.2.1 Geographical scales

This concept puts into consideration the importance of gender and how it operates on diverse spatial, social, and cultural scales such as the family, state, body, and gender hegemonies across transnational spaces (Mahler & Pessar, 2001). It is within these geographical scales that the authors argue that gender relations and ideologies are reaffirmed and reperformed. As such, gender is envisioned and practised within and across different scales and transnational spaces. This concept assisted me in exploring how gender identities and the subjective reality of gender oppression are constituted between their home country and their host country, and how this has reinforced or challenged their perceptions of gender. Under the feminist poststructuralist approach, subjective realities are not a given fact but rather socially construed. Hence, the way people construe their identities is often in tension with another multiple layers of their environment and cultures which can be contradictory. Since subjective realities are always under construction, this framework does not seek to unify subjectivities but rather to explore the narratives of different migrant women across African cultures residing in Durban and how gender oppression reintroduces itself in the context of migrating into a new country and the influence of biblical exegesis in their new geographical space. The geographical scale element was therefore useful in this study, as it enabled me to explore how transnational space between migrant home countries and South Africa has provided these migrant women with opportunities of either reinforcing and resisting prevailing gender ideologies or challenging a new hegemonic gender performance in their host country.

3.2.2 Social locations

Social location is defined by a combination of different factors such as gender, race, social class, age, ability and disabilities, sexual orientation, religion and geographic location. These factors make social location unique to each individual. People are in most cases born into a particular social location that confers upon them certain advantages and disadvantages. Gender identities intersect with existing connection of other social identities such as class, ethnicity, race, and nationality among others. As Pessar and Mahler (2003) argue, these dimensions of social identity also shape, discipline and position people and the way they think, act and react. As a result, people, irrespective of their own efforts, are situated within power hierarchies that are beyond their control and this affects their resources and access to mobility across transnational spaces (Mahler & Pessar, 2001). However, social locations are

fluid, they can shift over time. Migrant women in Durban are not a homogenous group; they are differentiated by various social identities such as class, ethnicity and social relations.

The social location concept enabled me to examine the gendered diversities of migrants by exploring how their race, ethnicity and particularly culture related to matters of gender and gender performance for them in their home country and the differences they have experienced in their host country. This concept also propelled the study into examining the importance of negotiation – negotiating their gender identity and still facing the challenges of gender oppression as influenced by Pentecostal hermeneutics.

3.2.3   Power geometries

The power geometry concept of the elements was introduced by Massey (2006) and it is considered as applying to the types and degrees of agency that people have access to, in relating to their social locations. Power is a dimension of gender, and it is central in the first wave of feminism's concept of patriarchy. Women's liberation activists recognized that patriarchal power was not just a matter of direct control of men over women but also a feature of institutions as well (Ahikire, 2008). Institutionalized power is an important aspect of the structure of gender discussion. Within the context of migration, power is a complex strategic situation given the social setting, in this case where the state plays a major role in determining the patterns of intra-regional migration through emigration policies, which in many cases treats women and men differently (Mahler & Pessar, 2001). When discussing migration and gender related issues, power needs to be considered as an imperative factor in the analysis of gender, the transnational space is a social space with complex relations of authority, dominance and subordination of solidarity and cooperation.

Foucault (1977) argues that power is discursive and diffuse. Power in this way impacts directly on people in terms of their identities and their sense of belonging in the world. A complete account of power often requires the understanding that power is organized and institutionalized. Massey (2006) asserts that people are placed in very distinct locations regarding access to power and this overflows between places. People and are therefore able to apply power over these forces and processes as well as being affected by them. Power geometries are also able to initiate, refine and transform their social locations. Drawing from Foucault's discourse and the consideration of women's agency on power, the concept power geometries was useful in examining how migrants negotiated their gender identity and power

dynamics in their marriage, especially in relation to the gender challenges they experienced in the South African social location.

3.2.4 Imagination or mind work

Mahler and Pessar (2001) present the idea that agency is not just affected by extra-personal factors but also characterized by the initiative of an individual. They argue that social agency must include the cognitive thought process and must be transnationally foregrounded by imagining, planning and strategizing. This thought process usually entails how migrants have envisioned life in the country of destination, working towards acquiring travel documents and organizing their actual trip and accommodation to the host country; all this planning is undertaken whilst still in the home country. This imagination concept focuses on how images, meanings and values are gendered, interpreted, and appropriated by individuals in varied sites in ways that promote or constrain mobility (Pessar & Mahler, 2001; Constable, 2003). This social imagination and mind work must be valued and factored into people's agency. This concept was useful for this study because it allowed me to explore how migrants have imagined their lives in South Africa and what they have experienced thus far. Additionally, this concept provided room to explore cultural representations of changes in marriages and in the gendered lives they have lived in their home country, as against the lives they have experienced within the South African context of gender ideologies.

Alongside the gendered geographies of power framework, this study also employed the social construction theory as well as the Nego-feminism theory. These theories are discussed in the following sections.

3.3 OVERVIEW AND HISTORICAL APPROACH OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION THEORY

This section of the study briefly discusses the history of social construction theory, the overview of the theory. It also presents discussions on how the theory has been used by several authors in other spheres of social science to unravel various social phenomena. Social construction theory, otherwise called social constructionism, is a realistic theory of sociology and communication that explores the development of a jointly construed meaning and understanding of the world we live in (Burr, 1995). According to Gergen, Lightfoot and Sydow (2004), there are various ways to approach the discourse of social construction theory, with each researcher constructing their understanding from different frameworks. The

available literature documents the origin of social construction as developing from the second order of cybernetics and constructivism, but social construction is also linked to the post-modernist paradigm (Mair, 1989; Kotze, 1994). However, this study follows the literature that explains that social construction theory was introduced by sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman in their discussion of the social construction of reality in 1966.

The idea of social construction was influenced by readings from Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and George Herbert Mead on their discourse of interactionism and construction of identity (Gergen, 1985). Social construction research scholars argue that social constructionism has many roots such as social history, social knowledge, hermeneutics, phenomenological psychology (Kuhn, 1970; Watzlawick, 1984; Holstein & Miller, 1993; Harre & Gillet, 1994). Themes of social constructionism have occurred in several writings of authors such as Immanuel Kant, Karl Marx and Giambattista Vico (Owen, 1995). All these writings have been significant precursors to social constructionist views of history and of the development of knowledge. According to Billig (1991), the constructs of social construction are rhetorical, because successive generations recreate and reedit history as it applies to them. Hence, Shotter (1993) posits that everyday understanding of the world is the focus of social construction theory. Several authors have applied the social construction theory into exploring diverse social problems.

One such is Harre (1991), who explored the social construction of personality and human behaviour and argued that human behaviour is a result of emotions and environmental factors, which has major implications for the practice of therapy. The scholar also applied social constructionism in understanding how the body works, in understanding individuality, motivations and their influence on social life. Similarly, another social constructionist, Bakhurst, describes constructionism as the ability of the mind to hold its capacity of bringing meaning to the world, while stating that the mind is receptive for thoughts and individuality which is influenced by social interactions (Bakhurst, 1991). Similarly, the arguments provided by Owen (1995) claim that social constructionism coexists with people being individuals as well as being collective, given that humans share a collective aim, values, and experiences. The scholar further adds that because individuals have different bodies and are regarded as "I" does not guarantee that thoughts and emotions are solely within that individual but rather, they exist between various individuals (Owen, 1995:p.161).

Gergen (1985:p.267) defines social constructionism as "the term in which the world is understood are social artefacts, products of historically and culturally situated discourse interchanges among people." Derry (1999) claims that in the discourse of social constructionism, we view the world as a space until we began to create meaning to it. He further asserts that it is a theory that gives privilege and empowerment to humans to create meaning from the world they live in by their human interactions. Similarly, Shunk (2000) explains that all meanings are socially created, thus the theory is an explanation of how humans interpret ideas. Social constructionism reflects the way people interpret the human experience as a collective and systematic attempt to come to a mutual agreement about a social phenomenon (Gergen, 1999).

According to Schwandt (2003), there are two points to studying constructionism, radical and contextual constructionism. Radical constructionism maintains the idea that one knowledge cannot correspond with the whole world. Thus, the world can only be understood in relation to peoples' experience of it and not independently of that experience. In contrast, contextual constructionism maintains that there is an objective reality of knowledge production and its influence on societal value. Constructionism is based on the argument that knowledge and meanings are construed through interaction and the use of language (Burr, 1995). Owen (1995) argues that social constructionism is innovative in that it treats knowledge as a social practice, though it is readily evident that people enact and embody these ideas and societies compete with each other in an attempt to persuade others to accept their views and their way of life as the desirable and morally justified standard of living. Social constructionism emphasizes everyday interaction between people; how they use language and shared cultural values to construct their social identity (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). It dwells particularly on the social practices people engage in as a focus of knowledge production.

For social constructionists, the knowledge of the world and self is based on human relationships. Knowledge is created through dialogue and sharing of experiences with each other (Augustine, 2002). This implies that we behave in the ways we have defined through our interactions, and our understanding of identity and values are shaped by the reflections of others. According to Owen (1995), social constructionism can be linked with the post-modernist movement, which developed from the modernist framework that views the issue in rational terms. The post-modernist framework attempts to replace the objectivist idea with a broad tradition of ongoing criticism, that all production of knowledge from the human mind is

concerned and linked as our experience of the world. The post-modernist approach introduced a shift from the mere belief of casualty to understanding that the world consists of interrelated parts (Lyell, 1998). This led Owen (1995) to distinguish how social constructionism is a parameter in understanding social behaviour, he explained the two major schools of thought in patterns of behaviour: namely individualism and groupism.

Owen (1995:p.161) explains that "groupism" is the view that human behaviour can only be understood within its overall social context. An individual can be influenced by the people around them much more than by their own traits. In contrast, "individualism" treats human behaviour as a result of personal choices of their characteristics and value. This new way of understanding behaviour was referred to in therapy as systemic thinking. Within the framework of post-modernism, systemic thinking lays more emphasis on understanding situations and patterns of occurrence, with individuals telling their own stories with multiple meanings (Rapmund, 2002). This explains that there is no one universal way of telling the same story, there are multiple ways by which the same story can be perceived. Thus, the post-modernist framework proves to be effective in telling the experience of African women because post-modernism emphasizes values, beliefs and culture, which operates from the framework of multiple views of any situation and that no single view holds more truth than other viewpoints.

Post-modernist research refrains from presenting findings as absolute truths but rather focuses on presenting findings as one way in which the events or experiences could be presented as an objective reflection and the evidence of truth (Becvar & Becvar, 2000). Therefore, this study situates its ideology on the post-modernist framework to understand the multiple dimensions in exploring African women's experiences. The social constructionists present arguments that we generate knowledge by dealing with our beliefs and experiences of our physical reality that is around us. Specifically, we generate knowledge by justifying our beliefs socially (Bruffee, 1986). Social constructionism as a theory is based on the arguments that by reflecting on our own experiences, we construct our understanding of the world we live in (Gergen, 1999; Augustine, 2002); this explains why personal experiences guide us in constructing meaning about our lives. However, Gergen (1999) claims that these constructs of our experiences are not universal. In the context of the discussion in this study, this approach is relevant in seeking to understand the experiences of African women and how they construct

the perceptions of their experiences, as well as the shared meaning they have derived from traditional African practices.

Social constructionism provides a way of exploring gender ideologies within the African context through exploring the experiences of its people at a particular time. Rapmund (2002) asserts that, for constructionists, creating a consistent realistic idea that broadens the social and cultural values of people is the main aim. This theory has proved to be viable in that it emphasizes the role of context in creating meaning and reality. Rapmund further argues that, in understanding constructionism, creating meaning requires a major understanding of the whole concerning its parts. Thus, in constructionism ideas are construed by asking questions, developing answers, interacting, and interpreting the environment. Similarly, another position of the social constructionist is that it disputes narratives that tends to dictate single accounts of reality, postulating that such single account develop problematic and limiting perspectives.

Dickerson and Zimmerman (1996) argue that people's personal stories are often subjugated and marginalised in favour of the dominant belief system of the society. As a result of this, Rapmund (2000) claims that people often begin to think about their problems in ways that are consistent with stories surrounding their problems. Social constructionism posits that knowledge is construed by meaning and power (Augustine, 2002). "Meaning" is considered as a product of prevailing frames of cultural, social, linguistic, and symbolic practices; meaning is not attached to an object or an event until it is constructed (Cojocaru & Bragaru, 2012:p.75). From a social constructionist perspective, meanings are situated in the understanding of how ideas and attitudes are developed over time within a social community context (Dickerson & Zimmerman, 1996).

A community of people interacting together in the same social form over time will begin to habituate and reciprocate those roles in relation to each other. These reciprocal actions of interrelationship are said to be institutionalized (Cojocaru, 2010). Hence, in this process of institutionalization, meaning is actively created within society. Knowledge and people's belief of what reality is become embedded within the society (Berger & Luckman, 1966). The institutionalized idea of constructionism presents that every individual's mind is a mirror and reflection of reality. Therefore, the social construction of identity in humans is based on interactions and sustained by the already construed meaning to their realities (Cojocaru, 2013).

3.3.1 *The intersubjectivity of social construction theory*

As stated earlier in the discussion of social constructionism, society exists as both an objective and subjective reality. The experience of individuals in any society is achieved through primary and secondary socialization (Berger & Luckman, 1991). Cromby and Standen (1996) posit that for social constructionism to continue progressively in a coherent manner, it must adopt the concept of 'self'. The inclusion of self into the analytical discourse of constructionism allows it to maintain intersubjectivity. The primary subjective meaning of constructionism proves that our identity originates from the social realm and not within any individual (Burr, 1995).

The subjective element of constructionism ideology is focused on relations, creation, and sustainability of the individual's role in the social construction of realities. Social constructionist, Owen (1995:p.165), calls for the use of intersubjectivity of social constructionism; he argues that true objectivity is vague in human science because all methods of understanding requires one set of subjective humans to rate another set of subjective humans. Hence, the real tool of "knowing" is subjective people themselves. Galbin (2014) examined the use of social constructionism in psychotherapy and emphasized the importance of acquiring, creating and change of the human behaviour through therapeutic ability and ways of interpreting people's actions. Galbin opined that since the genetic races and regions of people differ, as do their cultural practices, then it is safe to say there cannot be a universal human race. Hence, all experience becomes subjective to an individual. Discussing the intersubjectivity of social constructionism, Galbin (2014) maintains that human scientists must approach social science studies from the post-modernist framework, researchers must remain objective while presenting findings from a subjective claim of participants. He further asserts that until a claim is universally or locally accepted as universal truth, researchers must tread with caution. However, Gergen and Gergen (2012) claim that individual rationality, their narration, and production of knowledge are conceived as an attribute of how they think, perceive, and interpret the experiences that sum up their reality

More recently, social constructionism has been explored from an intersubjective perspective. Social constructionists, McNamee and Hoskings (2012), describe intersubjectivity as having a postmodern approach. They identify four major modern assumptions in understanding social constructionism. The first is that individual rationality is important. Secondly, empirical evaluation must be considered for something to be judged to be knowledge production.

Thirdly, language is seen as a representation, and, finally, the narrative of progress must be maintained. Within this perspective, individual's rationality is not conceived as an attribute of individuality but as a result of cultural resolutions. It is through human actions and experience that meaning of rationality is obtained. This intersubjectivity of social constructionism invites forms of proper knowledge production that go beyond focusing on individual rationality but rather move to a more general and relatable involvement of individuals telling the same story with aim of promoting change (Galbin, 2014). A further assertion is that empirical methods should not be considered as conveying the truth about reality but as a phenomenon that should be studied for systematic observation of reality. As stated by McNamee and Hosking (2012), the intersubjectivity of social constructionism aims to comprehend and tackle how some aspects of the world are socially constructed, thereby opening space for more detailed intersubjective analysis. Methodologically, Galbin (2014) argues that the challenge of intersubjectivity is not to prove the others wrong but to push out a more constructive narrative of a phenomenon as well as broaden the possibilities of understanding. Therefore, the fluid and dynamic approach of exploring social constructionism will encourage dialogue and constructive arguments for the integration of methodological approaches.

3.3.2   *Application of social construction theory to this study*

This section of the study discusses how previous studies have engaged the use of social construction theory in their studies, it further discusses the use of language as a construct of social constructionism. Similarly, the relevance of this theory is underpinned in the discourse of culture, identity and gender oppression in African marriages as it relates to the study. A recent study that engaged the use of social constructionism discussed the conceptualization of interactionism. Wolf (2011) advocates that interactionism as an approach within social construction theory believes that role-taking is significant to the beginning of 'self'; hence, social interaction cannot be possible where a person does not comprehend the actions of others.

Another study by Sandstrom, Marin and Fine (2006) established, in their application of social construction theory, that through role-taking people learn to define and respond to themselves because of social outlook and standards. Therefore, self-identity is a fundamental social process that implements the roles, perspectives, and identities we internalize through social experience and interactions. Therefore, black African migrant women in Durban may use the strategy of role-taking as means of survival to fit into the community, as well as predicting the

actions and emotions of their husbands and patriarchal family values to avoid rejection, abuse, and conflicts. Wolf (2011) argues that lack of interactionism may force women to adopt the patriarchal standpoint in their marriage, especially in migrant marriages where women are limited with regard to social interactions, to possibilities for broader associations and for adaptation, and in some cases limited by hostility in the new environment.

Another study that employed the use of social construction theory discovered that the sense of interactionism and sense of self is a reflexive process whereby an individual sees him-herself as both the subject and object (Cast, 2003). The internalization of thoughts and interactions is symbolic of a social entity. As argued by Sandstrom et al. (2006), role-taking may lead to internalization, and internalization begins with social patterns of interaction and interpersonal communication. In the work of Cast (2003), he explains that women have internalized oppression as normal and acceptable, regardless of the fact they recognize this as patriarchy and oppression. They are, however, further forced to internalize this oppression through patterns of communication and the meanings attached to this oppression. Women who have been marginalised have created their meanings and constructed their perspectives to ease the narrative that becoming a wife and mother entails internalizing and accepting oppression in marriage for the sake of peace and stability of their family.

One of the successful ways to examine why this study adapts the social constructionism theory in exploring the experiences of African women under gender oppression within the Pentecostal religion is due to the several features of the theory that supports a post-modernist research paradigm. According to McLeod (1997), the features are, first, that social construction rejects the traditional approach to knowledge that is dominant and non-negotiable. Secondly, that social constructionist takes a critical stance in redefining basic assumptions about the social world, which is seen as re-enacting the interest of dominant social ethics. Third, social construction holds the view that the way we understand the world is a product of the constant historical process of interaction and knowledge sharing between groups of people.

Fourth, social constructionist does not aim to provide a fixed, settled, knowledge but to open validations for the new production of knowledge (based on an appreciation of what is possible). Finally, the ideology of social constructionism is a movement that redefines the psychological constructs of the mind, self and knowledge as social processes that are not central to one individual but produced by social discourse. However, in accepting shared

knowledge and social interactions as major points of social constructionism, Anderson and Goolishian (1988) argue that social constructionist must adopt the perspective that external entities must be adequately mapped. All constructionist perspectives as "knowers" must be cherished, though, they claim, this does not mean anything goes. Knowledge and systems are inherently dependent on communities with shared intelligibility. Therefore, Gergen (1985) claims that knowledge shared must be governed to a large extent by normative rules with historical backings that are culturally situated.

As a result, social constructionist does not claim to provide the 'truth'. This led to the explanation of Friedman (1990), that within any given society there must be institutionalized rules and regulations that govern the historical process of sharing knowledge and how they were produced. For instance, the institution of marriage has its established patterns of behaviour that defines how partners should behave or act. Similarly, Friedman (1990) adds that most traditions exist in history and these are a reflection of interests – they are not abstract. Therefore, these interests are prerequisites to understanding various traditions. The viewpoints of cultures and values of a society are formed through learning which is carried out through language. Learning is therefore carried into current lifestyles and future behaviour of humans. Hence, our construction of knowledge is based on the use of language as a social phenomenon through which individuals relate. The next section for this chapter thus discusses language as a discourse of social construct and its relevance to the objectives of this study.

3.3.3   Language as a construct of social construction theory

The social construction of knowledge places emphasis on language, but language is more than just a way of communication; people exist in language (Galbin, 2014). Language is considered as a constituted meaning, so language is investigated through the theoretical framework of the sociology of knowledge. In integrating existing literature on social constructionism, McNamee and Gergen (1992), Derry (1999), Shunk (2002) and Burr (2005) claim that there are intersubjectivities in understanding social constructionism that include the recognition that our human realities are socially constructed and emphasized through language and that knowledge is socially constructed and sustained by social processes. Similarly, Cojocaru and Bragaru (2012) add that, for social constructionists, knowledge constructions can be politically driven since the society focuses on knowledge and power because the society exists as both subjective and objective realities.

For social constructionists, language is not just a means of connecting people; language is the construct that develops the thoughtful meaning of understanding our environment (Kotze, 1994). From a social action perspective, language is fundamental to producing knowledge; it is not only a means of describing our experience but also a form of constructing it (McNamee, 2004). Language gains in-depth meaning from its use in various contexts. Burr (2003) emphasizes the ability of individuals to create their realities through the constructive use of language in varied forms of stimulating continuous creation of realities. Edwards, Potter and Middleton (1992) argue that language is a concrete quality of social constructionism. It is an influence that investigates how events are processed and modelled to suit human understanding. Language assists in the description of what is made real, passed on to people and change through time.

Bruner (1990) claims that language is contextual to developing meaning that is time-bound; this implies that, during interactions, the understanding and interpretation of narratives is dependent on the historical context within which that conversation took place. Burr (1995) posit that, within social constructionism, language is an expression and a way of transmitting thoughts and feelings while making it possible to construct concepts. Language is what makes thoughts and concepts possible, while providing an avenue for members of society to co-exist. Language precedes concepts and provides a balanced means of structuring the way our world is experienced. Similarly, Owen (1995) adds that the language we grow up with and the culture we live in specifies the kind of experiences that are available to us. However, Friedman (1990) argues that from the perspective of a social constructionist, the focus is not only on the individual but on social interactions through which language is generated and sustained.

The social constructionism foundation asserts the significance of cognitive development. It claims that knowledge cannot be derived by assumptions but rather through collective ideas of theories. Concepts, ideas, theories, the world's reality and facts are all constructs of language generated by knowledge communities and used to maintain community coherence (Bruffee, 1986). Furthermore, Berger and Luckman (1991) and Augustine (2002) state that people socially construct reality by their use of agreed shared meanings communicated through language. In this present day, language is considered a prerequisite for peaceful communal living. This has made social constructionism relevant in providing answers to the research questions posed by this study, given its context of often troubled communal life. Similarly,

McNamee and Hosking (2012) claim that the currently accepted way of discussing our experiences is by linguistics expression and ontological assumptions of the mind.

People engage and co-exist with language as a basic means of communication and, as Galbin (2014) claim, people exist in language, therefore, language is peculiar to understanding the experience of migrated black women into Durban. Exploring the effective use of language within the host country, the study focuses on their relationship and social interaction in the new community. Edwards et al. (1992) point out that mind and expressions do not function on their own, but rather function as a link created by interactions. Therefore, the role of language is evident in this study because it serves as a major tool in exploring one of the objectives of the study which is to understand the key narratives of women and experiences of gender oppression within Pentecostal religion. As earlier noted, our realities are socially constructed by agreed use and shared meaning of language, thus, from a social constructionist viewpoint, attention in the research process needs to go to careful communication and to ensuring expressive responses that will help in unravelling the research objectives provided for this study.

Furthermore, exploring the use of language by migrant women in this study is important towards understanding the challenges experienced due to the language barrier in their new environment. Harre and Gillet (1994) claim that the use of non-verbal expression could be highly appropriate when reflecting on the experiences of people. Language has a major influence in our beliefs of social experiences specifically, with the objectives of this study. The preceding discussion points out that we construct knowledge and meaning through language; knowledge is influenced by culture and what stands out is the shared meaning and social interactions achieved because of the ways we use language. In the next section, the concept of culture and gender relations of power will be explored.

3.4 DISCOURSE ON CULTURE, GENDER OPPRESSION AND POWER IN AFRICAN MARRIAGES

3.4.1 A social constructionist perspective

This section provides an outline of how the concept of culture is constructed and maintained within human interaction. It also provides an overview of gender and power relation within marriages from a cultural perspective of social constructionism, particularly how it relates to this study. Social constructionism focuses on the importance of culture and identity in the

context of understanding societal values and communal living (McMahon, 1997). Studying African culture and gender oppression in marriage, the issue of how the researcher and participants understand the culture, religion and gender practices in marriage cannot be left undiscussed. Culture is a social construct that has been widely researched and it is considered a complex construct to define. This complexity stems from the idea that there are multiple varieties of culture and of what culture means (Brumann, 1999). The definition of culture varies from one ethnic group to another, which has given culture great interest when viewed from different schools of thought (Clark, 2006).

Sociological researchers have argued that culture is a combination of different belief systems that are extended from one generation to another through socialization and family interactions (Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000; Berry, *et al.* 2002). Similarly, traditional anthropologists have examined the concept of culture and have considered it as a coherent set of beliefs that shapes human behaviour and is transferred to further generations through the process of enculturation (Billington, Strawbridge, Greensides & Fitzsimons, 1991; Crapo, 1995; Fox & King, 2002). Enculturation is explained to be the passing of knowledge to future generations through the process of children learning the belief systems and value for their culture. This could happen through direct learning and observation of what the elders do in the community to construct their lives (Crapo, 1995).

The cultural belief system is considered an embracing action that provides reasons, explanations and understanding of the world as it is experienced and interpreted to be (Kuhn, 1970). Culture defines what is appropriate, desirable, normal, and expected in every society, it similarly defines taboo, unacceptable, inappropriate, and deviant attributes in any society. In definition, culture refers to actual occurrences and everyday social reality. Culture is defined as the norms and way of life that is acceptable and regarded as a way of life by a group of people (Ruben, 2006) but is also a popular concept that is widely used in social interactions, though the popular usage of culture has been criticized by researchers as being too simplistic and vague (Fox, 1999).

Erikson (2009) argues that the loose usage of the term culture extends beyond academic discipline, he puts that individuals commonly express themselves with phrases such as "my culture", "culture of schools", "their culture", "in our culture". Fox and King (2002) argue that the usage of culture as a construct has become synonymous with a sense of identity; people identify themselves with the norms and value of their cultural groups and classify

themselves as belonging to a particular social group. In this way, culture becomes fundamental to the way people interpret the world and shape the attitudes and social interaction of people (Falola, 2003). In the socio-cultural context, social constructionism posits individuals as a part of integral cultural, political, and historical evolution in specific times. As such, Galdin (2014) claims that all aspect of humanity is created, maintained, and destroyed through social interactions.

Andrews (2012) points out that, in a society where the people have accepted and sustained reality of a particular truth or values about their society, when new members come into the society, they are expected to accept such knowledge and even extend it further. Such accepted knowledge, value or truth becomes a policy that governs the ideas and powers within the society. Flowing from the claims of Andrews (2012), the socio-cultural impact of culture is embedded within an individual's sense of identity. According to De la Rey (1992), culture as a social construct fosters practices that are considered important to a social group. Therefore, culture has a mark on daily human interactions. Clark (2006) points out that how we choose to live is an enactment of a socially constructed representation of our identity. This follows the pattern of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), which examines how people conform to and behave in acceptable social norms and values. Thus, culture plays a role in how people behave and how they construct their identity (Waters & Eschbach, 1995).

In any culture, certain points of view and ways of being will become dominant over others. These dominant perspectives will specify the preferred and customary ways of believing and behaving within the culture (Crapo, 1995). Individuals internalize the dominant norms and values of culture, easily believing that they speak the truth of our identities. These dominant constructs tend to blind us to the possibilities that others might offer us. Some cultures have colonized and oppressed others, and the concepts of the dominant culture are then imposed on people of the marginalized cultures. However, Bradley (2014) argues that, because society is interactive and reflexive, the marginalised culture will also influence the dominant culture. Akinyela (2002:p.34) suggests culture is "actually a complex of contentious and complementary interactions between the unequal classes of people, gender, religion, and language, sexual and other social groups".

Shope (2006) asserts that the flexible nature of culture allows for continuous reconstructions of identity as members of the society redefine their ways of life. Culture, therefore, is a continuous reconstruction of traditional values. All these factors are a continuous contribution

to the complex nature of what culture represents. Viewed from this perspective, culture is in a constant process of construction and reconstruction of identities, from which perspective, black married Christian women are as likely to have shaped their identity through their culture as anyone else.

3.4.2   *Social construction of gender and power*

Gender is an integral part of the institutional system that is embedded in everyday lives as it puts in place a hierarchy and assigns power to people at the highest level of the hierarchy (Shope, 2006). The gendered role construction is deeply rooted in culture and the society dictates what it deems appropriate for men and women, with men generally occupying the position of power (Ruben, 2006). Diako (2012) illustrates that in Black South African culture, the husband is traditionally regarded as superior to the wife, which results in women being oppressed and placed in less powerful positions in marriage. Shope (2006) maintains that culture continues to shape the way gender is interpreted. The ideology of gender has influenced the way we approach things, what we value and what society expects of us, as well as the nature of gender discrimination (Ruben, 2006).

Within the framework of traditional African culture, institutionalized gender inequality continues to structure the domestic lives of couples in heterosexual relationships. Jacob and Gerson (2004) exemplify this in the case of a married African woman who is expected to be submissive and dependent on her husband, while the cultural value of the society judges her usefulness on her ability to rear children. This constructed identity of women often leads to discrimination against women (Kuumba, 2006). Within the social constructionist perspective, Foucault's work on power and sexuality plays an important role in understanding the constructs of power and power relations. Foucault (1998) states that power and power relations are seen in everyday interactions and practices and that includes the hierarchical system of the society. Power and relation shape our social practices and that includes gender roles (Kuumba, 2006). Men are considered to enjoy the privilege of being constructed as powerful members of society and as having authority over women.

In the arguments presented by Berdhahl and Fiske (2007), power is dynamic, and it is socially constructed to suit particular social relationships in relation to others. They argue further that an individual can be powerful in one social context and not have such power in another context. It implies that a woman who is professional and controls power relations at work may not have such powers in the confines of her home, because of her position within the context

of African traditional marriage. Fanagins (1993) note that just as the way the society is governed, the institution of marriage must operate under principles that provide established patterns that provide measures to check excessive use of power in the acts and behaviour of partners. Furthermore, Diako (2012) adds that the parameters to measure power relationships with the African marriage system remain unknown, despite the involvement and activism of feminist works.

Relating to the objectives of this study, Robinson and Howard-Hamilton (2000) discovered that age, gender, geographic location NS ethnicity have a major influence on the extent at which people adopt cultural values. They assert that, through interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds, people tend to adopt other people's culture and thereby dilute their own traditional cultural beliefs. This study suggests that women who have migrated to Durban are likely to have in some ways conformed to the culture, values, power relations and realities of their new society. These couples are likely to experience a culture and ideology of marital and Christian relations different from those of their home culture, which may influence their sense of identity and behavioural patterns within gender and power dynamics in their marriage. However, Shope (2006) claims that it is not every new migrant of a society that will subscribe to the dominant culture of their new environment.

Research on cultural ideologies is beginning to explore the changes in social dynamics in marriage (Diako, 2012); for this study, it means that understanding migrant marriages and the challenges faced requires exploring the relevant cultural ideologies (Diako, 2012). Although in traditional African marriages women are expected to be submissive, homegrown and cared for by their husbands, African women are now increasingly having a voice for themselves, contributing to the finance of the household and being gainfully employed. Despite this, Haddock and Zimmerman (2001) claim that the challenges encountered by migrant women in marriage usually leave the woman directionless as she is submissively following the will of her husband to migrate to a new city, usually in search of a better life. The scholars point out that, in the case where the woman contributes more financial resources to the household, the husband may feel relegated from the role of provider (Haddock & Zimmerman, 2001). Furthermore, Diako (2012) maintains that in migrant marriages the couple must set out their goals before migrating to a new city. He adds that, until cultural ideologies change to fit new realities, migrant marriages will continue to face unnecessary obstacles. It is expedient to note that social construction theory is a movement that provides alternative philosophical

assumptions regarding our realities and knowledge production. The theory connects well to a phenomenological approach in studying human science that is situated in cultural values and human practices (Gergen, 1994; Gergen & Gergen, 2012).

According to social construction theory, human coordination and encounters are dynamic and fluid. As a field of interest, social constructionism has been presented as an approach that embraces the constructed nature of reality. It has influenced social theories by different philosophical, social, and analytical perspectives (Burr, 2003). Centring on this process of the social construction of reality, the theory proves an effective framework for supporting the research objectives outlined in this study. Although the theory cannot be translated into providing clear-cut guidelines for objectives 3 and 4 outlined by this study, it has however enriched a variety of research practices with priority given to how our realities can provoke innovative knowledge production.

3.4.3   Criticism of social construction theory

As discussed in this study, there are two positions taken within social constructionism, namely radical and contextual constructionism. The contextual position maintains an objective reality while radical constructionism holds a relativist position, which maintains the beliefs that there are multiple approaches to realities and all realities are meaningful. Social constructionism has been criticized from various quarters. Burningham and Cooper (1999) assert that the relativist position of social constructionism is the major focus of its critiques, in that it argues that there are multiple realities and multiple interpretations of those realities. This led Burr (1995) to the argument that there is no way of judging one account of reality as better than another.

Craib (1997) provides a critique that social constructionism maintains a position of realist-relativist that conforms to collective beliefs rather than maintains a theoretical position. Craib (1997) engages with the critiques of Hammersley (1992), who contends that social constructionism is itself a social construct. Therefore, social construction is considered a self-disproving example of relativism. The critiques presented by Hammersley (1992) led him to propose the use of subtle realism in understanding social constructionism. Subtle realism acknowledges the existence of independent reality and the world that already exist as independent of our perceptions. Subtle realism proposes that there can be direct access to reality with an emphasis on representation and not only the reproduction of knowledge based on social phenomena (Hammersley, 1992).

Schwandt (2003) agrees that representation implies that researchers must acknowledge reflexivity in understanding social problems, which in turn accepts the notion of intersubjectivity of social constructionism. In a review of studies that have adopted social constructionism, Sismondo (1993) asserts that the majority of studies adopt the mild analysis of constructionism, which maintains a distinction between what research participants claim to believe about the social world and what is already known. In the adoption of social constructionism, constructionists generally recognize the idea of an independent reality and Sismondo (1993) maintains that some critiques are misguided.

In critiquing the arguments on social constructionism, Kenwood (1996) posits that reality is what we say it is. If an individual says it's different, then it is different. Kenwood illustrates this as a man saying he is a man by morning and then if by afternoon he says he is a woman then he is right. She argues that this caricature of social constructionism is both right and wrong and further states that, at the level of principle, social constructionism is considered right, because it is by ascribing meaning to ourselves and to our surroundings that we understand the world. However, she critiques this approach through claims that humans can be manipulative; meanings are contingent and changeable. This brings inconsistency to the positions of social constructionism. In any given situation, Kenwood (1996), argues that there is room for the possibility of thinking and acting – this means there is an opportunity for performance act in creating meaning and socially constructing reality. The author adds that constructionism does not consider that individuals are subject to manipulating their possibilities, which allows them to make changes in the ascriptions of knowledge as a collective social process (Kenwood, 1996). Social psychologists Nightingale and Cromby (1999) critique social constructionism on certain issues. They critique the possibility that the possible co-existence of social constructionist and materialist viewpoints lead to a position that nothing new will ever be discovered as everything is majorly socially constructed. The argumentation here is that nothing will break us free from the originally constructed state of affairs in society. Therefore, they point out that the problems with social constructionist and realist positions are mutually exclusive. Nightingale and Cromby (1999) propose that one way to solve the dilemma of social construction is to say that both the positions of realism and constructionism must be employed for specific purposes and must co-exist.

According to Parker (1997), another failing of social constructionism is how language and cultural discourse are not sufficient for the basic discourse of self-understanding, while this is

necessary for the progress of human psychology. Parker (1997) argues that constructionism is not efficient by its understanding of all human life in the forms of groups and individuals. He stated further that construction deepens in language, culture and meaning that stands as an ideology that emerges from reflecting on existing social power relations. However, in the discourse of social power systems, Parker (1997) opines that constructionism is contrary to progress and freedom of research outputs. Similarly, Burr (1995:p.113) claims that the focus of constructionism on language had led many psychologists astray, stating that "an important aspect of human experience on social problems exists beyond language."

Burr (1995:p.113) further explained that the problem if a human is beyond language as some of our experiences cannot be described by language. However, Harre and Gillet (1994) earlier state that constructionist researchers must engage with participants beyond language with a focus on examining their non-verbal communication. Our lived experiences are more than language and there must be a focus on extra-discursive experience and expressions makes it obvious that life is more than multiple discourses (Burr, 2003).

Finally, Nightingale and Cromby (2002) claim that the major problem with constructionism is its failure to define the level and hierarchy associated with 'meanings.' They argue that individual meaning should be distinguished from collective meaning – collective meaning is seen as a unified form, which they doubt can have clear meaning to different individuals. They illustrate that meanings of such words like "art" or "justice" will have different meanings to different individuals. Schwandt (2003) adds that, since humans cannot come to a consensus of meanings, then our basic expression of experiences will be different, noting that language is a system of shared meaning. However, we as humans cannot verify that our understanding of life completely matches that of the next person. Hindrances will occur when comparing personal experiences. Hence, shared meaning can be collective but on a micro-level, it is not always individual (Nightingale & Cromby, 2002).

The collective position of critiques of social constructionism indicates that social construction theory is a great tool but it neglects certain tools such as subjectivity, the human body and social power relations, as well as the need to create an impetus for the production of knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As earlier stated in this chapter, this study builds its foundation on both social construction theory and Nego-feminism theory. It is imperative to discuss this study with the framework of feminism, particularly because this study is exploring the experiences of women considering the patriarchal values, gender

oppression and culture of Africans. The next section provides the overview and discussion of Nego-feminism as it relates to this study.

3.5 THE FEMINIST FRAMEWORK

The objectives of the feminists framework for this study are to explore the power dynamic in marriage and women's identity in the Pentecostal religion. The discussion of feminism is a broad topic, for proper understanding of the scope of this study. It is imperative to begin the discussion by exploring feminism theory, and then moving more specifically to African feminism while narrowing the discourse to Nego-feminism. Feminism is a term used to describe political, cultural, and economic movements aimed at establishing rights for women. Feminism is considered a political discipline that is concerned with changing the existing power relations between men and women across all spheres of life (Weedon, 1997; Hassin, 2001). Feminism is a global concept, so its exact definition and what it stands for vary globally (Anderson & Cudd, 2005).

The fundamental interest of all types of feminism is to understand power relations, sexuality, and gender politics in various societies. Many of the concerns of feminism are related to patriarchy, stereotyping, discrimination, and unequal rights for women (Byrne & Carr, 2000). This study refers to the cultural doctrine of patriarchy in marriage, and religion which expects women to present and behave in certain manners. In the discussion of literature earlier presented in this study, reference was made to the stereotypes associated with married women, stereotypes influenced by religion and societal expectations regarding women's behaviour and experiences as well as power relations among married couples. As earlier stated, there are different approaches to feminism. This study is focused on Nego-feminism.

3.5.1 Overview and historical background of Nego-feminism theory

To fully achieve the objectives of this research, especially regarding the peculiarities, attitudes, and approaches of African women in dealing with patriarchy, in whatever form it appears, it is imperative to understand or at least be familiar with the tenets of how African feminism works. In the discourse of Nego-feminism, it is important to discuss its historical approach and the opportunity it has provided in liberating women from oppression (Kyei, Yalley & Antwi, 2021). The discourse of Nego-feminism facilitates research that examines these constructs. This section will discuss the foundation and development of Nego-feminism from the roots of African feminism.

African feminism is a feminist epistemology that provides arguments that validates and substantiates the experiences of women in Africa or women of African origin. It is also a social movement that aims to raise global awareness that explores African women's histories, present realities, and future expectations (Aidoo, 1998; Goredema, 2010). Aidoo (1998) claims that more than just the rights of women, African feminism is inclusive of women living beyond the African soil. African feminism is not bounded by geographical location but caters to inquiring minds. However, Oyewumi (2003) assert that debates, practices, and implementations of African feminism are most credibly pursued on the African continent. There is a growing argument that considers African feminism as a part of third-wave feminism, Oyewumi (2003) argues that African feminism is within the realm of third-wave feminism, given that there is a tension between race, culture and principles.

Oyewumi (1993) posits that third-wave feminism is an ideology that is founded on the historical events of Europeans and Americans (hereafter referred to as Western feminism), a social movement that was founded to struggle for female identity, gender equality and subsequently carried forward as a march across the globe. According to Mekgwe (2008:p.21), African women need to position their understanding of feminism and femininity differently. She claims that as long as theories of African feminism remains a reaction and as defined as against western feminism, then African feminism is not likely to go beyond "hitting the vision of a more liberated future" because they are primarily tied to an exclusive notion of the common history of colonialism. She further argues that if Africa still defines itself against the west, Africa will remain entangled in a colonial trap with restrictions in attaining total independence, in response to the inequities of western feminism.

The work of African women resulted in the theorisations of indigenous feminist models that aim to speak to feminism from an African cultural perspective, an African geopolitical location and an African ideological viewpoint (Arndt, 2002). These ideologies emanated from various parts of Africa with a set objective to redefine the aim and reshuffle the agenda of feminism in Africa. Within Africa, the cultural, social, and academic environment seems to have come to a consensus of what feminism is and that its source is western, and it has provided dispositions and strategies associated with this social movement. However, there are claims that western feminism is not all-encompassing as it cannot tell the story of Africans. African women consider feminism as dependent on a temporal scale that is shaped by

political eras (Goredema, 2010). She further argues that definitions and experience of feminism differ from region to region within Africa.

According to Ardnt (2002), the regional and heterogeneity of Africa posed problems in the definition of African feminism, particularly at the level of discourse. She illustrated this comparing the countries of Nigeria and South Africa. These countries possess different cultures, political views, gender values and traditions, which would overwhelm the decisions of African feminists. Ardnt (2002) argues that to avoid the issues of heterogeneity of Africa, iconic strategies were engaged in dealing with the difference between African and western feminism. These strategies are

1. Culture/tradition
2. Socio-economic and socio-political issues
3. Role of men
4. Race and
5. Sex and sexuality.

According to Ardnt (2002), these categories are fundamental to the development and engagement of African feminism in any discourse. Goredema (2010) claims that these categories can have us believe that there is a unique experience of feminism in Africa that is unquestionably different from what is experienced in the west. These categories are explained as oppressions. Mikell (1995:p.405) describes African feminism as dealing with "women first as humans rather than as sexual beings"; she also contends that African feminism is dealing with multiple oppressions that are key to women's sexuality and to their reproductive role within society. Mikell's argument is that women's sexuality must not determine their access and mobility in the public and political sphere.

Understanding African feminism is a delicate process of negotiating several social discourses that can result in conflict. It is evident that African feminism purposely seeks to be detached from western feminism in the notion of race, class, and society. This is because the latter does not explain the current situation and positions of women in Africa (Oyewumi, 2003; Ahikire, 2008). As Ogundipe (2007) articulates, African feminism discourse needs to theorize experiences, culture, and realities that women could identify with. In other words, African women must express their reality through recognising what makes them different from women elsewhere. African women scholars have re-defined and re-expressed the importance of the categories highlighted for the importance of the issues surrounding African feminism.

Arndt (2002) states that there are various aspects of African feminism. These feminisms are named and conceptualized with cultural peculiarity as a guiding framework that provides evidence to the dynamic contexts of African women and their engagement with gender relations. Many of the special characteristics of African feminism are womanism, motherism, stiwanism, femalism, snail-sense feminism, Nego-feminism (Ogunyemi, 1985; Kolawole, 1997; Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994; Acholonu, 1995; Opara, 2005; Nnaemeka, 2003). The sensitivity of these forms of feminism to African women's diverse experiences of patriarchy, colonialism, neocolonialism, modernisation and globalisation confirms the growth of women's orientation to specific contextual debates and to the maturity and intellectual powers that African feminists display.

3.5.2   Nego-feminist theory

This study specifically charts the experiences of women through the lens of Nego-feminism, based on the work of Nigerian feminist, Obioma Nnaemeka in 1999, who proposed Nego-feminism as a theory and practice to resist and deconstruct patriarchy in society. Nnaemeka (1999) speaks of the brand of feminism that unfolds in Africa, a feminism of negotiation which stands for "No ego" feminism. She considers this as a foundation of shared values in many African cultures which are based on the principles of negotiation, compromise, gives and take, and balance (Nnaemeka, 1999:p.377). Nego-feminists present that women in African society use negotiation as a tool to challenge patriarchy. It is simply to know "when, where, and how to negotiate with or negotiate around patriarchy in different contexts." (Nnaemeka, 1999:p.378).

Goredema (2010:p.35) explains that Nego-feminism maintains the 'accommodationist approach' that is free from aggression. It embraces core African values such as collaboration and the centrality of family to women, while actively involving women in social transformation. As Alkali (2013) asserts, Nego-feminist theory could be used by disputing parties to resolve their issue of disagreement, even without a third-party coming in. The two disagreeing parties can sit and negotiate their rights and privileges.

In a nutshell, Nego-feminism advocates negotiation, cooperation, and reconciliation between the disagreeing parties. Additionally, Nego-feminist theory seems to be applicable for a resolution to any conflict, not necessarily gender conflict. Joseph (2019) maintains that Nego-feminism goes a step further by appealing to and accommodating both sexes in a manner that negotiates a non-egoistic approach. Thish positions Nego-feminism as a gender complementary and non-

confrontational approach. Nnaemeka (1999) claims that, for African women, feminism is an act that evokes dynamics and shifts of the process as opposed to the construction of stability and reification as a framework. Furthermore, Nnaemeka adds that Nego-feminism is structured by cultural imperatives and controlled by the dynamic demands of local and global exigencies. Nego-feminism is an approach that provides a terrain for unfolding dynamic processes. It is an ideology that grounds feminism in Africa as a performance and altruistic act (Nnaemeka, 1998).

In arguments presented in the article "Urban spaces, women's places", Nnaemeka (1997) posits that negotiation is central to community living. She adds that negotiation and moderations are key elements for social change and asserts that feminist praxis should be guided by its central idea – that is, as a "pedagogy and a philosophy of social change", it is a mandate that involves the ethics of fair share and a live and let's live ideology, while moderating and negotiating counsels against a mentality of extremes (Nnaemeka, 1997:p.163). Nnaemeka emphasizes the value of kinship – an important familial existence that is valued across African nations. Nnaemeka (2004) claim that recognizing kinship is a step into understanding African women's identities and how feminism works in African societies. Murove (2009) adds that because of the cultural and historical differences, practices are varied, and this reflects on how Nego-feminism is defined and practised.

In the ongoing discussion of Nego-feminism, Akin-Aina (2011) recognizes that Nego-feminism is not far from the description of womanism. She articulates that male involvement is paramount in the female struggle against oppression. Joseph (2019) identifies Nego-feminism as a separate ideology that recognizes the specific need of women of African descent in their struggle against gender, racial and classist oppression by encouraging the full involvement of men in their struggle. This ideology believes in partnership with the menfolk (Gqola, 2001). Nkaelah (2016) states that many African women who have grown up in societies that uphold similar values will embrace Nego-feminism because it speaks to their understanding of the world.

Nego-feminism resonates with the southern African concept of ubuntu; therefore, this makes it more accessible to South African women who are involved in feminism for both education and advocacy for women. An important context to note in the discussion of women in Africa is the community building which is founded on family associations. Nnaemeka (1999:p.378) articulates that "African women do feminism; feminism is what they do for themselves and

others." This led Akin-Aina (2011) to further explain that Nnaemeka's ideology on Nego-feminism puts family and relationships first. Murove (2009) says that the African concept of family embraces all blood ties, therefore, fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters as well as those who are yet to be born are considered family.

Relating this concept of familial association to Nego-feminism, Amoateng, Healey and Kalule-Sabiti (2007) argues that women must be able to negotiate their space for power and inclusion since the African marital system is highly patriarchal. He adds that for successful communal living, women must use the systemic ideology of Nego-feminism to deconstruct values that subjugate them.

3.5.3   Gender inclusiveness and social relevance: A Nego-feminist perspective

This section dwells largely around gender inclusion of both men and women in both marital and religious space as well as the negotiation of power, resistance to patriarchy through the lens of Nego-feminism. An individual who is excluded from being a part of his community suffers ostracism (Nnaemeka, 2004). This is the reason why the inclusion of men is central in the discourse of African feminist theories like Womanism, Nego-feminism, Stiwanism and Motherism. The tradition of Africa is deeply rooted in the philosophy of harmony and communal living, communality is the social structure of many African societies, which informs the way women see men as partners such that they both have a role to play in the growth and development of the home and society (Sofola, 1998).

The effective or practical tool to encourage resistance to patriarchy is considered gender reconciliation (Madlala-Routledge, 2009). She explains that her workshop on gender reconciliation which was held in Cape Town, brought men and women together to jointly unravel the mystery behind cultural conditions relating to patriarchy, gender, sexuality, and society. She asserts that, for gender reconciliation to occur, then, gender inclusiveness is paramount. The inclusion of both sexes to jointly confront and sensitively discuss the challenges of men and women habitually posed by patriarchal values will discover new forms of healing between the sexes.

Madlala-Routledge (2009) explains that the key methodology of gender reconciliation is the application of spiritual wisdom, negotiations, and compromise, which she claims is an effective spectrum across African cultures and religions in undermining patriarchy. Discussing the idea of gender reconciliation further, Madlala-Routledge (2009) claims that during the workshop men were allowed to listen to the lived experience of women suffering

from various forms of oppression, from domestic abuse to low income, to restriction of women from engaging in certain jobs. Likewise, in the workshop women also listened to the challenges of men who have equally suffered oppression and the social effects of masculinity.

After this experience, she claims that men at that conference symbolized patriarchy by building a large structure-tower like structure and labelled it patriarchy with each man and woman removing a branch of the tower until it was dismantled. This symbolism is considered impressive and a representation of gender inclusiveness towards deconstructing patriarchy through understanding and compromise. Madlala-Routledge (2009) positions her arguments of gender reconciliation religiously. She explains this an inclusion of both man and woman in obeying the call of the highest commandment, which is first to love God and second to love your neighbour as yourself. She further asserts that there is no more powerful arena to apply and exhibit these commandments of Christ than in the area of gender relation between men and women.

If women in marriage are still being oppressed and subjugated under their husbands and in-laws, there are tendencies that such women will "build up resentment which is not healthy for a Christian marriage" (Madlala-Routledge, 2009:p.9). Hence, it is imperative that for gender reconciliation within the African society, there must be gender inclusiveness which is an important initiative for both men and women in marriages, religion, political, and social relevance towards overcoming the struggles of patriarchy. From the assertions of Duncan (1996), he claims that all women, including patriarchal women, suffer from patriarchal oppression, even if this oppression varies in degrees to different women. Thus, Nnaemeka (1999) avers that African women's willingness to negotiate with and around men even in difficult times is quite pervasive.

She adds that negotiations made at the level of gender and language are deeply rooted in the indigenous traditional culture. Nnaemeka posits that patterns of African feminism are developed within the context that views human life from a total rather than an exclusive perspective. For women, the male is not the other but part of the same human race (Nnaemeka, 1999). According to Steady (1987), each gender constitutes the critical half that makes the human whole. Neither sex is complete on its own, each must complement the other in spite of its unique features. Nnaemeka (2004) argues that the inclusion of women and men into disrupting patriarchal institutions is important, further stating that feminism must not cast

palls over men as pillars, but with women more inclined to reach out and work with men in achieving their set goal.

In overturning the multiple axes of stratification affecting women, Nnaemeka (2004) claim that Nego-feminism is challenging gender exclusion and oppression of women through negotiation, accommodation, and compromise. African women working towards gender inclusion for social change builds on the indigenous values by defining and modulating their struggles about social, cultural, and local imperatives. Nego-feminism has been applied by women to improve social change; an example of such was that, when the state governments of Nigeria refused to allocate housing allowance to married female public servants, the president of the Nigerian National Council of Women's Societies (NCWS), Ifeyinwa Nzeako, rather than start a fight with the government about gender inequality, instead issued a statement pointing out the discriminatory policies that hurt and deprive women of their benefits to provide for their children and family.

This is what Nnaemeka maintains to be women knowing how to negotiate within political, social, and cultural spaces by shifting the arguments from gender inequality to more inclusive arguments of welfare, human rights and attaining goals. Detailing the discourse of gender inclusiveness towards achieving social relevance, African feminist Nwapa (1998) maintains that the accommodationist, non-antagonistic approach to feminism will yield more results in the effective deconstruction of patriarchy. In her presentation at the first 'Women in Africa and Africa in Diaspora conference' Nwapa (1998) presents basic tenets that are important for an inclusive feminism ideology. She proposes that women should exploit indigenous traditions - such as democracy, tolerance, negotiation and mutual support – towards achieving their goal.

There must be "interdependence and measures of understanding which blossoms into mutual understanding and respect" (Nwapa, 1998:p.98). This ideology of togetherness, mutual understanding and inclusiveness are salient positions that must be maintained towards achieving a complementary position between man and woman. Similarly, in 1994, Ogundipe posits that what women in Africa need is "social transformation." (cited in Sotunsa, 2009:p.231). She claims that this social transformation cannot be achieved when women are against, antagonizing or competing with men. Sotunsa (2009) stresses the importance of gender inclusiveness towards building a harmonious society in the interest of both men and women.

In essence, many African feminists promote the image of African women who are self-reliant, such that they know how to deal with their challenges without external help, particularly western influences, because of the peculiarities of the African women's experience. Akin-Aina (2011) argue that while women seek the understanding and cooperation of men towards deconstructing patriarchy, it is not from a place of lack of tactics or agency, but as independent people working together with the ideology of Nego-feminism to achieve a common goal. Nego-feminism does not only postulate negotiation between genders, but it also provides a way forward for intercultural collaboration Nnaemeka's Nego-feminism opines that "border crossing" requires determined efforts to learn "about" the "other." She further adds that what is more important is "learning from the other".

The difference between the two is what she explains as "learning from requires high humility tinged with civility" while, "learning about" often time brings about arrogant inquisitions (cited in Kamaara, Vasko and Viau, 2012:p.29). While it is imperative to collaborate, accommodate and negotiate with the "other", it is also important to acknowledge and explore identity in terms of gender and culture. In the context of this study, women's identity in marriage as established by Pentecostal Christian teachings and power relations and dynamics in marriage will provide an understanding of how women in this study tackle patriarchy.

3.6   APPLICATION OF NEGO-FEMINIST THEORY TO THE STUDY

Negotiation is an important tenet of this theory as it requires the ability to resolve problems without antagonism. Nnaemeka positions this theory around African traditional values, specifically in terms of how women operate within the society, especially how women navigate their space within patriarchal setups (Nnaemeka, 2003). Exploring how Nego-feminism is practised within Africa, Nnaemeka (2004:p.362) challenges the location and production of the theory. She asserts that "theory making should not be a permanent unidirectional enterprise that emanates from a specific location"; in other words, Nnaemeka (2004) argues that allowing a localized construct to impose a universal validity is incorrect. We need possibilities that are pertinent to adopting multiple but related frameworks from different location, to intersect and complement each other in a way that accommodates different realities and histories.

Furthermore, Nnaemeka (2004) concludes that until lived experiences are central to theory location and application, there would not be a robust guide to negotiation within our environment. Nego-feminism proposes to be neither a radical nor aggressive approach, but

one that considers collaboration and mutual agreement, which often involves sacrifices but ultimately builds on negotiation and co-operation without arrogance. In the application of Nego-feminism, emphasis is placed on gender inclusiveness and the willingness of African women to negotiate with men. Nnaemeka (2003:p.380) refers to the submission of African women, that the male is not the "other" but of the same human. Each gender constitutes the critical half that makes the human whole. This implies that men should not be considered rivals but as useful complements to women.

The theory suggests that African women are open to working with men to successfully achieve goals. Nnaemeka's theory further emphasizes the third space in the application of the theory. She argues that the principles of Nego-feminism is a policy where practice equates theory, she further relates this to African women with the intention of Nego-feminism as a bridge between the gap of anti-male and anti-feminist. Nego-feminism presents a meeting point for both men and women to compromise and conquer and ultimately, to liberate women (Nnaemeka, 2003). Nego-feminism maintains the position where feminism does not seem like an attack against men. The tenets of this theory become important in the discussion of women in marriage. Particularly, because this study is exploring gender oppression among migrated women into Durban, this theory will help situate the challenges of women of this sect, and understand the patterns they have used in sustaining their marriage while examining the influence of power dynamics, the patriarchal setup in Pentecostal hermeneutics and how these teachings influence their marriage.

A recent occurrence where Nego-feminism seemed to have been effectively and appropriately deployed was the reports presented in an online magazine (Shado Magazine, 2018) where it was reported that a recently married woman in Nigeria, due to deliver her baby, was informed that her husband had an extra-marital affair in London and the 'other' woman in London is equally due to give birth. Despite this unfortunate circumstance and flagrant abuse of trust from the husband, the married woman remained in the marriage and was receptive to her 'step-child'. This does not suggest that opting for divorce is a bad option. However, it was evident that the woman must have deployed the ideology of Nego-feminism to salvage her marriage in that circumstance.

According to Akin-Aina (2011), Nigerian society and the laws disfavour divorced women and the family unit counts as a strong social currency. Within heavily patriarchal society, the woman here must have brushed over her ego and pain to negotiate her space in marriage and

particularly for her child, while protecting herself from her husband's misbehaviour. Referring to Nnaemeka's analysis, this woman here has bypassed one patriarchal landmine; the next step for the married woman will be where to challenge the next patriarchal obstacle. This analysis provided does not support infidelity nor suggest that a woman who is the victim of infidelity must withstand it, but rather the ideology of Nego-feminism suggest an alternative deployment of negations which are perhaps overlooked by other articulations of feminism.

Nego-feminism theory has been adapted as a tool of analysis by various studies of African literature. Alkali, Talif and Jan (2013:p.12) discovered, while exploring the importance of Nego-feminism in African literature, that both men and women are ready allies in progress. They maintain that radical feminism is a closed genre that is reflective of what has already occurred. Their analysis claims that Nego-feminism is applicable presently and it will be in the future. Again, in another study by Alkali et al. (2013) in their analysis of Osammor's book *The triumph of the Water Lily* (1966) with a character named Nkem, a woman who was unable to bear a child for her husband but chooses to give room for another woman to have his babies, whilst not completely giving up on him and their marriage is what Alkali et al. (2013) describe as a Nego-feminist approach.

In a situation where women will not allow another woman to be with her husband, Nkem chooses to preserve the love she shares with her husband by not being antagonistic against her husband. Alkali et al.'s (2013) analysis of African literature through the lens of Nego-feminism emphasized that, while male dogmatism slowly disappears, it is not replaced by role reversal or by feminist ego. It is the combined effort of men and women for harmonious survival where there is no victor nor vanquished. They concluded that Nego-feminism proposes an interdependent approach where both sexes thrive with support from each other to handle discord harmoniously while charging for the peaceful partnership for a progressive society (Alkali et al. 2013).

In the adaptation of Nego-feminism, African literature writers have examined the role of male writers to express their non-confrontational stand in the contemporary narrative from Northern Nigeria by analysing the book *Sacred apples* by Abubakar Gimba in 1994 (Muhammad et al. 2016). The general understanding of the northern Nigerian culture is highly patriarchal, ascribing unto women the very gendered roles and subjugating northern women to little education. The oppression present in the northern part of Nigeria is further driven home by the Islamic attributes

which also adequately oppress women. Hence, in northern Nigeria, women's oppression is masked by culture, traditional and religious values. In the study of Muhammad et al. (2016), *Sacred apples* as a novel echoed the oppression northern women faced, as it explores issues of marriage and the philosophy of human relationships in the northern part of Nigeria. The lead character in the novel, Zahra, was presented as a woman of valour who was victimized in marriage, despite the atrocities committed by her husband. Gimba (1994) proposed negotiation and education as a means of liberation for northern women. Particularly, Gimba expressed in the novel that he does not rely on sympathy to the plight of women but rather wo/man should consciously commit their energy to gender justice and in the process find a lasting dignity for women. Furthermore, Gimba (1994) in his novel condemned religious bigotry and discrimination against women that was accrued from cultural biases, illiteracy and the male dominating ego.

To further express his belief, he weaves the narrative on marriage, as the long human and social heritage to show that if gender roles can be negotiated within the family structure, then the society will achieve maximum development without having to borrow anything from the western concepts of feminism (Muhammad et al. 2016). The co-existence of man and woman by nature should not be antagonistic. Universal human values should be protected and maintained through love, intimacy, commitment, compromise, and trust for one another.

3.6.1   *The supposition and the application of Nego-feminism theory*

This study adapts the Nego-feminist theory and posits that if this theory is adapted in-depth and utilized maximally it will maintain and open ways for enduring human values. Nego-feminist theory provides a map for dealing with feminist struggles that occur presently and, in this case, the oppression that occurs within Pentecostal teachings that subjugate married women. The theory will help emancipate women from the domination presented by religion, culture, men, and society, while carefully maintaining the bond between the sexes. This study finds Nego-feminism a suitable approach that is different from another approach of feminism that sought to take power from men and poses marriage as a means to protect patriarchy. As indicated by Muhammad et al. (2016), "foreign or harsh" feminism is not suitable for women of African culture and heritage.

Therefore, for oppression in marriage to be dismantled, women are encouraged to look inwards and engage their partners to negotiate their roles through a commitment to ensure a

harmonious relationship that would improve social interaction and relevance. Akin-Aina (2011) maintains that Nego-feminism has set an example for the unity of family, which is an ultimate act to save the society as its primary focus. He further opined that the family unit is the goodwill of society. Therefore, harmonious coexistence must be integrated into society. Although Akin-Aina (2011) recognizes that marriage can be a fertile ground for women's oppression, he admits that negotiation from both man and woman in marriage is paramount for conducive family survival. The centrality of Nego-feminism in this study is negotiation- in the practical sense of the word. Nnaemeka (2004) explain that feminism for African women should not be a "construct" but a practice. This means that it should be a handbook of referral when the situation arises but as a practice of lived experience that connotes reality in which women can practically negotiate their situations subtly with their partners and even in public domains.

As earlier illustrated and exemplified how women in political and religious offices have been able to dismantle patriarchy in a non-catastrophic manner. Nnaemaka positions this theory to encourage harmonious living while condemning African society values that continues to subjugate women. Thus, this theory proves adequate in exploring the lived experiences of black married migrant women who are oppressed in marriage with influence from Pentecostal teachings. It considers how these women have been able to compromise in their marriage considering the challenges posed by migration. Similarly, it proves relevant in understanding how these women have developed their identity and resistance to patriarchal values.

3.6.2 *Criticism of Nego-feminist theory*

Nego-feminism proves relevant for this study, but it also poses some challenges that cannot be ignored. In the critique of feminist theories. Acholonu (2001) consider that it reinforces gender stereotypes and describes Nego-feminism as women nurturing humanistic roles while clamouring for the input of the male counterpart. However, the true effectiveness of Nego-feminism is put to test in patriarchal situations where there is violence. In this case, where the violence and discrimination begin to manifest in an increased manner that eventually leads to mental or physical abuse, negotiations and compromise will not be effective in dismantling patriarchy given situation like this. Similarly, another critique presented to Nego-feminism is in cases where women encounter occupation discriminations and molestation, Acholonu (2001) assert that Nego-feminism ideology will not be effective in the certain patriarchal movement against women.

It can be easily argued that Nego-feminism as an approach to negotiation panders to male hegemony and fails to dismantle a heavily patriarchal society. In the writings of Adimora-Ezigbo (2005), in examining feminine discourse among northern women of Nigeria, the study produced specific situations of African women that are positioned at the centre of debate between Northern and Southern feminist perspectives. Nnaemeka's Nego-feminism was critiqued as being limited to negotiations, thus excluding what Nnaemeka refers to as 'harsh feminism'. Adimora-Ezigbo (2005) claims that feminism of negotiation is not applicable and self-evident in the northern part of Nigeria and certainly to other African environments, which are highly patriarchal. Particularly, this applies when these women are not allowed to get an education and the religious obligations available to these women further teaches them to accept male dominance as the norm.

However, Nnaemeka (2003:p.361) argues in support of Nego-feminism as she builds importance of culture and differences and stresses the necessity and practical 'building on the indigenous value' in the construction of African feminist theory. Opinions vary on the discourse of Nego-feminism and how it applies in regions where women are denied education with toxic patriarchal values, Nkaelah (2016) posits that it would be interesting to gauge Nnaemeka's position on how Nego-feminism in such an environment can overturn male dominance and achieve gender equality.

3.6.3   Integration of the theories

The focus of this study is on the individual and collective discourse of gender in transnational space, social interaction, and feminism perceptions of migrated black women in Durban, as seen through the theories selected for this study. The close connection between language, social interactions, creation of knowledge and meaning, gender oppression within migrant women as influenced by Pentecostal hermeneutics requires to be explored in relation to theories. Inn this case, Social construction theory was deployed to understand language, social interaction and knowledge construction, while I used Nego-feminism to explore marital power relations and dynamics, to understand patriarchal structures and how negotiation is required in building and maintaining African cultural value that guides family relations as well as resistance to patriarchal values, while the gendered geographies of power framework concentrates on the performance of gender across transnational spaces, how gender is being reconstructed in a migratory context. This study examines migrants' women position in transnational spaces and their new gender

regime within its own operatives of power. The gendered geographies of power theory is suitable to examine migrants' gendered lives and understand how gender operates on a multiple spatial scale.

A common thread between the three theories is how the gendered lives of migrants, their interactions and negotiations, are compatible in marriage and migration; this helps the theories to be integrated into the study. To understand the lived experiences and struggles faced by migrant women within the context of gender oppression as influenced by Pentecostal hermeneutics, there is a need to acknowledge women's power in this ideology. Additionally, the three theories stay relevant in examining issues of gender oppression among women. Finally, these theories highlight the identity of women by taking into consideration the social, cultural, and personal influences on women's experiences.

3.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter illustrated the theories underpinning this study, explaining the four elements of the theory and how it affects gender operation in migration context. The framework of gendered geographies of power captures the operation of gender on a multiple spatial scale, as it contributes to how gender is reconstructed and reaffirmed in new host countries. The social construction theory investigates the construction of reality and how this shapes behaviour. Using language, people construct their meaning and define what is acceptable in social interactionism. Cultural practices are a result of collective agreements on several issues, this includes what constitutes appropriate interactions for women. On social constructionism, this chapter discussed the construct of gender, power and cultural values as situated in the understanding of gender oppression in marriage. Additionally, this chapter presented the social constructionist perspective into exploring gender discourse and power relations in African marriages that are highly patriarchal.

On the discourse of Nego-feminism, it is noted that African women must realize that the success within the society lies in the ability to re-evaluate, compromise, and negotiate their space within patriarchal territories. The strength of Nego-feminism is in its accommodation of intersections and multiple lived experiences of men and women to produce theories that can develop a more robust guide to negotiating space within our environment. The gender inclusiveness as a construct of Nego-feminism allows it to provide a theoretical stand that is

applicable in conflict resolutions and in the similar philosophical contexts it is been applied to. In this context of Nego-feminism, black migrant women are encouraged to compromise their individualistic operations to prioritize family and communal success. This chapter concludes by highlighting the integration of gender geographies of power, social constructionism, and Nego-feminist theories for this study.

The next chapter discusses the research methodology that underpinned this study. It discusses the research design; research methods and rationale for data collection and sampling techniques are outlined. Additionally, the next chapter discusses the method of data analysis and its importance within this research.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter of this study outlined the theoretical framework of social construction and Nego-feminism for this study. These theories influence the exploration of women's understanding and use of social interactionism, language, negotiations, and their experience of patriarchy, as well as their struggle and resistance to patriarchal values. Gender oppression and violence against women have gained much attention within empirical studies. As such, investigating the lived experiences of married women on gender oppression, submission, Pentecostal religion and other aspects of women's lives requires a phenomenological approach that provides the researcher with an opportunity to understand different aspects of participants' realities. The gender oppression faced by women in marriage is a phenomenon that required an open-ended question that presented the opportunity for extensive discussion with the participants.

In this chapter, I set out the processes pursued in conducting this study. The approach was designed to raise questions that allowed these women to recount their experience of oppression in marriage. The research question also focused on the role of the church in the reshaping of women's identity. What relevance does the patriarchal interpretation of the Bible hold in their marriage? Such questions were raised spontaneously during the process of data collection to gain an in-depth understanding of the emerging narratives of this study. Questions were those such as women's understanding of submission and how it affects their self-esteem. Predominantly, it was evident that the appropriate design to explore the lived experiences of women on gender oppression in their marriage was one that provided room for understanding subjective realities. Hence, the use of qualitative research design was deemed appropriate to understand a topic that sought to explored lived experiences.

This chapter proceeds with the justification for the adoption of a qualitative design, presenting the advantages associated with this design and its contextual relevance to this study. Following is the selection of research methods, research location, study population and recruitment strategy. A detailed description of the geographical environment of the study is provided to give insight into the reason for the selection of Durban as the study site. Furthermore, the research methods, sampling technique, sample size are discussed alongside their relevance to the research process. This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion on

my positionality as someone conducting research on gender oppression in marriage. The discussion also highlights ethical challenges faced in the research process. Presentation of the overall data analysis and thematic analysis is given and, finally, the chapter ends with a reflective note on the methodological chapter.

4.2   DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Qualitative research is social science research that involves an interpretive, natural approach to a social phenomenon. It is a design that works with non-numerical data and that seeks to interpret meaning from data collected to understand social phenomenon through the study of the targeted population (Mohajan, 2018). Qualitative research investigates social issues and takes into consideration participants' local knowledge, meanings, people's experiences, social process, and natural factors that can inhibit social behaviours (Punch, 2013). Qualitative research design is the general plan behind a study that provides an overall framework of the study, which can include study location, selecting research subjects, data collection and providing answers to research questions (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2001:p.166). Lewis (2015:p.474) explains that research design is the outline of carrying out a study, which describes in detail, how, when and where research is conducted and analysed; it is the strategy taken to execute research.

Arguably, Leedy and Ormord (2012) posit that qualitative research is less structured in details and description because it formulates and builds theories. In qualitative research, the objectives are descriptive and exploratory rather than explanatory (Ferreirra et al. 1998). Qualitative research is a reflexive process that operates in every stage of a research project; this includes data collection, analysis of data, developing, elaborating, modifying research focus, and validating the strategies the research employed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The descriptive nature of qualitative research allows the researcher to provide a detailed description of the experiences of the participants, which will either sustain or confront the theory underpinned by the study (Meyer, 2001). This explains the numerous strategies that qualitative research employs in seeking to understand how human perceive social reality.

The exploratory nature of qualitative research enables readers to understand the meanings attached to experience and distinguish the nature and impact of the problem. Qualitative research is often used when human variables such as beliefs, motivations, emotions, perceptions are extensively discussed, which cannot be analysed quantitatively. The benefits of the qualitative research method allow the researcher to study the broad and selected issues

of the research (Quinn & Keough, 2002), as it assists in identifying the relationship and the kind of information that emerges from the data gathering. Qualitative research answers the questions of the 'what, why or how' of a social phenomenon (Stebbins, 2001:p.19). However, qualitative research has been critiqued for the lack of generalisability in the methods (Flicks, 2014; Mohajan, 2018). The point is often made that qualitative research does not aim to draw inferences from a large sample population but to describe a social phenomenon from the perspective of the research participants and to establish the significance for theoretical propositions (Glaser & Strauss, 2012).

Furthermore, Cibangu (2012) asserts that qualitative research should be adopted as a method of examining social issues that are relatively under-explored. Therefore, this proves that it is important to understand a social phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it.

This study problematises gender oppression through submission, as a clear narrative of patriarchy and infringement of women's power and rights within the institution of marriage. This is a phenomenon that is relatively new to the empirical literature; specifically, exploring the lived experience of these women and the implication of forced submission and oppression holds in the life and marriage of these women, African migrants in South Africa. Therefore, in line with Sarantako's (2012) argument, qualitative research should be adopted when exploring social issues that are relatively underexplored and require comprehensive theoretical knowledge. As such this study, therefore, requires a design that does not treat reality as objective but as an approach that explores the phenomenon, through understanding the circumstances that influence its prevalence, in this case, the subjective evaluation of gender oppression as experienced by African women in their marriage.

As Maxwell (2008) explains, qualitative research design provides an opportunity to understand the subjective reality of every social phenomenon. This study aimed to develop an in-depth understanding that best describes the position of African Christian women and their experiences of gender oppression in marriage by construing meanings from the participants. This study did not aim to provide ultimate truth but rather to explore the various nature and methods of how African women experienced gender oppression in their marriage. Qualitative research design comprises different methods that include logic, ethnography, discourse analysis, case study, open-ended interview, participant observation, focus group and grounded theory (Patton & Cochran, 2002). The multifaceted nature of qualitative research enables the researcher to develop an all-inclusive analysis of the subject matter. Denzin and Lincoln

(2005) add that there are principles that guide qualitative research, which focuses on understanding the research social setting, and not making predictions or assumptions about that setting.

4.2.1 *Justification of the adoption of qualitative research approach*

A qualitative approach was selected as the methodology because this approach emphasises an understanding and interpretation of meaning as well as the intention of underlying human interaction (Newman, 2003). For this study, the interpretative and naturalistic approach to exploring gender oppression in African marriages enables the researcher to develop a holistic approach to this phenomenon. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) identified principles that are feasible in exploring and adopting qualitative research as a multidimensional approach to understanding reality. The principles are discussed below.

4.2.2 *Principles applying to qualitative research in this study*

The first principle is the holistic nature of qualitative research, as embedded in the narrative of different research participants. It is a principle of truth that is divergent and deeply rooted in the narrative of the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In investigating gender oppression among African women, this research in its preliminary phase did not assume that gender oppression was common among Christian married women. As the study immersed in the tenets of qualitative research it allowed every participant to discuss their concerns, fears, experience, and thoughts on gender oppression in marriage. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that, in qualitative research, researchers look at the large picture and begin with a search to understand the whole. It describes truth and reality as based on the participant's lived experiences. Therefore, the truth of every genuine qualitative research is as described by the participants. According to Bayens and Roberson (2011), qualitative research must interpret and investigate the phenomenon with the everyday experience of people and establish its influence on dominant social structures.

Flowing from the above, the researcher ensured that, during the interview, participants were asked questions that allowed them to discuss not only their experiences of gender oppression in marriage but also allowed them to reflect on how it has influenced their self-esteem and personal identity. The approach encouraged the process of exploring gender oppression in African Christian women's marriages, the discussion of gender oppression and the full narratives of these women. This process revolves around their lived experiences and how they have affected social structures such as the family. It provides a holistic approach, where all

parts of the research problem are explored to provide answers to understanding the research phenomenon. This methodology assisted this study to explore the relationship within the culture which this study presents, entailed the exploration of migrant women's oppression according to religious and traditional norms, the understanding of women's identity and the extent to which the position of women in their marriages has changed.

The second principle is the probing nature of the relationship between participants and research systems. In this regard, the system is considered to be the various aspects of participants' lives and how these intersect with the social phenomenon under investigation (Byers, 1999). This assertion by Byers emphasizes the fact that the reality of most women is in the performance of multiple responsibilities. Acknowledging the complexities of women's experience, Knowles, Nieuwenhuis and Smit (2009) examined the lived experiences of women educators in South Africa. Their study revealed that women experience complex realities due to gender expectations. Hence, this study explored the experience of African women of gender oppression in marriage as well as the influence this oppression, if present, has had on their identity, self-esteem, and their cultural values as Africans.

This study engaged complex narratives around gender oppression in marriages, particularly with the Pentecostal teachings on marriage among African women migrants living in Durban. This was done without presenting findings as to the absolute truth but as part of the complex narratives around women, marriages, and family. The third principle of qualitative research is the focus on understanding a given social setting without making predictions about that setting. This design is able to understand a social phenomenon from the perspective of those that have experienced it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It differs from other research methods that quantify and predict data. The goal of qualitative research is to understand and interpret the social construction of meaning in a natural setting and apply the ideas generated across contexts through emerging complexities of multiple realities (Newman, 2003).

Qualitative research does not claim to provide holistic truth or narratives but presents facts that are context-driven and specific to the understanding of a social phenomenon. Qualitative research demands time; it is time-consuming as it requires ongoing data analysis, thus effectively capturing the detailed narrative of participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The nature of this research is qualitative. Since the core of this research is phenomenological, it, therefore, based its findings on the experiences and the understanding of processes and phenomenon, which were highlighted especially during data analysis. Anderson (2010)

asserts that preparing findings from qualitative research is more difficult and time-consuming. This approach also requires the researcher to become a research instrument, as they reflect critically on the difference their own involvement has made to the findings. Qualitative research also provided this study with a natural setting of a personal environment, with in-depth interviews taken at the comfort of research participants. It provides an approach where personal experiences of each participant are investigated. Furthermore, Creswell (2014) describe the flexibility of qualitative research as an added advantage, because data is gathered at a convenient time for research participants, which improves comfortability on the part of the participant. In this case time and convenience are essential factors when conducting research among married women.

Finally, qualitative research incorporates informed consent decisions and needs to be highly responsive to ethical concerns. For ethical concerns, it was important that the researcher critically gives room for a description of personal biases and ideological preferences that might influence the process and findings of this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The researcher is a single lady and my positionality in this research that explored gender oppression in marriage had to be clear. I had to address this study from an unbiased perspective and with informed opinion, as I do not have any experience of marriage. Furthermore, the anonymity and confidentiality of research participants needed to be upheld, so as not to put them at risk considering that marriage is a private engagement. As part of the measures engaged in this study, informed consent stating the purpose and aim of research was obtained and explained to research participants before every interview. All participants in this study participated voluntarily.

The adoption of qualitative research for this study was informed by the epistemological ideology that considers objectivity as frequently unfolding, particularly from the perspective of those experiencing it rather than a given set of explanations. The descriptive nature of qualitative research gives room for the researcher to provide a detailed description of the experience of participants which will either support or oppose the theoretical framework on which the study is based (Meyer, 2001). This descriptive nature of qualitative research strengthens the meaning attached to the nature and impact of problems and how people experience these social phenomena. Therefore, this study develops a practical method to understand and explore gender oppression in marriages. As highlighted in the literature review chapter, gender oppression cuts across the different aspects of women's life and its

effect on their identity and religious faith. There is a dearth of studies that link gender oppression in African marriages to Pentecostal hermeneutics. In this regard, a practical method of considering women's lived experience may be more productive in developing ways ahead for the social phenomenon under investigation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the need to explore the reasons African women experience gender oppression in their marriage made qualitative design the most appropriate approach in this study. Therefore, it is important to provide details on what explanatory qualitative design entails. Explanatory research design is used to develop or create a better understanding of a phenomenon (Langos, 2014). It is relevant to any form of research that explores new developments and is mostly used to gain insights about a phenomenon, especially when the researcher seeks to clarify the understanding of a problem from a theoretical perspective (Hair et al. 2012). The purpose of explanatory research is that, through phenomenological research, the true meaning of the phenomenon can be understood by examining the experiences of individuals who have gone through similar or same encounters (Langos, 2014).

This study engaged the use of explanatory design through the phenomenological lens to gain new insights into gender oppression in Africa Christian marriages and to understand the impact of Pentecostal teachings in relation to gender oppression and African women's identity in marriage. In a qualitative study, there are various strategies designed to investigate knowledge (Lewis, 2015). As such, it is imperative to identify a strategy that suits the aim under investigation. This study is positioned to explore gender oppression in African marriages through the phenomenological lens, which is discussed in detail below.

4.3 PHENOMENOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF WOMEN'S DECISIONS IN MARRIAGE

This study undertook a phenomenological research design to illuminate and identify specific phenomena through the perception of the actions in such situations (Alhojailan, 2012). Phenomenology as an approach is a study of experience from the perspective of the individual, to unravel assumptions and explore meaning, for research purposes (Langos, 2014). Phenomenology is the study of the perceived phenomenon of humans at a profound level of understanding in a specific situation with a detailed description and interpretation of individuals' lived experiences (Gearing, 2004).

A phenomenology study takes a deep gathering of information and perceptions through inductive and qualitative methods (Moustakas, 1994). According to Quitoshi (2018), phenomenological approaches are based on the paradigm of personal knowledge, subjectivity, and emphasis of the research participants to gain powerful understanding and insight into people's experiences, motivations, and actions. Phenomenological methods are effective in bringing life to the experiences of individuals from their perspectives and therefore challenging structural and normative assumptions. Additionally, the phenomenological approach allows an interpretive dimension to a study by enabling such studies to provide the basis for practical theories, which allows it to inform and support the actions of the study (Quitoshi, 2018).

Scholars of phenomenological research scholars that the variety of methods that the phenomenological approach adopts includes interviews, conversations, research participant observation, focus group discussions and analysis of personal texts from the perspective of the research participant(s) (Oakley, 1981; Plummer, 1983). Hence, there is a general principle that guides phenomenological study; that is of minimal structure and maximal depth, to strike a balance between keeping the focus on research issues and avoiding undue influence by the researcher. In the case of this study, gaining critical depth of information from married women about gender oppression influenced by Pentecostal teachings requires research methods where the researcher must remain objective to gain maximum depth to the research problems while maintaining that the research participant has a strong personal stake in the study.

Phenomenology takes into account the experience of participants regarding a given social situation, a phenomenological study will ask questions such as, what is the perceived reality from a participant's perspective? It answers this type of question by probing into the lived experiences of people and how this experience has impacted their lives (Giorgi, 2009). In this sense, Vilakati (2009) argued that, in phenomenology, experience refers to human involvement in a situation before the interpretation and exploration of such a situation. Phenomenology makes sense of experiences by interpreting a phenomenon through the lens of the participants while sharing their experiences. The purpose of phenomenological research as discussed earlier is to understand the essence of phenomena in human lives as told by those who experience it (Giorgi, 2009).

Hence, for this study, it became imperative to build an understanding of the lived experiences of African Christian women who have or who are going through gender oppression in their marriage, as well as how this oppression affects their identity and values as Africans. Therefore, phenomenology is important to develop arguments to support theoretical claims through the detailing of human experiences. It also fosters human relationships through the construction of multiple realities and develops an expansion of knowledge about a social phenomenon (Giorgi, 2009).

4.3.1 Strategies for conducting a phenomenological study

Phenomenology studies usually adopt the lived experience of participants by applying a hermeneutical method to make sense of shared experience to arrive at a symbolic meaning for research purposes (Chang, Fung and Chien, 2013). Vilakati (2009) identified some essential strategies involved in conducting a phenomenological study which strengthens the quality of data gathered and research findings. The first strategy in conducting a phenomenological study is intuition, which is an important aspect of a phenomenological study (Chang et al. 2013). Intuition is an operationalized reflection of critical data without bias (Chundoff, 2013).

4.3.1.1 Intuition

Intuition is strategically embedded in the process of thinking through the data collected to ensure that the experience of participants is fully captured, described and interpreted without layering it with what has been bracketed (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). The process of total concentration on the data improves the critical engagement of a researcher with the data at hand, which improves detailed interpretation of the phenomenon. This study through intuition investigated and interpreted data detailing the lived experience of migrant African women in Durban and gender oppression in their marriages.

4.3.1.2 Bracketing

Another strategy of conducting a phenomenological study is bracketing; this is simply explained as an act where the researcher brackets their own experiences (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Bracketing is a methodological approach used in the phenomenological study that expects that researchers consciously refrain from including their personal beliefs and opinions about the phenomenon under investigation (Carpenter, 2007). This aspect is critical throughout the research as it ensures objectivity on the part of the researcher. Researchers must bracket out their own beliefs to accurately describe participants' lived experience. The

next strategy involved in conducting a phenomenology study is data analysis. The data collection generates a large quantity of interview notes, tape recordings and personal notes all of which must be analysed (Chang et al. 2013).

The first stage is to go through data immersion, this is done by the researcher's continuous listening to data transcription, and they begin to identify key themes, recurring patterns, and notes in each text (Groenewald, 2004). The researcher continues to listen and make comparative notes and narratives given by the participants to arrive at a description of the social phenomenon. Hence, themes and patterns are identified and analysed (Creswell, 2017). The process of immersion, interpretation and analysis of data allows the researcher to uncover similarities and differences that unfold in the narrative of gender oppression in African Christian marriages, specifically, while simultaneously drawing on the literature that pertain to Pentecostalism and gender oppression in marriage. The final phase of the strategies involved in conducting a phenomenological study is the provision of a detailed report of the phenomenon. The discussion of research findings uncovers the themes, topics and key issues that have been discussed by participants (Chang et al. 2013).

Phenomenological studies unravel the biases and underexplored narratives of a social phenomenon (Finlay, 2012). This section of phenomenological study allows the researcher to intrude into the study by relating the findings to previous literature or theoretical opinions already stated. It provides a clear discussion of research findings. In this study, the research findings included discussions that detailed the experiences of migrant African women in Durban and their experience of gender oppression by exploring all factors peculiar to Pentecostalism and its teachings, issues surrounding these women's identity and how this has influenced their cultural beliefs and values as Africans.

4.4   LOCATION OF THE STUDY

The location of the study is within the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa. This study focuses on black African women who have migrated into South Africa and are currently living in Durban. It is almost impossible to examine all black migrant African women living within the Durban metropolis; hence, this study has identified black African migrants who belong to the Pentecostal religious Christian community in Durban. According to Nguyen, Taylor and Chatters (2016), people who migrate from different regions to settle in another region always first look out for a religious group to associate themselves with, to feel

more accepted into the new society. Therefore, this study identified three international churches in Durban that are attended by people of different nationalities.

The churches are Glory International Ministries, which stems from Zimbabwe in Southern Africa; secondly, the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), which originated from Nigeria; lastly, the Glenwood Presbyterian Church (Congolese branch). The Presbyterian Church has its roots in Europe, but this branch in Durban is home mostly to African congregants from the Democratic Republic of Congo and other African nationals. These churches are relevant to the objectives of the study; most importantly, the choice of the study location cannot be disconnected from the fact that they provides easy access to respondents, and for utilization of limited time and funds, this also formed part of the reason this study adopted purposive sampling.

Since the study is particularly interested in exploring the experiences of migrated African married Christian women, there are possibilities that these women, from various countries, might share common opinions or diverse experiences on their positions on Christianity and gender relations, how they view gender oppression and power relations in their marriages.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Data collection allows researchers to obtain information that is needed from the study population (Abawi, 2013). This study adopted the use of In-depth interviews, In-depth interviews is a data collection technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with several respondents to explore their perception on a phenomenon (Boyce & Neale, 2006). This study adopted in-depth interviews in place of focus groups discussions, because the nature of the research is quite sensitive, as not every individual will be comfortable discussing their marriage openly in front of strangers (other participants of the focus group).

A face-to-face structured interview was conducted to elicit qualitative responses from participants. A total of 15 interview sessions was conducted, one for each of the study population. The in-depth interviews were tailored towards understanding the personal view of respondents on their experiences of gender oppression in marriage (as provided in the research questions). Responses were audio-recorded after seeking the consent of participants for this purpose.

4.5.1 Selection of participants

This section discusses the study population, study sample, and sampling techniques. It provided a detailed data collection strategy.

4.5.1.1 Sampling techniques

There are several sampling techniques involved when conducting research, although qualitative research relatively focuses on a small sample size (Alhojailan, 2012). Participants are selected because they can provide rich and adequate descriptions of their experiences and are willing to articulate such experiences, thereby providing information that is valuable and important to enrich the researcher's understanding (Nowell et al. 2017).

It is usually impossible to include the entire population in a study because there may be major restrictions regarding time and cost. Research usually attempts to reach findings that are relevant to large populations; hence, there must be a selection of a sample from the large population. Maree (2007:p.172) explains that there are two types of sampling: probability and non-probability sampling methods. Probability methods are grounded on the belief of randomness and probability theory, while non-probability methods are based on the judgement of the researcher. This study adopts the non-probability random sampling technique because not all the population can be included in the study; there must be a selection of participants, and this was carried out by non-random sampling techniques.

Maree (2007:p.175) defines non-random sampling as a method where the objects of a particular population have little opportunity of being selected to be part of the sampled population or when the chances of being selected cannot be accurately determined. This study adopts the technique of non-probability sampling, this technique is often referred to as judgmental sampling because the selection of participants is by the choice of the researcher. The non-probability technique proves to be the most suitable because of its characteristics of saving time and money, and its rules are easier to implement in a study (Cresswell, 2014). This study thus adopted the purposive sampling technique, which is a type of non-probability sampling.

4.5.1.2 Purposive sampling

This is a sampling technique that is used in gathering data for qualitative research that is characterised by easy identification and the opportunity to select the rich cases of information in a data set for research purposes (Patton, 2002). The researcher has purposefully selected

participants with her intention to understand migrated women. Migration within South Africa is on the increase, involving migrants from other African countries such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Ghana, Swaziland, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, among other countries (South African Stats, 2011). According to Nguyen *et al.,* (2016), migrants often create cultural or religious groups, to break the culture shock experienced among migrants. Hence, the researcher purposely chose to explore women who attend Pentecostal churches in Durban that have originated from elsewhere within Africa.

4.5.1.3   *Sample size*

The sample size is a sub-group of an entire population (Maree, 2007). Having stated this, it is not feasible to include the entire population for this study, due to the constraints of time and funds. This study explored a selected number of 15 participants since qualitative research such as this is usually focused on the selection of a small number of people who are crucial to the usefulness of data collection (Gogtay, 2010). These 15 participants that participated in this study are black African women who are Christians, who have migrated to South Africa and who currently reside in Durban.

4.5.1.4   *Recruitment strategy*

The study identified 15 participants to participate in the study. These are women who have migrated to and live in Durban, who are Christians and married. These three churches (*see above 4.4*) were selected because they are prominent Pentecostal churches within Durban, as they are majorly attended by migrants. Generally, these churches are pastored by clergies from different African countries.

The researcher is aware of the sensitivity attached to discussion on marriage, submission, and gender oppression. Therefore, there is a need for up-close familiarity with participants to create a sense of comfort between the researcher and participants. Thus, the researcher attended the three churches for eight months consecutively to become a familiar face among the church congregants. Furthermore, the researcher approached the church's secretary to provide a list of married women in the church; phone calls and emails were sent to request their availability for discussions on the research topic. Women who were comfortable discussing the research problems were further contacted via telephone calls and asked for voluntary participation in the study; the gatekeepers' letter was obtained from all three churches (Appendix C).

A total number of 15 women were identified. Six married women were interviewed from the Redeemed Christian Church of God, five married women were interviewed from Glory International Ministries and four married women were interviewed from Glenwood Presbyterian church. These women are married, black African migrants and reside in Durban.

4.5.2   *Diasporic nature of the study*

Given the multidimensions of black women's experiences, a single axis framework of analysis will not do justice to the experiences of black women, i.e., understanding women's experience of oppression only from a particular standpoint or from a class perspective will be an injustice to the struggles of women who have been marginalised (Crenshaw, 1989). This study considers a framework of these multiple complexities and acknowledges that women face diverse subordinations that intersect; it becomes necessary to understand and analyse the oppressions faced by black women. To understand the participants' diasporic nature, the section begins by discussing the gender, race and continental criteria used in selection for the study. Black African women were used as the target population for the data collection process.

The discourse on gender as a structure across diverse African cultures and experiences of women was viewed through the lens of feminism; however, the focus is placed on some of the theoretical positions in African gender discourses, with emphasis on the need to understand that there are many cultures, and multiple and complex identities that need to be studied and understood across Africa. This study sought to understand the experiences of African women on gender oppression in their marriage and as aided by Pentecostal hermeneutics, with a specific focus on migrant women within Durban, South Africa. It is important to highlight the diasporic nature of the African women in African diasporas, such as the growing focus on representation, identities, subjectivities, security, sexualities as well as linguistic diversities. Telling the stories of women's oppression across African countries, the table below shows the diasporic nature of the research participants, presenting their pseudonyms, their country of origin, and years of marriage.

Table 4.1 Demographic representation of participants (source: researcher's compilation)

	PARTICIPANTS	MARITAL STATUS	YEARS IN MARRIAGE	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
1	Mrs Chantell	Married	12 years	Nigeria
2	Mrs Princewill	Married	5 years.	Zimbabwe
3	Mrs Janet	Married	10 years	Nigeria
4	Mrs Elizabeth	Married	5 years.	Nigeria
5	Mrs Tobore	Married	15 years	Nigeria
6	Mrs Tafazwa	Married	17 years	Kenya
7	Mrs Kuti	Married	7 years	Kenya
8	Mrs Florence	Married	4 years	DRC
9	Mrs Johnson	Married	17 years	DRC
10	Mrs Walter	Married	5 years	Nigeria
11	Mrs Mercy	Married	4 years	Zimbabwe
12	Mrs Phebian	Married	7 years	Kenya
13	Mrs Obi	Married	11 years	DRC
14	Mrs Stella	Married	8 years	Zimbabwe
15	Mrs Ayoh	Married	12 years	Cameroon

The table above showed the diasporic nature of the participants from across different African countries. The table features married women who migrated from other African countries to South Africa at different periods. Discussing the diversity of black women's experience of oppression across diverse African cultures, Hingston (2015) has argued that black women have long understood and acknowledged the commonalities they share with all women and

with black men in global racist societies, but have also poignantly understood the interactive oppressions that they face as black women even from their husbands. In the presentation of the analysis of Guy-Sheftall's (1995) study that explored black women and their fight for liberation in the United States of America (USA), the study revealed that Black women experience a special kind of oppression and suffering in the USA, which is racist, sexist and classist because of their dual racial and gender identity and their limited access to resources.

Interestingly, these black African women represent many of the characteristics found with the many other African women living in other African countries as immigrants. These women have been married for a different number of years, the youngest having had four (4) years and the oldest seventeen (17) years in marriage, these women are educated with nine (9) of them being postgraduate students at different universities within Durban and the rest of the other women had basic high school education. Their shared experiences are unique as they have different unique stories to tell based on their marriages. One of the common denominations from each experience tells the story of how their African culture influenced and impacted their Pentecostal Christian marriages. The study also explored the status of patriarchy in interpreting biblical texts and how it applies to their marriage, as well as understanding the values that guide and rule African marriages with regards to power relations.

4.5.3   Profile of the participants

For purpose of easy identification of research participants, they have been allocated a number ranging from one (1) to fifteen (15).

Mrs Chantell (1)

Mrs Chantell from Nigeria has been married for 12 years. She moved with her family to South Africa seven years ago, she has two children. Mrs Chantell is a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. She tutors undergraduate students at Durban University of Technology. She is a Christian and currently worships at the Redeemed Christian church of God (RCCG).

Mrs Princewill (2)

Mrs Princewill is from Zimbabwe and migrated into South Africa as a single lady. While in Durban she met a Nigerian man and she got married to him. She is a medical doctor and lectures at the Durban University of Technology. Mrs Princewill has been married for five

years and she has two kids. She is a Christian and worships at the Redeemed Christian church of God.

Mrs Janet (3)

Mrs Janet is from Nigeria. She migrated into South Africa with her family five years ago. She has three children and currently she runs her personal pastry business in Durban. She worships at Glory International Ministries Durban.

Mrs Elizabeth (4)

Mrs Elizabeth is from Nigeria and has been married for five years. She migrated into South Africa with her husband three years ago and she is currently studying for her PhD at the Durban University of Technology. Mrs Elizabeth is a Christian and worships at RCCG

Mrs Tobore (5)

Mrs Tobore is from Nigeria and she has been married for 15 years. She migrated to Durban with her husband and children about ten years back. Mrs Tobore has four children. She initially lived in Eastern Cape before she moved to Durban with her children while her husband works in Eastern Cape and visits Durban every other weekend. She is a PhD student at the Durban University of Technology. She attends RCCG Durban.

Mrs Tafazwa (6)

Mrs Tafazwa is from Kenya. She has been married for 17 years and her marriage has produced two children. She migrated with her family to South Africa eleven years ago. They initially lived in Pretoria for one year and then later moved to Durban. She currently works in a security provider firm and attends Glenwood Presbyterian church.

Mrs Kuti (7)

Mrs Kuti is a Kenyan woman who just migrated to Durban two years ago to join her husband who has been living in Durban for more than eight years. She has been married for seven years and she has one child. She is currently trying to gain admission for a master's degree programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. She attends Glenwood Presbyterian church.

Mrs Florence (8)

Mrs Florence is from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). She migrated to Durban three years ago, she joined her husband in Durban after one year of marriage. Mrs Florence has one child and currently works in a beauty salon. She is a Christian and worships at Glory International Ministries.

Mrs Johnson (9)

Mrs Johnson is from the Democratic Republic of Congo. She has been married for 17 years. She was previously married to a man from Burundi and then divorced. She is thus in her second marriage and is married to a South African. She is raising her son from her previous marriage with her South African husband, and she has four children altogether. She works at a beauty salon. Mrs Johnson is a Christian and attends Glenwood Presbyterian Church in Durban.

Mrs Walter (10)

Mrs Walter is a Nigerian woman married for five years who migrated to Durban as a single lady. She was attending a beauty and fashion college when she met her husband in Durban. They both went back to Nigeria to get married. Mrs Walter currently works at a beauty salon and attends Glory International Ministries.

Mrs Mercy (11)

Mrs Mercy is from Zimbabwe. She has been married for four years and migrated into Durban to join her husband, who had been living in Durban for nine years. She works at a beauty salon and Mrs Mercy has three children. She also worships at Glory International Ministries.

Mrs Phebian (12)

Mrs Phebian is from Kenya. She has been married for seven years and migrated to South Africa five years ago. She moved to Durban with her husband and children to seek greener pastures. She currently works as a customer service assistant at a commercial store in Durban. She worships at Glory International Ministries.

Mrs Obi (13)

Mrs Obi migrated into South Africa with her husband and children nine years ago. She is from the Democratic Republic of Congo. On arrival into South Africa, they lived in Johannesburg initially and then moved to Durban because she claims life in Durban is cheaper. She worships at Glenwood Presbyterian Church.

Mrs Stella (14)

Mrs Stella is from Zimbabwe. Mrs Stella migrated into South Africa as a student and a single lady. She got married to a Nigerian and they have three children. She is currently studying for her PhD at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Mrs Ayoh (15)

Mrs Ayoh is from Cameroon. She migrated into South Africa with her children and husband. They initially lived in western cape and later moved to Durban because of the high living expenses of Cape Town. She has been married for twelve years and she owns a beauty salon in Durban. She currently worships at the Glenwood Presbyterian Church in Durban.

4.5.4   Qualitative in-depth interviews

Qualitative in-depth interviews involve the use of unstructured and open-ended questions that are usually small in number and intended to elicit opinions and views from the participants (Creswell, 2014). Research methodology scholar, Bryman (2016), states that qualitative in-depth interviews can be structured in two principal methods; one is the unstructured interview and the second is the semi-structured interview. In unstructured interviews, the researcher uses an aide memoire to set prompts to deal with a certain range of research topics, where the participants can respond without restrictions. With the semi-structured interview, the researcher has a list of questions or topics to be investigated, often referred to as an interview guide (Bryman, 2016). The semi-structured interviews are noted for their degree of freedom on how the researcher implements the interview guide.

Bryman (2016) posits that the order of questions in a semi-structured interview does not always follow the outlined schedule. Because of its natural settings, questions that were not included in the guide may come up as important during the interview process. Hence, the semi-structured interview is acknowledged for its flexibility. The above distinction between the two types of qualitative in-depth interviews is somewhat extreme and there is an overlap between them. The approach this study took is the form of semi-structured interview guide but to approach the interview more as a conversation, such that it feels like an unstructured interview, to gain further insights into the experiences of women under investigation, including those that might not have been highlighted in the research questions.

According to Alhojailan (2012), interviews are important tools for data collection in qualitative research. A one-on-one in-depth interview method allows the researcher to interact

with the participants and to equally observe non-verbal cues during the interview process. In this study, a semi-structured interview method was used to allow an in-depth discussion of the research topic. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that a semi-structured interview allows the researcher to understand the complexity of the situation without imposing any prior categorization or inclusion. Through choosing interviews as a method of data collection, the researcher hoped to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' constructions through the dialogue and language they used in constructing different discourses. The in-depth interview method allows the researcher to seek clarity and probe for a deeper understanding of the research problem.

As a result, the presentation and analysis should be reflective of the views of the participants. The researcher herself is a single migrant lady at the time of this research and able to share her migration challenges with participants, thus placing herself not as equal to the participants but sharing a part of their common struggles. This enable the researcher to build a rapport with the participants; the discussion and interactions was easier for the participants and researcher, as these women shared their experience without the fear of being judged or misunderstood.

4.5.5   The interview process

This study adopted in-depth interviews to explore gender oppression in marriage as experienced by black migrant women in Durban. Creswell (2014) asserts that qualitative interviews involve unstructured questions that should elicit a response from participants. The in-depth interview was deemed appropriate because it allows flexibility in engaging with participants without specific restrictions. The interview schedule contained questions that explored the narratives of black women on gender oppression in their marriage how the teachings of the Pentecostal church have influenced their identity and how this affects their values as Africans. The interview guide did not limit the researcher and participants from discussing issues and sharing experiences outside the listed questions.

The interviews were conducted over three months. In the first set of the two interviews conducted, the participants agreed that I meet them at their houses, since it was more convenient for them. On getting to my first participant's house (Mrs Mercy), I set up the informed consent forms and the recording device and we began the interview. As soon as the questions started rolling in, I noticed that Mrs Mercy was a bit reluctant in discussing her marital issues because her husband was at home, even though he was upstairs, I felt she was

not entirely relaxed during the discussion, she kept looking over the table to see if her husband was listening. Once I got home to transcribe the recorded interviews, I felt she held back a lot of information, I then decided to reschedule with her at a time when her husband was away, for the convenience of both the participant and the interviewer. Similar to what happened at Mrs Mercys house, at Mrs Princewill's house, we started the recording and she whispered to me that she thinks her husband is listening. She suggested we move to the balcony, where she shut the door and seemed a bit relaxed that her husband would not hear all we have to discuss. These experiences I had with Mrs Mercy and Mrs Princewill made me realise that it was better to interview these women outside of their homes, for ease, comfort, and a non-judgemental environment. Hence, subsequent interviews were conducted outside of the participant's home, mostly at their workplace and coffee shops. The interviews started with questions that highlighted the biographical information of the participants, questions such as their name, how long they have been married, what tribe they belong to and what tribe they married into. These questions aimed to get to know the participants better and allow them to ease into the conversation. It was important to get to know the participants on a very personal level, to allow them to disclose more information relating to the aim of the study.

Responses were different from each participant, as they ranged from having a fully detailed discussion about themselves while others gave very direct and specific responses about their identities. The importance of these interviews was to understand the experiences of women who have at some point in their marital life experienced gender oppression, the effect of Pentecostal teaching in the establishment of their identity, the extent to which patriarchy affects their marriage and the values they hold as African women when dealing with power relationships in their marriage. These discussions helped me in significant ways that women use in accommodating or resisting patriarchy. It brought light to the very essential relationship between prayers, sex, food, and respect in having a successful marriage.

4.6   DATA ANALYSIS

The study adopted the thematic approach for analysing the qualitative data, which is aimed at identifying patterns and making associations between findings to reach conclusions on the research problem (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher was familiarized with the data to understand the depth of the content. Repeated listening to the audiotaped responses from the participants, as well as repeated reading of the transcripts aided this process. Once this was completed, transcription of data ensued. I followed the steps of marking and coding the

responses; and this was done by a continuous revisit to the data gathered. I transcribed the data collected into written documents, which also gave room for familiarizing myself with responses from the data. This is an interpretative act which is a major feature of the thematic analysis (Ibrahim, 2012:p.39) and this creates meaning for the data collected. Transcription of data provided a verbatim account of the interviews, which helped me minimize any alterations of meaning.

Initial codes and marking were generated for the responses. In this study, the coding was done manually, and data-driven codes were organised into meaningful groups. Numeric patterns were used to set data apart for easy access and for not reusing a set of data that has been previously used. This was ideal as it helped me create a pattern for the data collected. The themes were created from the data collected. These themes were created by sorting the codes into different patterns and will be differentiated, as each theme will be used to represent a set of data collected. Finally, the analysis was written out to provide a concise, logical, and non-repetitive account of the story that is told by the data.

4.6.1   Developing themes for the study

Once my field work was completed, I had to undergo the process of transcribing, coding, and developing themes to properly situate the research aim and objectives. I initially thought the writing and transcribing was going to be the easiest; apparently I had misjudged the situation. Writing, transcribing, and coding took longer than I had anticipated, as I spent over a month doing this. There were days where I could not write a sentence and some days where the best I could do was write a paragraph. Equally, there were days when the ideas flowed freely, and I was able to write a good number of paragraphs. Developing themes for this study was done in sections. I analysed the study according to the research objectives. Each chapter, beginning with chapter 5, is discussed according to each research objective. The following are the developing themes from the data collected through interviews. The discussions narrate the findings from the research questions that directed the study in line with the objectives.

For chapters 5 to 7, there were different themes and sub-themes that emerged from the transcription of the interviews. Chapter 5 focuses on exploring research question 1, which discussed the key narratives of the experience oppression of black women in marriage and the relevance of migration.

Similarly, chapter 6 discusses the findings of research question two and three. It is segmented into two different headings, with the first section discussing the themes that emerged from

analysing the church, women identity and patriarchy. It discusses other findings in sub-themes. Research question three is also presented in chapter 6 with its major theme of the interpretation and relevance of biblical patriarchy and its effects on marriage. Other findings presented in this section are discussed in three different sub-themes.

Finally, chapter seven of this study is based on the findings from research question four, the chapter, focused mainly on the four major themes that emerged from the data analysis and it included the sub-themes that presented additional findings to the study.

4.7   POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In qualitative research, the researcher plays a fundamental role as an instrument of data collection and data presentation (Creswell 1994). Miller (2000) posit that in a post-structuralist and post-modern study the researcher is considered a part of the research methodology. The interactive process of qualitative research cannot be value-free. Therefore, the idea that researchers should be neutral is often not possible (Seroka 1999). However, researchers must maintain and acknowledge subjectivity and the researcher must justify the reason for investigating such a subject (Parker 1994). This process of subjectivity relies on the reflective ability of the researcher to become an important instrument for data collection. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) they argued that the reflective nature of qualitative study allows the researcher to admit and discuss their opinion or biases and how it relates to the study under investigation, for instance in this study, one of the ethical dilemmas I faced was my positionality as a young migrant, who is unmarried and investigating gender landmines in marriage.

The complexity of my identity was very relevant to the context and content of the research. My relationship status as a single lady became prevalent in most of the interviews as I heard phrases like 'oh! You are not married; you cannot understand the struggles. As such, I needed to tread carefully in the discussion of marriage and their experiences as I have no first-hand experience of how marriage is. Given this background, it was easy for the researcher to identify and understand different construction of realities presented by the participants both as a result of being married and as Christian woman that operates within a marital context that is dominated by traditional cultural norms and expectations. While it is argued that researchers who conduct research based on their own experiences have better dynamics in understanding the experiences of their research participants and research expectations.

In the case of this study where the researcher is a single lady investigating gender oppression among married women, the researcher acknowledges her lack of experiences that she could not identify with the participant's pain and struggles. Hence, the researcher made sure that she did not impose any of her values or opinions on the participants during the interviews.

The researcher's outlook on the participant's life experiences and observations has a likelihood to influence the process of interviews-data collection, analysing and interpretation of data. Gee (1999) asserts that the researcher as an interviewer in qualitative study plays an important role in how participants construct their realities. Miller (2000) states that the ideal qualitative researcher becomes immersed in the data and personal biases, or opinions must be transparent. Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) opined that interviews must be treated as a social interaction, where the researcher and the participants are relaxed, and their contribution comes naturally and is interesting for both interviewers and interviewees.

4.7.1 *Reflexivity*

Reflexivity allows the researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the meaning of the phenomenon under investigation (Burns, 2006). This means that the researcher engages with the participant's situation to understand and identify with the emotion of the participants. In addition, Babbie and Mouton (2001) claim that despite the researcher engaging their own experiences and viewpoints, the focus of the investigation must remain on understanding the phenomenon from the participant's perspective. It was important that as the researcher I had to bracket my understanding of marriage, gender oppression and open her mind to understand and listen to what is told by her participants.

4.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical consideration is an integral aspect of conducting research, it ensures the importance of given ethics by the university or body monitoring the research procedures, universities go to a large extent to protect the dignity and safety of researchers and participants (Silverman, 2009). Research highlights that there are factors that should be considered in any social science research and these include: if there is any harm to research participants if there is an invasion of privacy or participants are required to participate in any dangerous activity and whether there is a lack of informed consent (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The faculty of social science at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has over the years introduced a research ethics committee to ensure that all ethical requirements are adhered to when research is conducted.

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This study was duly approved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Faculty of Humanities Higher Degrees Committee before data collection commenced (see Appendix D).

An informed consent document detailing the explanation of various ways the research will ensure anonymity and confidentiality of research participants was developed (see Appendix A). The informed consent highlighted that all participants in the study provided consent voluntarily and that there is an option for participants to quit without any explanation, if the participant begins to feel uncomfortable. Additionally, informed consent allows the use of pseudonyms in report writing to protect the identity of participants. All participants of this study consented to engage in the research, and they were all made to append their signatures on the informed consent document before the commencement of the interviews.

The purpose of this study was also highlighted in the informed consent documents and equally explained in detail to the participants, and they were that participation is entirely voluntary. Participants were also informed that recording of the interviews was important, and their consent was sought before the commencement of every tape recording. Similarly, the participants were made to understand that only the researcher and supervisor would have access to the information gathered and at the end of the study their information will be properly discarded. At the end of every interview process, I needed to engage with the participant informally to gather some feedback about each session and how the interview questions made them feel, this was just to ensure that there were no emotions harmed or feelings of regret, pain by divulging very personal information about their marital life and struggles.

4.9   TRUSTWORTHINESS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In qualitative research, there has been a lot of critiques on the lack of rigour and credibility associated with traditional qualitative research (Horsburg, 2003). Quantitative research often emphasizes on the accuracy of data and the extent to which data is generalized. Qualitative research disputes the idea of generalizing results as accepted by quantitative studies that concern itself with the consistency of data analytical software, which are usually consistent over time (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The qualitative research argues that meaning is historically situated and therefore, no two persons can experience the same phenomenon or problem in the same way. Hence, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) explained that the diversity of data collected, and results analysed in a qualitative study will be generalized across different contexts.

Trustworthiness in qualitative research is a credibility criterion that determines the extent to which research provides information and the process by which the data findings have been achieved (Koch 1994). This quality control process allows research participants to look through their interview transcript to ensure that the report is valid, and a true representation of their experiences as detailed in the interviews (Harper and Cole, 2012). In ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research, at the end of the interview, the researcher is allowed to summarize points from the participant's responsibility to ensure answers were reported accurately. In ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research Yin (2015) stated that the researcher must be able to give a succinct description of the research procedure and must be presented in manners where other people can read and review it. As explained in the justification for the adoption of methodological, this study ensured an unhindered discovery of African women's experience in marriage. finally, trustworthiness is evident in this study as the methodology chapter is detailed and provides a full explanation of the research process.

4.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an in-depth discussion of the research methodology and methods adopted in this study. It starts by illustrating the design of the study and the justification for the adoption of a qualitative study. This study adopted the use of a qualitative phenomenological approach to explore gender oppression among black migrant women in Durban, the Pentecostal teachings, and its influence on these women's identities. The section also discussed the justification of the qualitative approach and how it applies to the lived experiences of these women.

The chapter detailed the description of the study location and its peculiarities, a succinct discussion on the selection of research participants, and a profile discussion of research participants, sampling technique, sample size as well as an overview of the data collection method and analysis. The importance of the researcher's positionality and reflexivity, as well as the importance of trustworthiness in qualitative research, was highlighted. The section ended with ethical considerations that are peculiar to the study. The next chapter details the participant's narratives and analysis process and describes the findings of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE: REALITIES OF WOMEN AND THEIR EXPERIENCES OF OPPRESSION IN MARRIAGE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the research design and methodology adopted in conducting this study. This chapter serves as an introduction to understanding gender oppression from the perspective of migrated black women in Durban. This section starts by providing insights from the first theme identified from research objective one, which explored the narratives around marriage as shaped by the experience of black women. Each sub-theme identified was developed based on the similarities in the experiences of these women. In this section, women draw on their similar perceptions of oppression from their childhood background to adulthood and how their perceptions of oppression have shaped their discourse around gender oppression in their marriages.

The second theme that developed from exploring the research objective one is the reperforming of gender and its complex realities in the migratory context. This section unpacked the gender perspectives of migrant women and their families, while discussing this theme, there were other realities that sprung up and I sectioned them into sub-themes for proper understanding. In this case, the sub-themes were able to discuss how migration offers new platform to generate new gender perspective? Their old gender perspectives as well as the complex realities of migration and feminist approaches. This chapter sets out to answer these questions by probing into the lives of black migrant women to establish firstly, their narratives and personal experience of gender oppression and secondly to establish whether migration serves as a platform to generate new gender perspectives.

This chapter intends to fill the gap the literature on gender oppression and migration. This chapter is foregrounded by the social constructionist theory, as people living in a new environment are subject to identity changes. Social constructionism enabled me to analyse the socio-cultural impact of culture, how it is intertwined with one's sense of identity and how it influences the decision making of women on how to handle oppression in their marriage. Additionally, this chapter employed the gendered geographies of power framework, particularly its geographical scales and social location component. These concepts were useful in exploring the lived experiences of these women on gender oppression and migration

impacts. The following section discusses the themes and sub-themes identified while analysing this chapter.

5.2 REFLECTIONS ON WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF OPPRESSION IN MARRIAGE

In Christian marriages, it is believed that each partner brings a set of beliefs and different characteristics into the marriage. In a similar manner, the study discussed the term marriage as the relationship between a man and a woman in which independence is equal, dependence is mutual, and obligations are reciprocal (Crapo, 1996). To break the ice of the interview, I started out by asking my participants what they understand by gender oppression and how it applies to them. These women had very different opinions about gender oppression in marriage. This section presents an overview of the different understandings these women have about gender oppression.

> *My take on gender oppression is simply the way men and society have made women feel less of themselves. It is simply like the way we say 'we live in a man's world; it's a situation where men dominate over women, and it has been happening since ages ago.*

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

Another participant added that religion is an area in which she felt oppressed in her marriage:

> *The first on the list for me is religion, I was born, bred, buttered in the Catholic church. I have always wanted to remain Catholic, when I met my husband, I made it known to him that I am not leaving the Catholic church, of which he agreed.*

> *In fact, he made a solemn promise to me that he won't take me away from my church. After the wedding ceremony, it was not even up to one year in the marriage, my husband started saying things like I am the man of this house blah blah, it is where I say we worship that we must worship, it came to me as a shock. I felt trapped and unheard by my husband.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Flowing from Mrs Chantell narrative, it becomes evident that some women believe solely in what a man tells them during courtship, especially before the woman says I do and fully become theirs. In Mrs Chantell's case, she did not put into consideration that behaviour and promises can change and this brings to the fore, that the underlying pattern of male domination emerges once they are married. Participants indicated that their understanding of gender oppression in marriage is simply how society makes women feel about themselves, as second-class citizens and as living in a man's world. Patriarchy within the African society has treated women as inferior, which further perpetuates the oppression of women within the society (Ojong, 2013). To further buttress the narrative of Mrs Chantell, another participant indicated how she was oppressed in her marriage due to her husband's 'African mentality' of being the head of the family and his use of authority within the home:

The oppression I have felt from my marriage has mostly come from my husband and his African mentality of doing things. He believes that he's the head of the house and we both do the same hours of work and contribute to the home 50-50 but he still expects that I will be available full time to take care of the kids and do house chores. This issue causes fights because you cannot expect me to be a full housewife and at the same time go to work to provide for myself. I consider that oppressive to me because I don't demand that he does the house chores, but I must do it simply because I am a woman and that's not fair on my path.

Another thing is when I got married, my husband became overly authoritative which never happened during our courtship days, he tells me who to mingle with and how much I can send to my parents for upkeep. His true colours came out, he started feeling like he had authority over me and says things like we are married now, I am not going anywhere, we are stuck together as per we are already married. For me, it's like marriage is sometimes deceitful.

Mrs Florence, Congolese

The experiences of Mrs Chantell and Mrs Florence indicate that what men espouse during the courtship period is not often their realities in marriage, as their husbands' ideas of power and autonomy are subject to change, especially when they have exchanged marital vows. This finding also suggests that these women took things at face value and believed completely in the euphoria of the courtship period, and they did not consider the unspoken cultural

imperatives that mattered to their husbands. These unspoken cultural imperatives could be governed by these men's expectations of tradition, religion or simply ego. There is evidence that the persistent gender inequalities in marriage is largely due to gender ideologies and constructions of their realities. As such, decisions taken by spouses in marriage could simply be based on their new reality which is different from their dating period. This also reflects the assumptions of gender and power relations in marriage.

5.1.1   Cultural basis for oppression across African marriages

In the study of African culture and gender oppression in marriage, understanding of the role of culture and gender practices in marriage cannot be left undiscussed. Scholars believe that culture of marriage is a social construct that is considered a complex construct to define (Perrin, Marsh & Clough, 2019; Kallivayalil, 2010; Brumann, 1999). One of the participants noted that in African society people see women as lower class:

> *I am from Niger Delta in Nigeria, on a normal ground I think both your parents are supposed to have a say in your life but, on my wedding day, I noticed that only dad was allowed to pray for me. My mother did not have a say on my wedding day. She was put in the back to ensure guests are served.*

> *My mother had to force her way into being allowed to pray for me. It is believed in my culture that only the men have a say in the negotiations of marriage rites and at the end of the day you know that it's the mother that nurtures the child more but imagine on my wedding day, my mother was not even allowed to pray for me, simply because she's a woman.*

> *Now that I have a daughter, one day she will be getting married and God forbid that I am not allowed at the bridal and marriage rites for my daughter, I would not allow that to happen. All of this is encouraged by our culture and I consider it as humiliation to me as a woman and mostly as a mother.*

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

Findings from most of the participants point to the cultural practices in their state of origin in various African communities, where respect and values are given much consideration, as they (women) are not allowed to speak when the men are talking according to their tribe.

In my tribe women are not allowed to speak in family gatherings, it is against the culture for a woman to speak, it is an oppression to me as a woman that even in a family gathering my duty is to prepare and serve food. Even my younger brother will be allowed to sit at family gatherings but I as even the older sister is not permitted to sit and discuss with them.

So, I grew up like that, I was raised to think my opinion didn't matter. So, even in my marriage I still kind of feel intimidated when my husband is giving all the directions and he won't even ask for my opinion.

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

Asserting further, Mahler and Pessar (2001) claim that it is within the social setting that gender identities and relations can be formed or transformed. According to the arguments presented by Clifford (1994), the dialectic nature of gender relations across societies has led to unwanted patriarchal structures. Findings into what women understand by the term gender oppression, some participants narrated their shared experiences as they believe that it goes both ways across African society:

Oppression goes both ways, I think in this our society, both men and women are experiencing oppression differently. However, I will say that women experience more oppression than a man will. This happens because women are perceived as second-class people, the society generally favours men more than women".

Talking about my personal experience, it was quite challenging for me I won't lie. My own experience of oppression came from both my husband and society. When I got pregnant back home in Kenya, it was very tough for me. I had just finished high school and I got pregnant…meaning I got pregnant out of wedlock, and I am fully aware of the consequences of getting pregnant outside of wedlock.

The culture of my people is to marry any lady that gets pregnant out of wedlock to an aged man, this is just to punish the lady and nothing happens to the guy who impregnates me…that's oppression to the female gender.

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

In addition, Mrs Florence believed that the way African men were brought up is a major factor in how they treat their wives and build their home, irrespective of their religious background. Mrs Florence narrated:

I would not call it oppression, but I will just say that our cultural upbringing has really caused a lot of havoc in current marriages. The way we are cultured, it is presumed that the man just sits and wait for his food to be served.

For instance, when my husband and I were both studying for our PhD, we both go to school and work part-time, we have a son. We would both get back from work in the evening and he would sit down, relax and resting from the days stress, this is the same stress I went through and he will just be there relaxing and I have to start running around preparing dinner, bath our son, arrange the house and get everyone ready for the next day and my husband will just sit in front of his laptop doing his research and waiting for his food to be served.

My husband published more papers than I do, his research output is higher than mine; that is because he has more time to do his own work while I must split my own time here to cater for my home, so I cannot produce so much academic work and it's affecting my output as a researcher.

Mrs Florence, Congolese

Flowing from the above experience of Mrs Florence, it is worthy to note that, even as a highly educated woman, who is currently studying for a doctorate degree, she is still subject to the same constraints as her counterparts who are not as educated as she is. This clearly indicated that cultural practices seem unchanged from one context to another person's reality. According to findings in the literature, our realities are socially constructed by agreed use and shared meaning of language, thus, from a social constructionist viewpoint, the use of language is required for proper communication towards deriving expressive response from the participants. The participant from Kenya stated that:

In Kenya, if you get pregnant without being married you will be married off to an old man as his second or third wife. So, for me, I got pregnant, and I was very scared of telling my parents and to even make matters worse, my parents are

pastors. So I had not only brought disgrace upon myself but to my parents as well.

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

The above findings go to show how women are treated across African societies, particularly in Kenya. The participant shared the traditional practice of their culture, how a woman can be married off immediately, if she gets pregnant by a man who is not her husband. Even as a young single lady, she will be married off to an old man as his second or third wife. The participant from Kenyan noted:

> *I had disgraced my parents and the church of God where my parents were leading. Immediately, I knew I was pregnant, I had to tell the man that got me pregnant (who is now my husband) and he had to quickly arrange how he was going to come to meet my parents and inform them of our marriage plans.*

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

One of the participants from Nigeria articulated that:

> *Gender oppression could be looked at in varying levels, but my focus is on emotional oppression because that is what I have experienced and you know emotional oppression comes very subtle because my husband tends to be in control and can be very manipulative.*

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

According to this excerpt, the participant clearly identifies that oppression can be evidenced in various forms, she highlights her personal concept of oppression and explains that men can become very manipulative and controlling. However, there is an interwoven relationship between oppression and manipulation, and it is through these vices that oppression are further driven within marriages; the next participant has a similar experience but it goes deeper:

> *Personally, I have experienced emotional abuse from my husband, he would not raise his hands to hit me, but he talks down on me, he says things about my weight that makes me very sad, these words don't sit well with me, if I call him to have a private discussion with him, he is very manipulative, he would start twisting my words against me and his actions will change as though I am the one at fault. Even after so many talks, he would not apologise, and we just carry on with our lives like that.*

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian.

Given the background to the concept of marriage, described by various authors as a social construct, the focus was to present the gender oppression experienced by African women in Christian marriage. Findings show that in African marriages, culture continues to play a key role in shaping women's experience in marriage and keeping them under men's domination. Another sub-theme that emerged in the discussion with women is the family interruptions in their marital relationship.

5.1.2 Tribalism, In-laws, and family connection to women's oppression in marriage

Historically, marriage was the keyway by which families passed on status, wealth, and property from generation to generation. The institution of marriage also came with strongly prescribed gender roles (Kasian, 2012). Women's sexuality, rights and access to financial resources were strictly controlled in marriages.

A participant from Kenya shared her experience of gender oppression in marriage, the story tells of how her in-laws' inability to accept her as part of the new family and her experience of tribal discrimination within the same society:

> *My personal experience of gender oppression in my marriage was a lot. When I got married, my husband is from a different tribe in Kenya. The first problem started with my husband's family not accepting me because I am from a different tribe. It was a big deal for them to get me through everything.*

> *After so many persuasions, back and forth with my husband's family, they finally accepted me, I was told never to raise a voice. I could only walk under my husband, even at family gatherings I don't speak. If there is a family meeting, I am not allowed to raise a point, if I have any suggestions, I must speak to my husband first. It is one of the worst challenges I am facing in my marriage.*

> *Another experience of oppression that I have experienced is the relationship I have with my mother-in-law. I have not felt any oppression coming directly from my husband, but the oppression came from his family members.*

> *When I married my husband and we moved to Nairobi where my husband's parents lived, it became hell for me, even though we didn't live on the same estate, this woman will come to my house by 5 a.m. in the morning with cooked*

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food and beverages for my husband. At first when she started that, I didn't see it as a bad thing, but she continued for months bringing food for my husband by 5 a.m.

I asked her to stop, she told me she doesn't trust my cooking, that I won't feed her son well. I told her my husband is not complaining about my cooking but she didn't stop until I had to fight her about it, but my husband didn't say anything. I don't blame her anyway because she's a mother, she doesn't see me as good enough to take care of her son and anytime she comes like this, she will always come with problems and ask my husband for more money.

The oppression came from my in-laws, not my husband. My mother-in-law was practically sharing my husband with me, and she did that with her other sons too. There was a time my mother-in-law even pretended to have fainted, and she was asking my husband to send money, but I called my other sister-in-law, whom my mother-in-law had visited, she told me Mama is fine, nothing is wrong with her, but my husband had already sent her money.

My in-laws oppressed me to the extent that they ruined my business. Before I married my husband he studied in the United Kingdom and I also used to import goods from the United Kingdom, I had a big store where I store my goods and sell them. There was a time I had loaned money from my friend to clear my goods from customs. The goods came through and they were in my store, I don't know how my mother-in-law got to know I collected new goods.

She came into my store with some other family members from my husband's side they came in and she started taking so many of the items from the store, she didn't make any payments. She distributed those items among the men she brought to my store, I just sat there and luckily my friend who lent me money was right there. I didn't confront or argue with my mother-in-law, I was just crying all through. I had to pay my friend back with my salary.

Till today, I haven't told my husband the major reason I closed my store. I just told him that the store was not making so much money. It was my mother-in-law that oppressed me in my marriage till I moved to Durban with my husband. I

learnt how to cope with my mother-in-law, but it was a very challenging experience for me.

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

Peculiar to Mrs Tafazwa experience is the fact that she had gone through this kind of marginalisation from her mother in-law, and she decided to keep it to herself. This simply suggests that a woman can sacrifice so much of herself to promote peace and continuity of her marriage. The oppression from a tribal perspective seems to be common practice across African indigenous society today. When I probed further, another of my participants narrated the problem of non-acceptance from her husband's family members and how this made her feel undesired by people whom she should naturally call her own.

Similarly, the experience of Mrs Johnson indicates that tribe, family, and in-laws are pointers to oppression experienced in marriage, she tells a story of her experience below:

I married at a very young age. I was 17 years old. I faced hell from my in-laws, I was too young and naïve at that age, I am originally from Congo, and I married a man from Burundi. So, I followed this man to Burundi, even though my mother didn't want me to go…I followed for love.

The oppression I faced was not from my husband; it was from his sisters and his mother. I do not know why they did not like me or want me to marry their son. My husband loved me a lot, but it was as if they used witchcraft for him. I already have two boys with my husband, and it did not even change anything with the sisters and my husband will not say anything. My husband later moved to America, and he had to leave me in his mother's house – that was when I faced serious oppression.

Before my husband travelled, his sisters will beat me if I do not cook food early or serve their mother on time, because I am not from Burundi and I do not understand their language very well, they speak in their language to my husband, and he would also be angry with me. I was very young; I did not know what to do. When my husband left for America, his sisters told me that I cannot live with them anymore, they set me up for my husband, anytime he calls they will tell him I went to another man, meanwhile I am in the house. The cultural difference really caused problem in my marriage. Eventually, my mother heard of all that is

happening to me and then she came to Burundi to take me out of that marriage. I eventually left the marriage and came here to South Africa.

Mrs Johnson, Congolese

Similarly, Mrs Walter narrated her experience with her mother in-law:

Before I married my husband, my mother in-law was very nice to me; she treated me like her daughter when I was in courtship with her son. As soon as we decided to tie the knot and pick a wedding date, she just changed and started treating me like an outcast.

At some point she started lying about me to other family members, she said hurtful things to me, and I could not even understand the sudden change of attitude. But my husband was very supportive and kept apologizing on behalf of his family. I could not explain exactly what I did wrong and I just thought perhaps she is a witch that does not want my union with her son.

It was later I discovered that it is because I am not of the same tribe with my husband that she was maltreating me. When she saw that my husband's love was not shaken, she left us alone and we were able to relocate to South Africa and it's been peaceful since then.

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

Mrs Walter's narrative and the ones presented above all brings to the fore part of the narrative of women's experience in marriage. These narratives become instructive regarding how participants' cultural, tribe and family affiliations have shaped their conception of oppression and subjugation in their marriage and how this oppression comes from the husband's family. Another sub-theme that emerged from the discussion with women is the use of divorce as a manipulative device to keep the wife in an oppressive marriage.

5.1.3   *Divorce as a tool of oppression in marriage*

According to Waller and McLanahan (2005), marriage embodies two distinct views: "his" and "hers", they believe that women and men have subjective experiences of marriage as a result of gender inequalities in society. Therefore, each partner brings a set of beliefs and different characteristics into the marriage. Marriage in Africa confers a person with dignity and an upgrade in their status. Ayiri (1997) asserts that marriage confers the right of the wife to

perform corresponding duties, this responsibility becomes important in the sense that there are no absolute breakups in the African marriage system.

The idea of divorce in African marriages is now widespread, which happens to occur less among the patrilineal societies, as against the matrilineal societies because all rights in marriage are bestowed on the wife and the wife's brother. In patrilineal societies, there is an incorporation of wives into her husband's lineage through the attachments of childbearing (Wimalasena, 2016). Findings on gender oppression in marriage revealed that divorce was a tool used against women by their husbands to keep them in marriage. The participants expressed that the society we live in as Africans does not encourage divorce, most women keep silent in the face of oppression just to maintain their marital status. Speaking on this, Mrs Walter expressed that:

> *Before I got married, I was a social butterfly. My husband knew that I loved to party before he married me, once we got married he said I must stop going to parties, I was confused and irritated. He reported me to his family members and they started insinuating that I was going to parties to meet other men and they even said maybe that is the reason I did not conceive.*

> *I started fighting my husband for taking advice from his sisters and at a point he started threatening me with divorce, in fact at some point I moved out of the house because the frustration was becoming unbearable. I then realized that I do not want the type of marriage my parent had because I am from a broken home. I wanted to keep my marriage by all means. So I had to go back to my husband and apologise so we can continue to live together. Even though he was the one that offended me, I just had to take the decision not to allow divorce in my home. The Bible says God hates divorce, so I do not want that for my marriage.*

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

In a discussion with Mrs Johnson, she expressed that the disapproval from her mother-in-law was one of the challenges she experienced. Narrating this experience Mrs Johnson spoke of her fears on divorce:

> *Before my husband moved to America, his mother and sisters were maltreating me and making my husband hate me. They tell me that they have control over my husband, they even told him to divorce me but because I did not want to divorce, I*

always had to do what my mother-in-law tells me to do. I was too naïve and innocent back then; you can imagine a 17 year old girl with no education in a marriage, I didn't want anything bad to happen to me. I was afraid of divorce. so I did everything I could to maintain peace to still remain married.

Mrs Johnson, Congolese

Mrs Johnson's narrative and the one presented above further substantiate the perception that women go through different challenges that are otherwise considered a form of oppression. Considering the narratives of women thus far, I went further to ask what gender roles meant to them and if they consider it as an oppression. Hence, another sub-theme emerged from the discussion of gendered roles in marriage.

5.1.4 Gendered roles, inequalities, and oppression in marriage

During the interview and data collection stage, I had experiences of women performing multiple domesticated roles within their home and even at their workstation. It became imperative for me to probe further what type of gender roles they consider to be oppressive in their marriage. Gender roles refer to the behaviours that men and women display in both the private and public spheres. Tong (2012) states that gender roles are the social expectations that apply to individuals based on their gender classification (male or female). Typically, an individual's sex is established by the appearance of their genitalia at birth (Enaifoghe, 2018b). The prescriptive character of socially given gender roles has been contested since the 1970s when feminists emphasised the difference between sex and gender (Fawkner, 2013). Recently, the prescriptive character of socially imposed sex roles has been called into question. Gender roles can be thought of as biologically grounded behavioural expectations (Ayonrinde, 2015).

> *When I hear gender oppression, I think of the female part of it. I think of brutality as it applies mostly to women. I think of it as when a woman is being oppressed, maltreated. Even men are oppressed but I think it's women's that is mostly oppressed.*

Mrs Mercy, Zimbabwean

Traditionally, males are expected to be manly by displaying traits such as strength, power, and competition, rather than freely displaying emotion and affection (especially toward other men). Gender-role stress (or discrepancy) occurs when people believe they are departing from

their assigned gender role. Other participants narrated how parents treated her and her siblings alike and there was no difference among them, regardless of their sex or gender, since she grew up with her two siblings:

Let me tell you how I started, in my parents' home we are three, I have two siblings and there was no difference. My parents treated all of us equally, the boy and girls were all equal. But when I got married, that was when I started to see gender roles in different lights.

Mrs Janet, Nigerian

Gender roles in my home is based on me. I cook and clean every single day and take of the children. You can imagine that I leave the house at 7am and before that, I have to prepare the kids for school, my husband drives them to school and I take a taxi to work, but I close work at 5pm and I have to hurry back home to make dinner, wash my kids uniform, help them with their school project and still put them to sleep before 8:30pm. Sincerely, my mind screams for help but I cannot even ask my husband for help because he considers dropping the kids at school and paying their tuition as the major task here and he belittles my own effort because it is more domesticated. I put in more effort in trying to manage my studies and family although my husband is financially helpful at the end of the day, I must give more of myself to make this family work.

Mrs Stella, Zimbabwean

Mrs Stella's experience implies that women have come to accept domesticated roles as theirs and it might be unseemly for men to do such task. Thus, it appears that women have internalised certain struggles, even though it becomes daunting for them, they consider it as what they need to sacrifice for them to have a functional family. This finding also corroborate the study of Jekayinfa (1999) that implies that African women experience a dilemma as their cultural upbringing indicates that a good woman is a home maker and subservient to male authority; some of the participants noted how they experienced oppression from their homes while growing up. The participants were asked about their thought on gender roles:

I think gender roles should be equal. A male and female child is supposed to be raised equally. In my home, growing up gender roles were not equal, because my

parents never believed that a man should cook. So even my brothers do not know how to cook, I just pity their wives. It is an oppression to the female child.

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian.

Apparently, Mrs Ayoh's perspective of gender roles and of the disadvantages for women is quite similar to that of other participants. She revealed her opinion that gender oppression is when one gender is at disadvantage, where one gender feels superior and from results gathered, it is the female gender that is often maltreated and subjugated, and the male gender feels superior. This is in line with the research by Matshaka (2009), who argues that cultural expectations are driven by the prevailing masculinity, which are the reasons the gendered stereotypes drawn by the society favours men's superiority. Hearn et al. (2012) claim that although gender roles are not constant, as it is undergoing reconstruction, men would naturally feel the need to take up what they consider as their major responsibility and leave the house chores to their wives.

According to Mrs Phebian, circumstances surrounding gender roles in her home have become a very challenging issue in her marriage, leading up to fights and resentments:

Personally, when we lived in Kenya, we were able to pay for a live in-maid, so my husband or I never had issues with gender roles. But when we migrated here, we had no help and I basically had to do most of the chores, my husband was not helpful. I had to summon up courage and start doing house chores on my own. It can be frustrating and exhausting when you have tons of house chores to do and my husband is just lazing around. I have called him to even discuss with him to help out with ironing the sheets and his shirts, but he just ignored me and we have even had a small fight over this issue.

Mrs Phebian, Kenyan

From Mrs Phebian's assertion, the circumstances that surrounded them in their home country afforded them the opportunity to have a live-in maid which they have not been able to afford since they migrated, hence she is now aware of the gender inequalities that is peculiar to her construction of gender. Since she cannot afford a maid here in Durban, she is feeling overwhelmed with the execution of housework chores that the culture demands should be her roles and responsibilities. As a result of these, she is starting to challenge the gender roles and constructs in her home.

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Scholars noted that we should all be able to do all equal things but due to our biological makeup, certain things may be easier for a man; however, we normalise the fact that more domesticated work is handed over to the woman, because we believe women are more nurturing (Hearn et al. 2012). While others believe that gender roles gave them a sense of resentment towards their family. Mrs Chantell indicated that having gender roles in her family made her resent her brothers:

> *Gender role for me gave me a sense of resentment towards my brothers but I got to a stage that I started accepting gender biases in my home, that it didn't even bother me anymore. I had to strive to make a difference in my own home. There are some things that we cannot change, I think gender roles will continue because we all do gender roles consciously and unconsciously.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Mrs Princewill recalled how her daughter wanted to start preschool and she saw a male teacher in her class. She could not bring herself to understand why a male teacher should be teaching her daughter at such a tender age. She claims that she had a stereotype problem that it should be a female's job to teach. Cultural expectations attributed to masculinity are the reasons the gendered stereotypes drawn by society favours men's superiority.

> *My daughter's first day at school here in Durban, my husband and I went to drop her off and then I saw a male teacher in my daughter's class. I immediately felt my daughter was unsafe and I was very reluctant to drop my child, but my husband encouraged me that teaching job is both for men and women. So, you see these gender role biases even in society will continue. Society has placed us into this unconscious level of gender discrimination, and we continue to live with it.*

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean.

On the surface, it appears that women have accepted gender roles to be the norm that the society has structured for them, thereby distinguishing what roles should be assigned to males and females. The question relating to gender roles and relation in the household reveals that these women are not completely empowered as they would like to be. For instance, whilst some of these women may be educated, self-employed, running their own business and continuing their studies and even able to challenge their spouses on certain issues, household

tasks continue to be largely their domain and they find it difficult to break free from the hurdles of gender roles or at least share the roles equally with their husbands. Mrs Stella's case is a good example in this regard; she is suitably employed, running her studies alongside, housework continues to be a huge strain as she is heavily burdened by it as her husband neglects her cry for help. Hence, while she appears to be self-assured, confident, and economically independent within her home, she is bound by social constructs that expect her to serve as a care giver and nurturer for the family. Childcare as a gender role is also considered as a woman's job and though most of these women are empowered ideologically, in that they know that household chores should be the job of both parents, these women allow themselves to be bullied into being the sole home carer because of cultural constructs. The findings presented above corroborates the results of Hignston (2015) that claims that even though married women can challenge traditional gender roles and try to step out of it, there are possibilities that the husband would likely exercise control over her due to the weight of cultural history and traditional precedent on his side.

5.2 MIGRATORY CONTEXT: REPORFORMING GENDER AND THEIR COMPLEX REALITIES

Migrating into a new country can create new gendered perspectives for migrants, as part of the key narratives of my discussions with these women, the fact that they have migrated into a new country is a major aspect of what they considered to be a break from the cultural values they considered patriarchal in their home country. As these women have found themselves in another culture, they are now exposed to new gender regimes and realities. It is believed that as life changes for migrants, so do their perceptions and identities. So, what are the new gender perspective since they migrated? How complex are their new realities?

This section of the chapter sets to explore these women's narratives by firstly establishing whether migration serves as a platform for them to generate new gender perspectives and, secondly, to establish the complexities involved in the reperformance of gender. While many scholars have worked on migration from gender lens and generate new gender perspectives for migrants, the complexities involved in their lives are rarely brought to light. Notably, this requires in-depth analysis, and this section intends to fill in the gap between the ways that migration, gender, and culture are handled in the literature.

This section of the analysis is framed by the gendered geographies of power framework, particularly its geographical scale and social location component. This framework, as discussed by Pessar and Mahler (2003), is important in analysing people's gendered social agency given their own initiative and positioning of multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across many terrains. This theory enabled me to examine the gendered lives and former gender perspectives of the migrants and the changes that have occurred in their new gendered space, as compared to what they had experience in their home country.

5.2.1 Home country gender perspective

Gender is an integral component of every aspect of economic, social, and daily lives of people, it is considered a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes and it is primarily a way of signifying relationships of power. Breines, Gieryez and Beardon (1999) affirm that gender perspectives vary from country to country. As noted in earlier chapters, the gender regime across cultures In Africa is highly patriarchal and it favours hegemonic masculinity (Ahkire, 2008). These migrant women, therefore, comes from a background where male domination and female subordination is a norm.

As presented in the discussion of the first theme that emerged above (reflections on women's experience of oppression in marriage) and the sub-themes that were discussed, it all points to the fact that women have experienced oppression from different angles, in marriage, in family background/upbringing, and in cultural values, all impediments to the liberation of women from oppression. As highlighted above, this section simply explores the reconstruction of gendered lives of women since migrating into a new space.

In cultures across African society, where there is high level of male superiority and female subordination, these cultures maintain that gender perspectives run along the same line of male superiority. The gender perspective embraced by the majority of the women before migrating into South Africa, was an acceptance of patriarchy, gender inequality, female subordination, hegemonic masculinity and conformity to ascribed gender roles as their realties. This assertion is not generalizable, in that not all African migrant women implicitly accepted these complex realities. However, the majority of the women in this study had accepted subjugation as their way of life and were comfortable with it to an extent. Having examined the gendered lives these women are living, it imperative to explore whether the host

location (Durban, South Africa) has generated new gender perspectives for these women or not.

5.2.2 The new gendered lives of migrant women

In South Africa, the constitution promotes gender equality in all sectors. According to the Gender Statistics in South Africa (2021), South Africa has a strong legal framework in respect of equal rights for women and girls and it is ranked the highest in Africa in this respect, although there have been critiques that this ideology of equality only looks good on paper and that in actual reality patriarchy and gender discrimination are prevalent in South Africa. There are discriminatory practices, social norms, and stereotypes that result in inequitable access to opportunities and resources for women and girls. Despite this, large numbers of women in South Africa are aware of their rights and there are avenues to complain about women's right and gender inequality. The South Africa's constitutional acceptance of lesbians, gay, bisexual and transgenders, the choice to marry and not being obligated to take the surname of their spouse or give their children their spouse surname, these are also part of the new gender ideologies migrant women are exposed to. In a space that provides women with a high level of gender awareness and an opportunity to be empowered, there is a chance that it can serve as an eye-opener for marginalised migrant women. These women are aware of the unequal status and shortcomings they have initially experienced in their home country and this exposure to new gender ideologies has increased gender equality awareness for most migrant women in Durban.

Since this study was particularly exploring the experiences of migrated women, I asked the participants if migration has affected their marriage either positively or negatively. Mrs Chantell noted that there have been significant changes in her husband, because she thinks that in South Africa it's a normal thing for men to do their duties, which was considered a wife's job from their home country:

> *The society we came from that has made men feel like they are head and lord. Back home my husband just eats, crosses his leg and watch TV, but when we moved to Durban, I find my husband doing dishes once in a while, he even goes as far as doing groceries for the month…he never did any of these when we were in Nigeria, I am always surprised because I think we are in a developing society now or maybe because there are so many advocacies on gender oppression here in South Africa, my husband is starting to change.*

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Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Similarly, another participant from Kenya expressed that her husband now shares quality time with their children since they moved to Durban, she claims migration has helped her family share an unbreakable bond:

> *Migrating into Durban played a big role in my marriage, back home in Kenya…my husband was doing well financially. We could afford to employ two maids. So everything in the house was catered for. He never enters the kitchen; he didn't care so much about the kids because he was very busy with work and I was also working and running my store at that time. For me, migrating to Durban has been positive for my family, it has made us bond more. Because in Durban, we are migrants…if my husband is going anywhere, it's either we go together, or I have full details of where he is going which didn't use to happen back then in Kenya.*

> *Moving to Durban, my husband has even bonded so well with the kids, he knows when the kids need new clothes and shoes. So, all those patriarchal attributes of men being the lord and master do not work here at all.*

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

The narrative presented above corroborates the assertions of South African History Online [SAHO] (2021), which claims that, previously, women's struggles have been overlooked as a factor in migration into an advanced society with better social advocacy for women and children. Some women consider migration as a promise of liberation from their struggles for independence from oppression, community rights, and, most crucially, gender equality.

> *When we moved to Durban, ah! My husband has learnt a lot, he now cooks for the kids whenever I am not at home. I think it's a fancy thing in this society that men should cater and take care of their kids…maybe he sees other fathers doing groceries and taking care of their children, so he also wants to feel responsible. Since we moved to Durban, he has changed, and I am happy he is more involved with the kids now.*

Mrs Obi, Congolese

Another participant revealed that her husband has become more attentive to the needs of their home since they migrated to Durban:

Migration into this society has really helped my family. My husband is more attentive to the needs of the home. I think because in Durban here he does not have so many friends, I am like his only major friend and the friends from church. He works in a factory, and he does not stay out late unlike when we were in Kenya. He now does groceries; he knows when we are running out of milk or cereals. He even does the laundry, which he never used to do back in Kenya…it's amazing to see him do all these. My husband can even stand on his own and cook for himself and the family, I am really impressed.

Mrs Phebian, Kenyan

This finding is similar to the submission of a study conducted by Kallivayalil (2010), where she explored the experiences of gender oppression among South Asian women living in the United States, her study revealed that migrated South Asian women have witnessed the equal rights that exist in the marriages of their counterparts in the United States and this strikes an idea for them to emulate in their marriage. This is exactly the case of migrant African women in Durban; their husbands have emulated the behavioural patterns associated with men living in a more developed country and this has improved the gendered lives of migrant women.

5.2.3   Migration and feminist approaches

The feminist approach to migration has challenged traditional and conventional economic theories that continue to portray migrant women as weak. Their challenge has particularly been situated within intersectionality theory, which explores how gender intersects with race, class, and identity to illuminate a wide range of women's experience in the migration process (Nolin, 2006). This assertion by Nolin (2016) proves to be substantial in this study, as participants expressed that they feel somewhat liberated from oppression with the knowledge that South Africa as a country puts in the forefront policy for women that creates an awareness against gender violence and subjugation.

Moving to Durban, my husband does not try to do any funny thing like beating me because he knows the society, we live in now provides support for women. He knows that if he messes up, I am taking the case to police and he knows the consequences.

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian

Mrs Ayoh's statement proves that South African society is doing well in curbing gender-based violence against women. However, contrary to the submission above, some participants expressed that they still suffer domestic violence in the hands of her husband

> *My husband used to hit me very often when I was in Congo; even when we got to Durban he still used to hit me. I would go to the salon with a swollen eye. It was one of my customers that told me I can report him to police and GBV support services. The next time he hit me, I reported him at Umbilo police station… now they know us very well in Umbilo police station. He hits me and I report him but he does not get the punishment I want. I think I will call the number of those gender based violence people.*

Mrs Johnson, Congolese

The new gendered perspective on migration has highlighted women's agency in various geographical settings and considers women as the major receiver of whatever challenges are faced by migrating families. Arguments presented by Clifford (1994) explain that the dialectic nature of gender relations in the migration process has fostered patriarchal structures.

Another study on South African historiography studies on women immigrants, from a historical and contemporary perspective, revealed that there are diverse insights into understanding the complexities of migration (Van-Heltan et al. 1983). Their study (reported in 2.9.4, gives a very different account of women from a different time and social context. Kihatso (2010) argues that it is imperative to understand the complexities of gendered migration, particularly that of women's daily lives. Interestingly, one of the participants from Zimbabwe expressed that migration into Durban has influenced her decision making with her husband:

> *In my marriage I hold the power. When I married my husband, he knew I don't condone this authoritarian talks. I moved from Zimbabwe and now lived in Durban. He knew my mentality has changed; I am not the average Zimbabwe local girl that you can just push around. I take pride in my education; I have a good job too and I have my own share of equality in this marriage. It cannot be easy for any husband to just push me around.*

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

The above findings from participants support the study of Ojong and Muthuki (2010) that claims that the migratory process is an avenue to empower women and toimprove their self-esteem and economic independence. Their study further observes that education is crucial to women's empowerment and, as identified by Mrs Princewill, education has enabled her to respond to opportunities and challenge stereotypical traditional roles that had improved power relation in her marriage.

Arguably, this study brings to the fore that migrant women with higher educational levels understand the liberation and empowerment present in their host country, hence, they take cognisance of the fact that migration is a major tool of liberation. Migrating into a new society is subjective to individual ways of doing things. It is therefore not surprising that migration has diverse effects on the women. Some have expressed positive changes in their marriage, while to some others nothing has changed in the oppression they face.

The past experiences of women from their home country have now forced them to become aware of the gender inequalities inherent in their home countries' construction of gender. These women have now realized that they have been marginalised even in their homes, including execution of house chores – work that their culture demands should be their roles and sole responsibilities. As a result of the women's agency opened to them in South Africa, these migrant women started questioning their former gender constructs and even started challenging unequal gender relations in their home.

The interviews revealed that education, self-determination, financial independence have empowered migrant women in Durban to some extent and have helped them build confidence and become assertive. Notably, international migration can provide women with opportunity for liberating themselves from subordinative gender roles. However, it must be noted that not all the women are dissatisfied with their former way of life. As Mutuki (2012) affirms, some migrant women are unwilling to distance themselves from cultural beliefs and systems that they grew up in, despite their level of education. Overall, migration is liberating, especially for women who have been previously marginalised either by cultural norms in their home country, family and in-laws' relationship and even with their husbands. Migration, to some extent, does generate new gender perspectives for migrant women in Durban.

5.3   CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined that women experience gender oppression from different angles, from gender roles to tribalism, family, and in-laws' oppression, down to cultural expectations of what a wife and mother should be and what the society generally expects from a woman, regardless of her educational background and social status. The findings from research question one reveal that gender oppression is still persistent in marriages, and it highlighted that gender ascriptions of male and female are closely interwoven with power and as such gender relations in marriage are tied up with power relations. The level of power relation is dependent on the settings and situation of the household. The chapter also noted that migrating into a new country presents an opportunity for liberation for women from their previously gendered lives. Findings from this chapter presents that some migrant women, at least, are currently enjoying the emancipation of women from subordination as they believe that the South African constitution empowers women and girls.

This chapter also argue that migration into South Africa generates new gender perspectives for these women. The chapter examined the gender perspectives in their home country and highlighted the new gender perceptions they have in their migration site. Results also revealed that, despite the new gender perspective, there are still complexities involved. These complexities include the fact that migrant women in Durban are presumed to be fully emancipated while in a real sense they are not completely liberated, and some women agree that they are still subservient to their spouses. It also touched on the fact that cultural values from their home country still impede these women to from taking full empowerment. This chapter also highlights the relevance of gendered geographies of power framework, particularly the social location and geographical scale elements. Notably, migrants perform gender differently, depending on the geographical or social space they are in. It also revealed that even though husbands are slowly taking up relevant house chores it continues to remain a woman's domain.

Finally, this chapter brought home the fact that migration breeds new gender perspectives, and this perspective does not only change family structures and dynamics, but these changes have gender dynamics as well.

CHAPTER SIX: THE CHURCH, WOMEN'S IDENTITY AND PATRIARCHY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

With patriarchal values persisting in the society, male needs and the assumption that the man is the supreme head in the family are still central to the political, cultural, religious, and economic life and the norms against which women are measured (Bryson, 2003). Male hegemony is not only portrayed in the world of politics and economic stance but it also extends into private areas of family and religion. Notably, Ray (2008) posits that the nature of women's subjugation differs from one society to another, due to ethnicity, religion, class and cultural practices. Religion is embedded in two complementary ideas, power and hierarchy. Winter (2006) argues that religion is part of masculine power structure within which social relations are gendered and, secondly, religion is a medium through which power and hierarchy can be subverted or modified.

This chapter attempts to provide a link among the different perspectives on the role of patriarchy in the interpretation of the Bible. It interrogates the role of the church in the establishment of women identity by highlighting how submission and the biblical hermeneutics from their religious leader affect their self-identity. This chapter also probes into the experiences of women by conceptualizing their thoughts about submission and self-identity. It also investigates their actions and reactions to biblical hermeneutics that they consider as marginalization. From the beginning of this study, it has been evident that the major focus here is on Pentecostal Christians. The migrants assessed in this study are all Pentecostal Christians.

Religious narratives tend to give superiority to men, religion is used as an advantage to uphold masculine power structure and Christianity is no exception. This study examined Pentecostalism and how the biblical exegesis are used to manipulate women and further drive home patriarchal values. As long as patriarchy affords power to men, then there are chances that men will be reluctant to let go of these privileges. With Pentecostalism being one of the major forces to explore in this study, it is necessary to scrutinise how that religion is evoked in power imbalances and the continuous marginalization of women. Migrant women have embraced the concept of religion, but influenced by patriarchy, as they believe that God has ordained a specific family order where the husband leads, and wife submits. However, some

migrant women have built up their own ideas of submission and how this affects their identity.

This chapter draws on the social construction framework to explore the fundamental belief of migrant women and how their interpretation of what is right comes from their personal experiences, following the tenets of social constructionism that examines interests in language, social identity and the meanings associated with their experiences. This framework also enabled me to examine the use of language and personal interpretations of biblical exegesis as a means of construction and contestation of social meaning. Hence, I regard the use of language and interpretations as a vital tool in analysis of power, social identity, and the construction of self-identity in this section of the study.

6.2   THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE GENDERED IDENTITY OF WOMEN

The involvement of Pentecostal churches in establishing black women's identity by presenting the role of the church is explored in this section, regarding the 'formation and up-keeping of gender inequality, and how this was carried out through a stereotyped perspective, which defined and limited gender equality. Women in whatever community they belong have actively sourced for opportunities within their church to give a voice to the oppression they experience (Kleinman, 1984). These churches support male headship as the standard for authority with a rise in the number of women studying to be leaders within their religious community. Women adhering to the standard of male headship from centuries back have contributed to the setback faced in recent times for feminist ideologies to battle gender equality within all social spheres (Bishop, 2019).

Exploring the normed experiences of women in the Pentecostal community, studies have concluded that women have adapted to performing passive roles to improve their lives, within and outside their families (Gallagher, 2004; Chong, 2006; Fogarty, 2009). Findings from one of the participants indicated that the teachings from the church have truly shaped her identity as desired by her husband:

> *The church has really helped me, in the sense that you go to church and you hear the words that comes from the alter and you come back home to reflect on it and think about the ways you have not done it right. And because you want peace in the house, you will start reflecting on the teaching and you will want to do it right. Relating this to my personal identity, I used to be a very sociable person*

before I got married but since I married an introvert, I had to come down to his level because he complained that I go out too much and I have too many friends…at first, we really fought about it but teachings from the church have really helped me learn to curb that social flare that I used to have. I have become more conservative and so far, it's been working. My husband is more relaxed now because he sees me at home. Those teachings have really shaped me, it has changed my identity.

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Although Mrs Chantell tells of a story of how she has become conservative because her husband does not like her social flare, she has had to cut back on her social life through the teachings of the pastor and this has helped save her marriage. Even though she misses her social status, she had to sacrifice that part of her life for her marriage to work and still obey God. Understanding how the ideologies of gender, church and identity impact marriage are authentically shown through the application of the belief of egalitarianism. One of the participants, Mrs Janet, mentioned that the church has really shaped her identity although there are still few setbacks:

I will say my church has been restrictive in some kind of ways, you know we are a spirit-led church – we give room for the direction of the Holy Spirit. This has helped me to identify myself as a lady to know, oh! This is my position and authority in Christ. I know this is what I can do and, in the capacity, I can do it. One thing I like my church is that it does not discriminate, once they identify the spirit of God in you, and you can lay hands, they start helping you to grow your potential irrespective of your gender. I do not have any boundaries, the only thing I think is a challenge now is that there are still not so much of female pastors in my church.

We must also note that there are restrictions in the house of God, there is still this subtle undertone of gender biasness in the church, like I said there are not so much female pastors. Women with calling are often allowed to lead Sunday school, children's department, choir or welfare department. So really there is still that segregation and it can even affect women with God's calling negatively. It is

a mixed feeling for me, because it's not like I am totally free but I don't let that affect me.

Mrs Janet, Nigerian.

Mrs Janet's assertion proves that leadership and other position in churches have significantly changed compared to what it used to be in the olden days where church leaders were predominantly male. In modern times, there are more women holding positions in the church asides the Catholic Church where the headship continues to be male. Despite these gains, women are still working in the shadows of men, as some men even go to the extent of refusing that a woman may lay hands on them to bless them. Mrs Janet tells of a story that happened back in her local church in Nigeria

> *I remember when I was back in Nigeria, I was attending a white garment church, then a woman leader went into the spirit, and she started laying hands on children and young adults. Apparently, she was in the spirit, but you know when she got to the men section of the church, some of these men started stepping to the back of the church because they cannot allow a woman to touch their heads.*

> Mrs Janet, Nigerian

Mrs Janet identifies that liberation in her church is not as evident as she would like it; she explains that, even though women can lay hands on people, there are still some shortcomings present. Like the assertion presented below, the participant explains that she used to rely on whatever interpretation the pastor gives to the Bible about marriages, though sometimes misinterpretations affected her marriage negatively until she decided to seek her personal understanding of the Bible:

> *I will just rely on the preaching of my pastor and I digest it like that. However, when I started growing myself, I started getting exposure. I started getting things by myself. I started reading the Bible myself and seeking my understanding of the Bible while asking the Holy Spirit to minister to me. So there is no manipulation from my pastor that can affect my marriage.*

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

The narrative above presented by Mrs Elizabeth supports the findings of a study conducted by Colaner and Waner (2005) which discovered that Pentecostal women are striving and

developing resistance to patriarchy through engaging in professional careers and thought provoking reflections to break free from the shackles of oppression, while also maintaining their passive gendered roles within the family. Their study further revealed that Pentecostal women are faced with the challenge of reconciling their aspirations with their perceived marriage roles as dictated by the church. Some participants indicated that they face challenges in marriages too since marriages are not a bed of roses. Women had to make marriages work through dedication, perseverance, and commitment, as noted by some participants:

> *In the first place, I will like you to know that marriage is not a bed of roses, it is a commitment, dedication and perseverance and marriage is a learning school until the grave. It is quite challenging and being a woman in the marriage, you must be a strong character.*

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

Within the gendered realities of the church, women cannot have the opportunities and positions provided to men (Glass & Nath, 2006). As discussed earlier, the misinterpretation and surface reading of the Bible is a major setback for the liberation of women in the Pentecostal churches.

Reflecting on the social reality of women and their social identity as members of the society, some women claim that, more than religion, the cultural values they hold as Africans has destroyed women's social identity. Many of the participants as earlier indicated that the church has its bit in reshaping of women's identity but, for most of the participants, the church does not have any influence on their identity. One of such is Mrs Tobore:

> *I would say it did not affect or reshaped my identity. The church had no influence in my identity. It was a personal decision for me to find peace. I go to Pentecostal church now because of two reasons. one, I started it as a sake of peace in my marriage and two, because at that point in my marriage it was all I could do and now living in Durban, I just attend because of proximity and convenience.*

Mrs Tobore, Nigerian

6.2.1   *Pentecostalism and the marginalisation of women*

The findings from the participants on women's views on the role of the church in establishing their identity were these. In responses to the questions, some participants expressed the

challenges they face from the church and how this is a form of subtle oppression against them. Mrs Princewill tells the story of how the church almost refused to wed her if she was not walked down the aisle with a male figure:

> *The church just creates its oppression for us, I remember when I was getting married, my father and brother are both late and the church did not allow my mother to walk me down the aisle. It was so much drama that day and after so much back and forth they agreed to allow my nephew (late brother's son) alongside my mother walk me down the aisle because he carries the male bloodline and they wanted a male figure.*

> *The church was not comfortable with the arrangement but I had to stand my ground and get my mother to walk me down the aisle and I did not want any of my uncles to take the honour.*

Mrs Stella, Zimbabwean

In the same discussion on the church marginalizing women, Mrs Tafazwa tells the story of her older sister who was experiencing some challenges in her marriage and took the case to her pastor for counselling but was faced with disappointment:

> *My sister was in an abusive marriage; she had all the problems of this world. It was so bad that she separated from her husband and the man denied her custody of the children. The man married two young ladies besides my sister, these girls were so young that they even disrespected my sister, one of the wives was a student of her husband. They oppressed my sister; they will go to my sister's pineapple plantation and take whatever they want. My sister is very gentle, she did not want to take the matter to court, even to the extent that her husband would beat her. My sister took the matter to the pastor and they tried to settle the matter. At this point, the husband had gone to church to request that he wanted to be married to his new wife but the church refused stating that he was still married to my sister, they only got separated and not divorced, so he cannot marry a new wife. Soon after, the pastor was transferred and her husband was able to manipulate the new pastor in their parish into joining him and his new wife. To our surprise my sister's husband married a second wife in the church!!! At this point, my sister felt very betrayed by the same church she trusted with her*

marriage. In fact, we took the matter to the bishop but there was nothing that could be done. So, my sister lost hope in church, at some point she stopped going to church for years, I am talking 15 years of not going to church because she was hurt.

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

In the patriarchal framework, harmful and customary cultural behaviours contribute to women's suffering and frequently culminate in violence. Women were forced to redefine their identities in the face of the church's beliefs on women and their accepted societal duties. According to Kimball (2004:p.465), keeping individuals unaware of their potential has a tremendous cost. This is equally true in terms of gender disparity. Some participants narrated how church teachings affected their identity since they are to submit and respect their husband:

> *Because I also want to follow the teachings of being quiet, because if we fight, I usually call our pastor, so if the pastor is trying to settle the quarrel, he will say things like "when your husband told you to keep quiet, why didn't you keep quiet"? So, it's a thing that I have gotten used to because you know the Bible says a wise woman keeps her home: Prov 14:p.1. So in my marriage, this thing has affected my identity.*

Mrs Obi, Congolese

Further exploring the role the church plays in establishing women's identity, some participants expressed that they dislike the church they attend because it felt their identity is being stripped off.

> *In the church that I attend, I felt like my identity was being stripped away because I am one woman who is strong-willed, independent, bold, and outspoken. I had to take on roles that conform with what the church identifies as preferable. It is one of the reasons that I do not like Pentecostal. I feel like when I attended my home church (Catholic) my identity was intact, it was maintained.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

In modern times, women have been seen holding political positions and being independent, which has diluted the traditional role of husbands' expectations as providers and women as

caregivers. Despite this opportunity and exposures women still find themselves in marital relationships where cultural expectations of gendered oppression still dominate (Naiddo & Jano, 2002).

> *The influence of the expectation of this Pentecostal church has stiffened who I am and tried to mould me, making me into what they perceive as an ideal woman. So, I made a conscious effort to stay away from such influence because I do not like to pretend.*

Mrs Johnson, Congolese

In these narrations, these women who have gone through one form of challenge in their marriage and took the case to their pastors expressed disappointment in the decision of the church. There is a subtle reality of marginalization of women in the church. While discussing the role of the church is establishing and reshaping women's identity, I went on to ask these women their experience of submission and how it affects their self-identity. This discussion makes up the next theme:

6.3 SUBMISSION AND THE SELF-IDENTITY OF WOMEN

Unpacking submission and women's identities in marriages, the concept of positioning cultural identity explains the subjectivity and beliefs, values, motivations of 'self-identity' in any community. The question is does submission rub off women's identities in marriage? Findings from participants in responses to the above questions show how women tend to lose their self-identities and create rooms for oppression. They claim that it is not easy for a woman to submit to a man, but for peace to reign, they are compelled to submit:

> *It is not easy to submit! But you know that in life there is something you want and to get what you want. There are things you must do. For peace to reign in the family, Submission is something you have to do for marital peace.*

Mrs Mercy, Zimbabwean

One of the participants states that submission comes with the price of loving someone:

> *The church and the culture have taught me to be submissive and there is a Bible verse that supports submission. It says wives submit to your husband; husbands love your wife. To me, you cannot submit to your husband if you don't love him.*

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My marriage counsellor told me that as a woman, I carry my home on my shoulder, everything about the home comes to you.

The man is the head of the home, but the weight of the marriage is on the woman. We were taught not to challenge authority, to respect and listen to the husband. Whatever my husband says is the verdict, there are rules that I have to abide by any attempt to say otherwise, you will be considered rebellious and not submissive and I do not want to be that wife that would not honour her husband. In the early phase of my marriage, I struggled with submission.

I enjoyed my freedom, the liberty I had as a single person and I did not like to report my movement to anybody. So, when I got married, I struggled a lot to adjust having to tell my husband this is where I am going and I have to explain myself at every point. I cannot decide on how much time I want to spend outside without being questioned and me feeling bad that I neglect my home.

Mrs Ayoh, Cameronian

Another noted how submission made women in society tend to lose their self-identities and create room for oppression:

From my own experience, I don't even think women should be submissive because it creates room for oppression. Everybody has a right to their mind, my own experience in the past six years has not been the best so submission is not even my dictionary for now. I see no reason why I should be submissive to a man that has previously abused me. Submission will come freely, that is if I ever get to submit.

I have been dominated for a long time, it is like my husband was never at fault for all that we went through, he was never blamed for impregnating me, the society never saw him as an offender, I was seen as a lost girl. Submission is not right for any woman, it will give room for more oppression. Right now, I have grown to stand my ground in this marriage.

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

Contrary to what other participants shared, submission is something many women learnt from their homes, as they see submission in their marriage as the sacrifice they have to pay for their

marriage to work, which is highly influenced by the culture and traditions that various societies dictate:

> *Submission in marriage is something I learned from my mother, and I had to apply it in this my current marriage because if I do not submit to this man now, we will divorce, and I do not want to marry a third husband and give birth to children from different fathers. I had to learn how to submit to his authority to maintain peace in the marriage, even though it does not make me happy.*

> *I must be quiet; it is this my husband that is paying the tuition of my children from my first marriage, and he is not complaining. I am just a hairdresser, I do not have so much money and I do not want my children to suffer, if he divorces me now, my children will suffer. I see submission in my marriage as the sacrifice I have to pay for my marriage to work.*

> *When my husband started drinking and misbehaving, he started accusing me of cheating on him which was not the case, I just ignore him and keep quiet, even my keeping quiet will make him angry and he will start beating me, so many times I will call the police, they know us here in Umbilo police station- the disgrace was getting too much in our neighbourhood.*

> *My mother and my sister advised me to always avoid fighting with him or do anything that will make him angry so I learnt to keep quiet and live with the man like that, but I am praying for him and I know God will change him because when I married him, he was very gentle and loving towards me and my sons and I trust God to change his heart.*

Mrs Johnson, Congolese

Findings from the participants show that submission in marriages comes with a price to pay; others believe that, as the man is placed the head of the family by the societal construct, women are obliged to respect and submit to their men. In spite of these women's' reactions to their situations, they mostly agreed that religion is interwoven with culture, and they are both embedded as one of the many ways men use to exploit women. Religion and culture, it seems, work hand in hand to greatly contribute to the upholding of patriarchal values. This finding supports the arguments of Raday (2003) that religion is an institutionalized aspect of

culture. These women, however, do realise that men are using religion to keep them in subordinate positions. Many of them have found ways to build resistance to it and embraced the concept of egalitarianism. This finding also gathered that women's unwillingness to submit has more to do with their survival rather than disobedience to what the Bible dictates.

6.3.1   Submission and self-esteem

In terms of submission and self-identity for women, it is worthy to note that there are biblical verses that brings to the fore the responsibilities of men in relation to how they should treat their wives to achieve a certain level of equality. For instance, there is always a tendency to quote the scriptures of Ephesians 5:22-24, *'Wives submit to your husband's as to the lord. For the husband is the head of the house as Christ is the head of the church'*. Preachers will usually skip or rush over verse 21 which says, '*Submit to one another out of reverence to the church'*. The statement in verse 21 calls for submission by everyone either man or woman, while verses 25-28 exhorts husbands who love their wives as they love their own bodies. This level of love described in verse 25 indicates a level of equality between husband and wife. As Essien and Ukpang (2012) posit, a careful exegesis of the bible reveals that Christianity advocates the emancipation and equality of everyone. This led to the discussion of submission and its relevance to the self-identity of the participants, how submission has made them feel and what role it plays on their self-identity. According to Mrs Obi, submission is not an easy job to do, especially because it plays a huge role in the survival of her marriage:

> *Before I got married, I was a very strong-willed person, I still am, but I have soft pedalled myself because as a Christian woman, you must give room for humility. In the early days of my marriage, I have fought my husband so much that his opinion didn't carry weight. But thank God for preaching and the word of God, I have learnt to submit for the sake of my marriage. It is not easy to submit! But you know that in life there is something you want and to get what you want. There are things you must do. For peace to reign in the family, Submission is something you have to do for marital peace.*

> *I have had countless opportunities to put my husband in his place each time he upsets me, but I always check myself because of the respect and teachings I have as a Christian woman, but deep within me, I know my husband is taking the*

opportunity that I am a good Christian woman and leader and it should not be heard that I have disrespected the head of my home.

Mrs Obi, Congolese

This finding is similar to the assertion of Olusola (2012), who expresses that the passage of Ephesians 5:22 is often interpreted to suit patriarchy, especially in Pentecostal churches. This interpretation is done in a way that it constantly reminds the wives of their vow of submission/subjection to their husbands:

I learnt the unwillingness to submit from my mum, at the time my dad wanted my mum to bear eight kids because, culturally a man is dignified by his number of children, but my mum refused to submit to that cultural belief. My grandma at that time started accusing my mum of prostitution, as a reason for not wanting to give birth to eight kids. She said she wants to keep her body so that she can have something to throw around and prostitute with other men, but my mum stood her ground and did not submit to the pressure of raising kids that they obviously could not train.

In my own experience, I have learnt that there must be something worthwhile to submit to, I have no reason to submit to any authority, the oppression alone has dealt with my self-esteem, so I consider submission as a means of oppression, and it doesn't work for me as a woman. I do what I like, and my husband is okay with that. My husband does not impose submission on me, because he knows it doesn't sit well with me.

Mrs Florence, Congolese

The experience of submission from Mrs Florence's experience shows resilience and how she has determined to shun submission following her mother's experience. She questions the need for submission without substance, largely liberating herself from any form of oppression that may be presented through submission. Exploring Mrs Ayoh's point from a feminist post-structuralist view, it is seen that she is deconstructing the cultural processes responsible for upholding the structures of oppression. This shows that submission and self-identities of women are often intertwined and many women have adopted changes to suit their needs:

One of the ways this has affected my self-esteem is my affiliation with my church. When I married my husband, he attends a different church from mine. So, we agreed that if I live in Durban, I will be attending my church and he agreed. We moved past that and I didn't realize that my husband was not comfortable with me going to church every day, because I am a worker in the church.

I must be in church for mid-week services and on Saturdays, I am in church for choir practice from 8am-2pm. Those things were what my husband had issues with. It became a problem each time I want to go to church, I got to church about four times in a week.

I didn't see a problem with going to church, he knew I was a church girl before he married me and I didn't realize I was destroying my marriage by not paying attention to my husband's needs and I just felt he needed to be closer to God. This led to a serious disagreement between us and I had to reason with my husband as he presented it that I am neglecting him at home and focusing on God.

I saw reasons with him and because I know as a Christian lady, I have to bring my home to God. I had to submit to my husband's authority and pay attention to his own needs. I told my unit leader about the issue with my husband, and she told me, why would I allow my husband to decide how I should serve God, I felt really bad now I was conflicted between continuing my four to five days a week church programme or listening to my husbands need.

My unit leader in the church made it seem like I was neglecting God and allowing a man to control me. In fact, I was advised by other choir members to not allow my husband control me, I am a PhD holder, and I should stand my ground. This kind of affected my self-esteem, because to the choristers it seemed like my husband is the one controlling me and I did not have a say in my marriage.

At that point I wanted to leave the choir, but my husband said no, and he just told me to properly manage my time. We agreed that I won't be attending all the services and I was still able to maintain my position in the choir.

Mrs Janet, Nigerian

Mrs Janet claims that she was caught in a dilemma between her service to God and satisfying the need of her husband. She had taken the case to the head of her unit at church and, without much analysis, she was made to feel as though she has no control in her home, despite her educational status. She shared that she was caught in between, leaving God's work as a chorister or fully satisfying her husband's need for attention. The situation made her feel inadequate as her fellow choristers thinks she has no say in the affairs of her life and is merely controlled by a man. This has caused a lot of friction between Mrs Janet and her husband; however, they were able to reconcile their differences and set up effective time management. As Baxter (2013) claims, in some cases, women can subject other women to patriarchal situations and not in all cases will women stand up for a fellow woman. As shown in Mrs Janet's narrative, she even felt more frustrated with the responses she received from her unit leader, who is a fellow migrant woman, which she had initially thought would have a better understanding of her situation since she herself was married.

Other participants shared how submission in their marriage has affected their self-esteem.

> *When I was a single lady, I used to party a lot, I enjoyed going out and attending parties. But as soon as I got married, a lot of things changed! Now, I must obtain permission from my husband before I go out or even attend parties which makes me feel like my life belongs to a man. so many times, if he doesn't like the person I want to go and hang out with, he would just come up with excuses and he would not allow me to go there.*

> *Since I got married, I can count the number of times I attend parties, my husband is not a party person and it has now rubbed off on me, he doesn't allow me to go out, it has affected me in ways I don't like, I feel like I'm living in the shadow of my husband, and I am trying so hard for it not to affect my self-esteem.*

Mrs Mercy, Zimbabwean

Similar to Mrs Mercy's narrative is the experience of another participants, she claimed to have sacrificed her ego for marital peace and as a result she is battling with low self-esteem:

> *Like said earlier, it affects my self-esteem as a woman but because of the target I want to achieve (peace in her home) she has to learn to be quiet, I love living a social life, I love making friends but the man I married is not that kind of person, so I just had to come down to his level for peace to reign, because if I am allowed*

to fly, I will fly but, because I don't want issues or problem, I just had to be calm and submit to my husband's authority.

Mrs Stella, Zimbabwean

According to the findings obtained from these women on the issues of submission and their self-identities, there is ample consistency between their experiences, as is evident from the available literature. Assertions from Raday (2003) posit that religion imposes patriarchal regimes that put women in a disadvantaged position, and this includes some level of mandatory obedience to their spouse, inequality from unwanted submission, and little or no right over their finances and gender roles. Therefore, Ojong (2013) advises that religion needs to be critically examined through a feminist lens as it effectively enshrines gender hierarchy and promotes the suppression of women regardless of their origin. From the narrative presented by the participants on their experiences of submission and self-identity, it is evident that these enforced submission, especially when it is not natural and suggests a feeling of subjugation on their path. Feminist scholars such as Stanton (1895) critiqued religion and its treatment of women, when she published *The Woman's Bible*. Similar publications have emerged in the concept of Christian feminism, where women are encouraged to promote their sense of identity and resist every chance to relegate women into subordinate positions within and outside religious institutions (Anderson & Clack, 2004; Reuther, 2007).

6.3.2 Culture and submission: Its influence on women's identity

While analysing the data for the research objective two, the discussion on submission and its close relationship with culture emerged. It became imperative to understand how culture influences submission and what these women think about it. Hence, another sub-theme emerged on the influence of culture and submission on women's identity. The connection between religion and culture concerns Mrs Elizabeth and she explains it as follows:

My religion and cultural values are very similar. My culture teaches me to be submissive to my husband, in my culture you must serve your husband. I remember a while part in the church, there was a programme for couples and our pastor said we should kneel and call our husbands 'My lord' referring to that part where Sarah called Abraham her lord. We were taught to submit to our husbands as much as we can and that's religion. In my culture, they tell us to

kneel and serve our husbands. Call him names that depict that he's the most highly relevant person in your life.

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

To understand gender oppression within society, we need to understand culture as a construct that has become synonymous with a sense of identity; people identify themselves with the norms and values of their cultural groups and classify themselves as belonging to a particular social group. In this way, culture becomes fundamental to the way people interpret the world and shape the attitudes and social interaction of people (Falola, 2003).

> *In my culture, you are taught to respect your husband, submit to his authority as he is the head of the house, just the same way Christ is the head of the church. This is also very similar in my culture, before you get married…our mothers and grandmothers will seclude us in a room and start teaching us how to prepare for marriage, how to respect your husband, how to obey and satisfy him and they teach us to accept that men can be promiscuous in nature and we as women must learn to accept and love him that way. The teachings of my culture and that of the bible is quite similar. They basically teach us to submit to our husbands even if the husband misbehaves.*

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

Mrs Tafazwa's narrative provokes a situation where women are groomed from a rather early age to satisfy their husband and they grow up to marry and still continue the same circle of teachings about submission and adhering to the authority of the husband, regardless of his actions. This indicates that the concept of religion and culture work hand in hand to further promote patriarchal values within the society. In the socio-cultural context, social constructionism posits individuals as a part of integral cultural, political, and historical evolution in specific times. As such, the social construction of culture and submission is evident her narrative. Another participant, Mrs Ayoh, had this to say about her experience:

> *In my own opinion, gender oppression in marriage is most common to women and it comes as a form of submission. Despite being Christians there is a lot of oppression that comes from our cultural beliefs. Cultures across Africa, especially from Cameroon, the system has made it so hard for a woman to move ahead, to climb, to invest. They culture is built in such a way that a woman walks*

in the shadow of her husband. These cultural values are very oppressive to women. It can affect your self-esteem, you know when you work and earn money, you don't want to brag that you earn more than your husband, you must be sleek and quiet about your achievements especially if your husband isn't doing well financially.

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian

The socio-cultural impact of culture is embedded within an individual's sense of identity and in this case, Mrs Ayoh feels that her culture can be very restrictive to women as they usually work in the shadows of their husband. According to Andrews (2012), culture can foster practices that are harmful to the mental health and wellbeing of people. As in this case, cultural value of women being silent about their achievement does not make Mrs Ayoh completely free from the oppression of walking as a shadow behind her husband. Thus, culture plays a role in how people behave and how they construct their identity (Waters & Eschbach, 1995). In any culture, certain points of view and ways of being will become dominant over others. These dominant perspectives will specify the preferred and customary ways of believing and behaving within the culture (Crapo, 1995).

Individuals internalize the dominant norms and values of culture, easily believing that they speak the truth of their identities. These dominant constructs tend to blind us to the possibilities that others might offer us. Some cultures have colonized and oppressed others, and the concepts of the dominant culture are then imposed on people of the marginalized cultures. However, Bradley (2014) argues that, because society is interactive and reflexive, the marginalised culture will also influence the dominant culture. Akinyela (2002:p.34) suggests culture is "actually a complex of contentious and complementary interactions between the unequal classes of people, gender, religion, and language, sexual and other social groups". One of the participants indicated that suppressing their voice in marriage is one of the worst challenges they had to face:

It is one of the worst challenges I am facing in my marriage. I have to submit! Everywhere you turn to, you keep hearing the same thing. Submit to your husband, he is your head, you must accord him respect and all that. Sometimes, it can be very frustrating when you are trying to submit to his authority, and he cannot even take a simple advice from me his wife.

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

Viewed from this perspective, culture is in a constant process of construction and reconstruction of identities, which explains that most black women married Christian women are likely to have shaped their identity through their culture.

> *What have I seen with gender oppression in African society? Many women have faced brutality even from their parents. Oppression started from our home back then.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

As discussed above, findings from this study proves that there are cultural norms within the society that women have internalized while growing up. These cultural norms teach women that they have to do everything culturally possible to preserve their marriages.

6.4 WOMEN AND THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH

Given the notion that Pentecostalism does not promote the full privileges of women in any way, Mate (2002) explains that Pentecostal churches are not doing enough to destabilize patriarchy; rather patriarchy is reinforced through teachings that encourage forced female submission and male headship. The domestication and subordination of females is a classic characteristic of patriarchy, which are reinforced and maintained biblically through texts of Ephesians 5:22 and Ephesians 6:4, which, if read without critiques, seems to be in support of advanced patriarchal ideologies (Yong, 2005):

> *The influence of the expectation of this Pentecostal church has stiffened who I am and trying to mould me, making me into what they perceive as an ideal woman. So, I made a conscious effort to stay away from such influence because I don't like to pretend. For instance, I remember when I newly joined my husband's church, they made it mandatory that as a married woman I must dress a certain way, cover my head and behave in a manner that is acceptable as a woman in the house of God.*

> *So anytime there is a special women's programme, there was that demarcation in the church because those of us that didn't conform to the decisions (dressing style and head gears), they often made it clear that we are not part of them. So, for me,*

I just decided to remove myself from such a situation because it was affecting my self-identity, they made me feel like I was doing something terrible.

There are certain types of clothes that I cannot wear, my hair must be always covered…all these even made it more difficult for me to integrate into the system of the church. For me, I didn't conform to their decision on what to wear.

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

Providing details on the subjugation of women in the Pentecostal churches, Tan-Chow (2007) expressed that advancing female submission through diluted interpretations of biblical texts, the church is not threatening patriarchal ideologies but rather these ideologies are kept alive and maintained by the clergies and pastors. He explains the failure to destabilise patriarchy is the cause of tension within the teachings and belief of Pentecostal hermeneutics"

My husband is naturally a stubborn man, he is from Ekiti (a Nigerian tribe known for the peculiarity of their aggressive nature), we always have arguments, and it was non-stop. It was easy for him to report me to our pastor, that I am disobedient, I no longer respect him and his decisions and I thought the pastor was going to be a good mediator, it turned out the pastor came here with his wife and they started advising based on the scriptures that a good wife must submit to her husband, but they didn't even bother to ask me my own side of the story. It was as though they just came to remind me that God wants me to submit to the authority of my husband regardless of what he does to me.

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

From the assertions of Mrs Princewill, it is obvious that there are certain behaviour and dressing style that is acceptable as a Christian woman, even Mrs Elizabeth recants that she has been judged by her pastor and his wife for certain misunderstanding in her home without them as church leaders properly examining the situation. This indicates that some of the expectations women expect from the church appears farfetched. Mate (2002) proposes that in the Pentecostal movement, two major problems arise when it comes to women's subordination. First is the fact that, because the Pentecostal church has acknowledged the equality of man and woman in the works of the Holy Spirit, there are claims that their use of language does not put into practice the work of equality, and women remain at the periphery of gender hierarchy in the church, this is further substantiated in the writings of Masenya

(2009) that claim that a pastor will anoint his male child to take over the handling of the church before he considers his female child worthy of the position, even if the works of the Holy Spirit are more established in the female child. Therefore, Mate (2002) and Masenya (2009) agrees that the Pentecostal church has continued to fail the hopes of women through the continuous use of biblical texts that promote male power. Mate (2002) claims that, while it is true that Pentecostal women and men can be filled with the holy spirit and share the parallel experience with that of the apostles in Acts 2, it is also true that Pentecostal interpretations of the Bible insist that women must submit to men even though the man has not proved himself worthy of submission. One of the participants asserts that she has to constantly pray for her husband to prevent him from infidelity:

> *My husband and I have compromised a lot. Currently, he is in Eastern Cape where he works, I live with the kids in Durban. My husband has had to sacrifice us (family) for the sake of his job. The distance is there, and we are managing it and, on my end, I feel like I have exposed my husband to other women.*

> *My husband is a medical doctor, he lives alone there in Eastern Cape and I just allow him to be vulnerable to these women. Most times I just lift him up in prayers because hmmm… one can never really trust this men. I do not want to wake up one day and hear there is a baby mama somewhere, I won't be able to forgive him.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Thus, Pentecostal women are still in the spheres of male domination even though there is a claim that they can receive the Holy Spirit and operate for the work of God. Yong (2005) points out that women must still work under men. Hence, the marginalisation of Christian women is due to the oppressive and constant reminder of the Pentecostal hermeneutics.

While discussing women's expectations from the church with the participants, the discourse of body politics was raised and how this affects their identity. Hence, the sub-theme of women's identity and body politics emerged.

6.4.1   *Women's identity and body politics*

Within the social discourse of marriage and women's identity, it is considered a woman's responsibility to keep her marriage intact, as any dissolution of marriage is mostly blamed on

her. This implies that a woman's responsibility is majorly to keep her home together. Arguably, this speaks to women's identity, self-esteem, and disadvantages of these women. They have to do everything possible to ensure that their home is intact, even at the expense of their body and mind satisfaction. One of the participants revealed that her lack of self-identity comes from the fact that her husband only considers her as a baby making factory:

> *I grew up in an educated family, my father ensured that we all got a good education. So my dad was keen on me furthering my education and getting a job but unfortunately for me, my husband insisted that I be a full housewife, he married me to take care of the home and nurse the children, his ideology of marriage broke me into pieces. I felt very useless, it means all I am to this man is a baby-making machine.*

> *Anytime I apply for a job, hoping that he will change his mind, I will sneak my way to attend interviews and if I get the job, I will beg my husband and he will blatantly refuse. It was so terrible, I lost so many jobs offer because my husband insisted on me being a full housewife. I had to forfeit so many things to please my husband, those five years I completely lost myself, I lost my self-esteem.*

Mrs Tobore, Nigerian

Further corroborating this narrative, Mrs Walter expressed her pains in marriage, she has been referred to as being 'promiscuous' because of her inability to conceive a child.

> *The kind of body I have, as you can see I am skinny and do not have extra flesh. My in-laws have discussed my body…they think because I am skinny I don't have a womb. My mother in-law once called me ashawo (promiscuous lady); she said I must have used my body anyhow during my younger years that's why I have been unable to bear a child. I have shed a lot of tears in this marriage. No one has ever questioned my husband about our inability to bear a child, it's always me they blame and its very painful because they think I have done bad things with my body. It has really affected my way of thinking; I have been to different churches for deliverance, still no child!.*

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

This section of the chapter fully discussed the themes and sub-themes that were highlighted during the data analysis phase. The discussion of the role of the church in establishing women's identity was explored and it revealed that the church to a large extent has helped women remodel their lives to sustain their marriage, while some other women also do not acknowledge that the church has any significant impact on their identity.

To clarify the issue of self-identity among these women, it appears that men are domineering and there are measures such as culture and religion that ensure that patriarchy is preserved. The use of quoted parts of Bible verses supports this claim: verses that justify women's subordination to men, verses that call for wives to submit and verses that outline that women must learn in silence. These verses were interpreted in diverse ways to ensure that men are revered, and women continue to be home makers. The role of the church in establishing women's identity, particularly using biblical language, was employed here to construct gender realities for women. The use of language and construction of shared meaning as a tenet of social construction draws on the construction of these women's self-identity. Unfortunately, women sacrifice their self-identity, social affiliations, and intuition to lead for the sake of marital peace. The effect of cultural and religious affiliation on women's identities are stated as one of the manifestations of patriarchy. Therefore, post structural feminist argue that women put themselves in secondary roles and give room for male dominance. Even though they can challenge the situation, they believe society is generally based around a dualist view of gender and they conform to what brings them peace (Lop, 2011).

6.5 RELEVANCE OF BIBLICAL PATRIARCHY AND ITS EFFECTS ON MARRIAGE

This section brings to the fore the intersection between Pentecostal hermeneutics, patriarchy, and marital relationship. The literal interpretation of the scriptural text and the culture supports the authority given to the husband over his wife and family. In addition, Siwila (2012) posits that one of the concerns of the feminist ideologies lies in the naive biblical interpretations which are full of gender favouritism which can be oppressive to women, particularly married women. The participants in this study revealed that there is a nexus between the interpretation of biblical text and the marginalization of women.

6.5.1 Pentecostalism and patriarchy

Patriarchy remains an integral part of African life, which is seen to be rooted deeply and entrenched in the African cultural norms, religious values, and customs of this society. In the Christian discourse of the unification of a man and woman, scholars have argued that it began with the biblical story of creation, which explains that after the universe was created, God created man and immediately created a helpmeet to be a companion (Byrne & Carr, 2000; Weber & Craig, 2003; Baloyi, 2007). As such, a woman must remain a helpmeet. According to African feminists, the power factor in marriage is emphasized by religion and tradition, with fixed and unchanging roles that have been socially constructed to enhance the adaptation and supremacy of patriarchy within marriages (Oduyoye, 2001; Dreyer, 2011). Other scholars of African feminism – Rakoczy (2004); Tamale (2004); Tamale (2014) – agree that scriptural texts used by faith-based religion suggest that God is male. From this premise, men have been bestowed the authority to be masters over everyone else. The teachings of the church leaders on their perception of women have further impaired the chances of Christian women gaining total freedom from oppression.

African Christians have adopted the ideology of biblical patriarchy and they seem comfortable with it and address it as "the way God wants things to be" (Mwaura, 2013:p.412; Masiri, 2016:p.2). As a result, male domination is accepted as a biblical norm, which has transcended into the everyday subjugation of women. Mrs Florence tells her initial experience and how she blindly took the words of her pastor as the whole truth, or the way God wants things to be done; she narrates how these hermeneutics affected her.

> *The interpretation of the Bible affected me initially because I was just taking every word from the alter as though it is mine. I will normally just rely on the preaching of my pastor, and I digest it like that. I was not doing any soul searching, I take the word from the alter as though it is my reality. When I started growing myself, I started getting exposure, I started getting things by myself. I started reading the Bible myself and seeking my understanding of the Bible while asking the Holy Spirit to minister to me.*

Mrs Florence, Congolese

Mrs Florence's narrative corroborate the assertion of Ojong (2013) that the acceptance of the male-dominant ideologies and of the one-sided interpretation of the Bible is the reason for the continued subjugation of women, which keeps them at the margins of humanity and society:

I believe strongly that there is manipulation going on in the church, you know women we do not like people to see us as being confrontational or stubborn, so we just accept whatever the church feel is right for us. Personally, the interpretation of the Bible by pastors have affected my marriage especially that submission part of it, in fact I always feel like a terrible woman when I have issues that regards submission with my husband. These pastors make you feel like you are doing a very bad thing if you confront your husband.

Mrs Phebian, Kenyan

It is evident from the excerpt above that women are aware of the manipulation present in the interpreting the Bible. This signals that women, even though they are aware of the manipulation, would rather find other ways to resist rather than being confrontational. It implies that the church has a long way to go in promoting gender equality through unbiased biblical exegesis. These assertions support the views of Kambarami (2006), who argues that the Pentecostal hermeneutics only reinforce existing cultural norms which gives room for further oppression of women:

My experience while growing up in my father's house was chaotic. I grew up in a polygamous home. I do not want it to happen in my own marriage so even before I got married, I told myself that I will always do the will of my husband. Peace is very important to me; polygamy is a curse and I do not want my kids to be under that curse. I made up my mind to submit to my husband. Some people grew up in monogamy home and our experience will be different because they have never experienced what I have seen. So they may be fighting for equal rights in their home 50-50 chance but I can't compare myself to them. On my own part, the interpretation and teaching of the word of God has made me decide that it is a command from God that I must submit and obey my husband. So I do it and it has really helped me maintain peace in my home. It is a determination on my part, so I stick to the teachings of my church, the teachings have really influenced me to be submissive.

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian

The findings are in line with Joyce (2009), which gave the instances that women are responsible for their marriage to the extent that in cases of domestic violence the woman is blamed or assumed to have provoked the husband by nagging and not respecting his authority. In terms of infidelity, the woman is also blamed for not being sexually available or not being able to satisfy the sexual desires of her husband. Joyce (2009) further asserts that, in evangelical churches, no woman is immune to critics on her marriage within the church community. Following this assertion, one of the participants revealed that no interpretation of the Bible can affect her anymore because she has been manipulated in the first six years of her marriage:

> *There is no manipulation or interpretation from my pastor that can affect my marriage. I have come to know God on a very personal level, so there is nothing like patriarchy affecting my Christian life. I resonate with the teachings that I feel is going to help my marriage and leave the rest. The marriage is for me and my husband, so I will do what it takes to keep the marriage. That thing that woman cannot lead in the church, it does not apply in my home.*

> *I have come to know that my voice needs to be heard. My husband listens to me, but in church, they will say the husband is the head, yes I agree. But you know the head can't work without the neck. I am the neck and I dictate where the head goes. Maybe I was manipulated by preaching and my culture to submit to my husband, which happened for six years, now my eyes are sharp.*

Mrs Janet, Nigerian

This is similar to the narration of Mrs Princewill, who explained that the interpretation of biblical text cannot affect her marriage anymore because she has made up her mind to stand against any form of oppression. She explains that:

> *I kind of made up my mind that I would not allow oppression, even though it came a bit from my husband, but I made sure it did not last. I took this thing in a different understanding. For instance, I do not allow any interpretation to affect me, I take my own time to read and digest the literal meaning, see that 1 Timothy 2: the part that says a woman's glory is on her husband, even though my pastor has interpreted it in a more condescending manner, let me tell you how I interpret*

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it. I say to myself, if the glory of my husband is to God and in God's eyes, we are equal, therefore my own glory as a woman is to God not to any husband. If my husband is stable in all ways, then it actually comes to me too, because we are one.

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

From Mrs Princewill's and Mrs Janet's narratives, women are now taking into consideration their own thoughts and feelings on the literal interpretation of the Bible. It is also important to note that these women are both highly educated (post graduate student and PhD graduate); they concede to the fact that men are the head of the home as designed by God and they have no contestation, however, they (women) understand their place as the neck (providing support for the head) and must not be treated in a condescending manner. This signifies that women realizing their worth is an empowering feature to promote self-confidence and gender equality in the home. Therefore, I asked during the interview if they believed in male headship and what was their opinion on the ideology of egalitarianism. Answers from these women on their experience of male headship led to developing the next sub-theme.

6.5.2   *Male headship and egalitarianism*

One of the Pentecostal beliefs is that headship is biblically aligned, and God assigned (Wilcox, 2004). This belief places men as the lord and authority in charge within the contract of marriage. This Pentecostal belief affirms that this male-headship within marriages does not contradict gender equality, with emphasis on the weight of responsibility placed on the husband and not on the submission of women. Smith (2001) argues that men are not compensated for their service in marriage, therefore, women are expected to be held responsible for being 'godly' and submissive to their husband's authority while overseeing all domestic services. This patriarchal model and defined gender roles have been redefined as "mutual submission" or "servant leadership" by the teachings of the Pentecostal community (Lee-Branwell, 2016:p.31).

It is from this philosophical teaching of the Pentecostals that men have gained strength to continually adhere to headship, any opposition to these teachings is regarded as callousness and anti-family ideologies, a categories into which the social movement of feminism falls (Elisan, 2016). Findings from the discourse of male headship and egalitarian ideology, the

participants were asked the question if they still consider themselves equals to their husband considering the teachings of the church.

> *As an educated Christian woman who is married to an Ibo man, who holds the culture and traditions of the land seriously and then coupled with his religious beliefs of him being the superior and spiritual head of this family, I will say I know my place and position in this house. He is the head, no doubts, and I agree with the Bible too. I have made sure that with my own position as the helper I must be on top of my game otherwise this man will relegate me.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Mrs Chantell's narration supports the findings from the study on family values and headship, research by Pew (1996), which confirmed that 85% of Pentecostals believe that husbands should lead the family regardless of their financial and emotional capabilities. Similarly, another study conducted by Ringel and Belcher (2007) confirms that men and women of the Pentecostal community accept that man should head the house as a role mandated by God. Still discussing the issue surrounding male headship and egalitarianism, one of the participants expressed her disappointment in the way men of God interpret the Bible, especially when it involves equality:

> *I think when men want to deliberately oppress women they chose to use the part of the Bible that says a woman should be quiet and neglect the one that says two of you are equal in God's presence. Men and even pastors deliberately interpret the Bible to suit whatever they want to achieve. But when it comes to paying tithe and responsibilities, women and men are equal in the sight of God. Interpretation of the Bible towards patriarchal lines are very partial but for me I am educated and I do not allow any man to push me around in the name of culture and religion. The interpretation of the Bible does not affect me. I know my authority in God and no one can use any antics of interpretation to subjugate me.*

Mrs Chantell, Nigerian

Mrs Chantell is puzzled with some specific interpretation of the Bible, as she states that when the teaching is about submission, women and men are not considered equal. However, when it comes to payment of tithe and monetary contributions, men and women become equal and expected to pay same amount. This indicates that there are double standards in the

interpretation of the bible as this implies that pastors interpret the Bible to suit their narrative. Additionally, Wilcox (2004) claims that there are manipulative teachings of gender roles and authority within the Pentecostal community, within African society and, to differing degrees, all race groupings are traditionally patriarchal. In other words, men are considered as having authority in society, while women are still seen as inferior to men (Enaifoghe et al. 2021). Women's roles were essentially domestic; they were responsible for child-rearing as well as the well-being, food, and care of the family (Enaifoghe, 2018b).

> *I think there is a shift now because I am a woman, my husband thinks the sole responsibility of raising that child is on me, which I don't like and it's oppressive for me. I believe we are equal but my husband dictates everything and says you are taking care of the child for now.*

> *So oftentimes, I cannot even go to school, even if I do…I am always checking the time to quickly go and pick my child from school and my husband will remain in school which is setting me back in my academics. All this is happening because I am a woman and a mother. I believe in equal right for the both of us (her husband & herself).*

Mrs Stella, Zimbabwean

The ideology of headship has been identified as central to Pentecostal beliefs and understanding of gender roles. However, research has also defined variations on how members of the Pentecostal community apply these Pentecostal teachings and ideologies in their personal lives. The study conducted by Gallagher and Smith (1999) revealed that Pentecostal men and women practice male headship and gendered roles. The findings from this study demonstrates that headship within marriage remains a key ideology of the Pentecostal faith and women have begun the realization that they are equally an integral part of their husbands life:

> *Coming back to the relevance of the interpretation of the Bible, the Bible I believe is complete. So in this Bible there is God as a lamb, there is God as a Lion. So, I take the best of what the word of God says to me and I digest things to work for me and my husband. Right now, the marriage is getting better because I realized my importance, the oppression I will say even forced me to regaining myself. I realized the power I had as the neck since my husband is the head. I am thankful I*

got more exposure; it has really helped me in fighting oppression in my home.
Because before now, my husband does not even consult my opinion about so
many things in the house, even to the extent of the school our kids attend, that was
how bad it was, but the moment I realized my importance, he started seeing me
differently.

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

Although biblical texts do not encourage submission to harsh husbands, the interpretations given to these texts does not exclude submission to harsh husbands. However, the interpretations and teachings of the church allow females submission to harsh husbands, and this transcends to be the practice within homes, both men and women conduct their lives from the practices of what they have been taught by their church authorities. Kaunda and Pillay (2016) claim that women are encouraged to accept abuse and submit to their husbands because the Bible commands it. Pentecostal women's willingness to stay in life-threatening relationships is a direct result of how the Bible has been constantly interpreted and the faulty exegetical methods used in the Pentecostal churches.

As Mwuara (2013) argues, Christians use the Bible which originated from a dominant patriarchal system to continue to keep women submerged under the male ideology, ensuring that women continue to remain subservient in the society, and this patriarchal ideology has influenced the perception of gender roles within the society. Following these assertions, I had to ask these women how they build resistance to male headship and the oppression that comes with it.

6.5.3   *Building resistance to patriarchy*

During the interview phase, after these women had discussed the kinds of oppression they had faced, I probed further to ask if they have in any way resisted oppression. Feminist scholar, Tamale (2004), expresses that African women may conform to religion and culture, but the scholar argues that they have devised means of resisting patriarchy in their way. She asserts that, in the private domain, African women have used silence as a form of resisting patriarchy. From the social constructionist perspective, everyday silence can be used as a means of reconstituting new meanings and can be used as a tool of enablement for the oppressed. This means that silence is constructed to mean acceptance or refusal. Hence, it is imperative to note that the use of silence may be a catalyst for oppression; it can also be a tool for resistance by

those marginalised, with emphasis on the fact that silence may be beneficial to the oppressed since it is un-engageable.

Following Tamale's (2004) assertion, some of the participants revealed that they are actively involved in working hard towards resisting patriarchy by devising various means depending on what works with their husbands. Discussing the experiences of these women, Mrs Obi narrated one of her experiences that remains fresh in her mind:

> *My husband is the sole provider for this household. One instance where I felt humiliated was at an event where I was offering my catering services in Umbilo and my husband was there as well. Few hours into my services that day, I was handling the serving of food and my daughter needed my attention but I directed her to the father. You know he should help me take care of the girl while I am busy with the job, this man just yelled at me in public, in front of everybody, it felt as though the ground should open up and swallow me!!! I was embarrassed, I felt so little. He asked if I am blind, could not see he's also busy, that I should hold our daughter. You know, naturally I would have yelled back at him but because this was a gathering of different people, I just kept quiet and moved to the back of the car and continued with my job. I did not speak to him through out that day and for like two days I just gave him silent treatment, he knew he was wrong but he felt too big to even apologise. So many times, I have quit this marriage in my mind but I am just trying to hold on and take care of my kid.*

Mrs Obi, Congolese

From Mrs Obi's experience, it is evident that, although she had devised the use of silence to express her displeasure towards her husband, he still did not apologise for what she considers offensive. Mrs Obi's narrative shows that silence can be un-engageable, and it is also a way to react to unwanted attitudes. It goes both ways, silence can be used as a form to revolt, it could also be used as a form of consent, depending on the perspective of the situation. Similar to Mrs Obi's experience is the narrative of another participant who has experienced low self-esteem. She gained liberation after getting a job; by this way she was able to start resisting the unacceptable behaviour from her husband. She narrated her experience below:

> *I must be sincere with you, when I did not have a job, I didn't have anything doing other than bearing children and raising my kids. It rubbed on my self-*

esteem. There is a good feeling that comes with a woman making her own money, it makes you satisfied and I didn't have that for the first six years of my marriage. I practically wait on my husband for everything, that automatically reflects that I did not have a contribution to the wellbeing of my children financially and I always have to look at the hands of my husband for everything, you know what that did to me. It broke me into pieces. It made me feel very less of myself, at some point I even started getting ashamed to ask my husband for money. How could I at my age be asking him for money to buy sanitary towels, detergents, and things like that. It didn't sit well with me, but my husband wanted it that way. As God would have it, I eventually got admission and got a job and things turned around for me. Now I make my own money and I can confidently contribute to the finances of the home and my opinion matters now.

Mrs Tobore, Nigerian

From Mrs Tobore's experience, it shows that education, personal growth, and financial independence of women have led to her liberation from total dependence on her husband. This finding supports the assertion of Siwila (2012), who explained that the introduction of women's conferences for the teachings of equality and the growing financial capacity of fellow women has led to the empowerment of women and improved their chances at resisting patriarchal values.

Mrs Walter expressed that she does not blame men of God for the way they interpret the Bible as they are mere mortals and are open to making mistakes. She adds that, although she is not as educated as her husband, she makes more money than him and this has helped her to stand her ground from any form of oppression that can arise.

The best approach to this patriarchy of a thing is for women to be independent. In my own case now, I am not as educated as my husband but I have more money than him and you know they say money stops nonsense. Even the project my husband is handling in church I am the one sponsoring like 80 percent of the project underground. So my husband knows better. All these pastors are also human beings, it's people that see them as God, they are open to making mistakes and they can only interpret the Bible to the level of their spiritual understanding. I think women should build themselves first either financially or education wise. So they can stand their own ground and not give room for oppression.

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

These findings are in line with the study of Siwila (2012), who discovered that African women had an unwavering attitude to challenge patriarchal values with different strategies made available to them. They confront patriarchy through writings, protests, education, and financial freedom, while still creating a vision of a positive future for themselves. Similarly, a study conducted by Colaner and Waner (2005) discovered that Pentecostal women are striving and developing resistance to patriarchy through engaging in professional careers, while also maintaining their passive gendered roles within the family.

Unravelling the discourse of women's oppression and how they build resistance to this oppression, findings from this study revealed that women do not see marriage as a bed of roses; rather it requires commitment, dedication and perseverance. Women also consider marriage as a learning place until the call to the grave. They consider marriage as a challenging task; however, to survive the challenges faced in marriage, a woman must be a strong character. Olademo (2012) in her writings acknowledges that motifs from African culture such as group formation and understanding the concept of power have been utilized by women in the church to negotiate their space for power by creating alternative spaces for empowerment, attempting to negotiate the space of leadership from a male-dominated leadership structure to that of mutual space marked by gender respect. Women are now featured in the various cadres of leadership; this is attributed to the success of African women scholars who have empowered other women to build resistance to patriarchy.

6.6   CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided insight into the varied roles religion plays in the society. One of such roles is the reinforcement of gender relations, which I examined in this chapter. Migrant women face a lot of challenges and reperformance of gender in the migration. They believe that religion either in their home country or here in Durban seems to be the same thing as their church leaders are also African men – which implies that they share the same ideologies of patriarchy. This study also points out that religion and culture are interwoven, and these ideologies are used to enforce gender inequality and power hierarchies, especially about the discourse of submission, self-identity, and self-esteem. This chapter of the study discovered that, for many of the women, religion is a complicated and sensitive issue. Whilst they have a fundamental relationship with God, they agreed that religion is exploiting them in a way to get them into unjust submission.

The use of social constructionism theory in this chapter is evident in the fact that these women consider religion as a web of shared meaning used in different contexts and ways, however, for some of the participants who are highly educated (PhD candidates or graduates), they assert that they create their own meaning and understanding of the Bible and the interpretation from their church leaders does not affect them. For some other women, the biblical interpretation of the Bible from their church leader is what they consider the holistic truth of how they should live. Considering this, religion plays an important role in identity construction, creation of meaning and value formation, as seen in the case of migrant women in Durban, South Africa. This study discovered that religion norms are imposed on them, and women are at the disadvantage in this realm of this patriarchal regimes, even in the church. Biblical exegesis is revealed by this study to promote the further subordination of women through ways that includes mandatory obedience to their husbands, inequality in the marital rights, non-eligibility for religious offices and few to no rights over their own body, which threatens these women's self-esteem and self-identity.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CHAPTER SEVEN: GENDER AND POWER DYNAMICS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores gender and power dynamics in the households of women migrants in Durban, South Africa. There has been a plethora of studies on migration and its relation to xenophobia, adaptation, and integrated health issues (Adeagbo & Ogunyemi, 2012) but there is a dearth of studies on migrants' household life, especially from a gender perspective. This chapter fills the research gap by exploring the gender and power dynamics that rule and guide African homes, from the data collected through in-depth interviews and participant observation. This chapter focuses especially on how gender power relations in the households of migrant women are challenged, negotiated, and reinforced. To achieve this objective, the gendered geographies of power and Nego-feminism frameworks are utilized to provide insight into this section of the study.

This chapter sets out to answer research question four, on the gender and values of migrant women by probing into their use of power regarding their household dynamics. As affirmed by Donaldson (1993), masculinity is a hegemonic characteristic that encourages male dominance in social relations. Chopra, Dasgupta, and Janeja (2000) add that the cultural norms of male identity in a patriarchal society consist of power, prestige, and privilege over the gender class of women. In essence, gender and power relations in migrants' households cannot be explained outside of masculinity and patriarchy. This chapter discusses gender and power relations in the households of migrants and the difference migrating into a new country has made. To best explain the ambiguities and complexities in gender and power play in migrant households, Nego-feminism theory is utilized in this section of the study. It examines the extent to which these migrant women are willing or able to negotiate, it also brought to the fore the challenges they faced when trying to negotiate and whether negotiation has a role to play within their home. One, however, cannot discuss power in gender relations without an understanding of the concept of power. The next section briefly discusses the concept of power and its relationship with gender.

7.2 POWER AND GENDER

In many societies across African countries, men are placed in a position of control, dominance and they use this opportunity to exploit women. Since these societies are governed by patriarchal system, men will always hold the right of dominance and remain power holders (Kroska, 2007). Makama (2013) asserts that, in all known societies, relationship between men and women are based on power and this power takes the form of male domination over women in all areas of life. This simply implies that the patriarchal subjugation of women transcends borders, peoples, and cultures.

While Kroska (2007) argues that gender ideology and gender role ideologies are knitted together, he describes both as attitudes regarding the appropriate roles, rights and responsibilities of women and men in the society and this can be reflected generally or in a specific domain such as that of the family. The traditional gender ideology accords power to the men and this is still prevalent in present day societies. Power is a central aspects of gender relations and women generally have less access to that power than men do (Makama, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that it has become universally acknowledged that men hold and exercise greater power than women in every sphere of life, including the family. However, this is usually not all the case, as gender categories differ according to peoples' social class, ethnicity, orientation and sexuality, and there are instances where male power is challenged or negotiated. Luke (2005) affirms that peoples' conception of power allows them to reproduce and reinforce power structures and relations; power can also be challenged and subverted. Similarly, Jackson and Scott (2000) argue that the men do not have the sole authority in all spheres of life because in some cases women have authority and the power of men can be contested. The treatment of women in relations to power varies from culture to culture and over different period in the history of a particular cultural traditions. With these assertions, notwithstanding, Luke (2005) maintains that men are usually power holders in society since gender signifies relationships of power.

7.3 GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND POWER RELATIONS IN MARRIAGE

Gender ideologies reflects and mostly create complex power imbalance in spousal relationships (Szczpanikova, 2004) Gender power is most evident in the family and other intimate relationships where gender is still construed as a basis for the distribution of rights, power, privileges, and responsibilities. Matsuoka and Sorenson (1999) explain that household is a zone where mutual support and companionship are an important source of support to migrants. Some scholars however argued that even if families are no longer strictly

patriarchal, they are still transmitters of subtle subjugation where they believe men are the breadwinner and the woman is a full-time mother and housekeeper. Kroska (2007) asserts that marriage is still a patriarchal ideology where there are still gender issues and unequal division of labour with most wives working more hours a day than their husband in subordinate roles. Gender power play in marriages is revealed in the division of labour and sharing of resources between couples. There is evidence that there are persistent gender inequalities in the distribution of household resources and task which largely result from gender ideologies and constructions. As such, decisions about household tasks are simply based on gender roles and assumptions. Thus, this division of housework is based on power imbalances resulting from gender construct and the control of household power is given to the men The power relationship between couples is embedded in the social context of gender and culture in the society they live, and this is subject to individuals and particularly a woman's ability to negotiate power within her household (Parrado, Flippen and Mcquiston, 2005).

The conceptualization of marriage as a party where the husband exercises the power of master-slave-owner over his wife is one of the cruxes the feminist ideologies seek to correct (Rakoczy, 2004). Marriage has its cultural and religious meanings attached to it, concerns have been raised that although marriage is conceptualized as a socio-religious setting, the androcentric exegesis of marriage is becoming harmful to women (Siwila, 2012). According to African feminists, the power factor in marriage is emphasized on the religion and traditional stand with fixed and unchanging roles that have been socially constructed to enhance the adaptation and supremacy of patriarchy within marriages (Oduyoye, 2001; Dreyer, 2011). Engaging with the participants, I decided to explore how they go around the politics of their household; the next section of this chapter explains their patterns of negotiating and maintaining power dynamics with their husbands.

7.3.1 *Negotiating the politics of the household*

It was evident from the interviews that display of power by husbands of migrant women has not been implicitly accepted by these women. Negotiation is the process where individuals bargain for privilege and resources, and this usually involves human agency. It is imperative to understand the different ways in which migrant women respond to the gender power structure in their households. Whilst some of these women embarked on total overhauling of power structure in their marriage, others negotiated, whilst some others just succumb to it. The narratives of these women have been used in this study to reveal how gender power

relations are being challenged, re-negotiated and reinforced in their households. While discussing the topic of power relationship with the participants and how they manage power dynamics in their marriage, Mrs Ayoh had this to say:

> *So we have to adequately manage power dynamics in our home. Because if anyone has more power and it's not managed properly there is room for oppression. As a woman I have learnt to negotiate and manage power with my husband, we have had to draw lines about what decisions we want to take, especially when it involves our children.*

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian

This reveals that for negotiation to take effect, there must be an agreement between both parties, even if it is done grudgingly. This solidify the findings of Bartkowski, Ellison & Wilcox (2000), that power negotiation, compromise, decision-making, child labour and care are focused on gender-based relations and often negotiated among couples. Marital decisions, especially when associated with children, must be collective decisions of the couple, hence, agreement and power negotiation of power become imperative when discussing the politics of the household. Findings from the participants of this study are that negotiation has become instrumental in maintaining peace in their marriages:

> *Negotiation has helped us maintain peace in our home, if you do not allow me to do what I want, I will nag and we would fight, my husband understands that and we decided to meet each other halfway. He listens to my own opinion, we negotiate, we compromise, and it has helped us understand each other. Another value we hold is prioritizing our needs, so we do a lot of compromises to satisfy each other.*

Mrs Florence, Congolese

Findings from this study is in line with the assertions of Avlor and Dainton (2004) who argue that gender roles within marriages have influenced both maintenance and openness for power and relational struggles that may occur within the relationship. Another participant indicated that negotiation has brought about satisfaction in their marriage:

> *It might not be what we want at the moment, but we compromise and ensure that we are both satisfied. Before my husband takes any concrete decision, he consults*

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with me and we just work together as one person. I know areas where he is weak, and I provide strength for him.

Respect is also another value that has helped with maintaining power dynamics with my husband, it has helped my negotiating skills. If I'm not patient with my husband, we would not even get a headway.

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

These findings indicate that negotiation proves to be important in achieving family and marital gratification. Research conducted on Pentecostal families has demonstrated dynamic, with some retorting to withdrawing from gendered ideologies and with others preserving gender roles and ideologies. Gender roles in this sense seem to align well with ideologies and relationship norms of Pentecostal leadership, in which the recurring patterns of the spouse behaviours dictate family functions based on masculine and feminine traits (Galvin, Bylund and Brommel, 2004). Following Mrs Kuti's narration, being quiet when her husband exercises his power as the head has helped to show him respect and make him a happy wife:

If I'm not patient with my husband, we won't even get a headway. He can read through me and he knows when I want things to be done in my way. So, I keep quiet, I let him do his thing then I relaunch my suggestion and I always have my way. A happy wife is a happy home.

Mrs Kuti, Kenyan

Another participant noted that being quiet does not always work. Sometimes she has to call her husband to order, to address his excesses and shortcomings:

You know they say be quiet but I cannot be quiet forever. At the time I call my husband and talk to him about his shortcoming and if I am overwhelmed, I will speak to him. Sometimes, he will want to argue and put blame on me but I have to make him understand that we are not fighting, it's negotiation so he will calm down and see reasons with me.

Mrs Obi, Congolese

On the contrary, the application of African feminism, which voices out the realities of women in various African countries, women's needs, reality, oppression, and empowerment, was

considered the best attended to by having an inclusive understanding of their experiences on generic issues (Nkealah, 2006). As well as issues that are peculiar to any group of women. Nkealah (2006) further asserts that African feminism aims to modify cultural norms that affect women in different societies. Nego-feminism considers the cultural imperative and modulates the dynamic global exigencies, in which most ethnic groups in Africa, has a culture of negotiation and compromise when it comes to reaching agreements. A participant shared the experience of her husband's controlling tendencies as the man of the home, which by culture gives him the right to do whatever he pleases:

> *In my marriage, my husband gives the rule, he holds the power. When I married him eight years ago, he never wanted me to have friends, he didn't use to allow me to hang out with my friends, and he was quite controlling. If only I knew then he was sleeping with my friend, he didn't want me to find out, maybe that's why he didn't want me to keep friends.*

Mrs Stella, Zimbabwean

Regarding negotiation of household politics, Nnaemaka (2004) explains that, to win challenges in marriage and other discussions, women must sometimes compromise and negotiate to gain freedom. Besides, for Nego-feminism to work, women must know when, where and how to dismantle and when to go around patriarchal obstacles. Mrs Princewill presents a typical explanation of how she has been able to compromise and negotiate with her husband, regardless of his cheating nature. Her narrative is presented below:

> *One thing that I have learnt in my years of marriage is that **Respect** is very important to keep your home together. Even though I know my husband cheats on me, I still do my best to respect him, because I took a vow in God's presence to continue to love and respect him and that is what I have been doing.*

> *So respecting my husband and listening to him even though I am not very happy with him is one thing that has helped my marriage to still stand firm today. Many times, I think negation has helped. I am from Zimbabwe; my husband is from Nigeria.*

So, it's entirely different cultures and ways of doing things, we have learnt to compromise and let things go a lot and that has helped the marriage to where it is today. We have learnt to communicate, negotiate our spaces in this marriage.

For instance, when we were getting married our religious affiliation is very different so I told my husband that as a catholic I cannot marry outside my church, I have to get the sacrament of matrimony in the church where I was baptized, which means we had to go to Zimbabwe.

Initially, my husband wanted us to get married in his church but I disagreed. This meant he had to fly his family from Nigeria to Zimbabwe and he just had to compromise that for me, even though he had a lot of pressure from his local church and family not to go to Zimbabwe for the wedding. But he took my opinion and we went to Zimbabwe for the wedding and for me to please him too, we had to do another mini ceremony in South Africa.

Mrs Princewill, Zimbabwean

Mrs Princewill puts into perspective what compromise and negotiation have done for her during the early days of her marriage and how she is still adopting these values to protect her marriage. In her narrative, she has had to compromise her happiness for the sake of her marriage. This implies that couples are often ready to compromise what matters to them for the sake of peace in their marriage. As she stated, her husband has also had to compromise his ego and financial commitment of flying his family to Zimbabwe to get married and she in turn had to satisfy her husband's desire of getting married in South Africa. This indicates a circle of compromise and negotiation between couples to ensure that their marriage is at peace. In line with the concept of negotiation is knowing when, where and how to destroy and go around patriarchal hurdles, explains that Nego-feminism equips women on how to utilize the culture of negotiation to deconstruct patriarchy for the benefit of a woman. Nego-feminism is particularly relevant for this study because it provides arguments that validate the experiences of women with African ancestry against a mainstream feminist discourse. Nego-feminism is not only significant about the identities of women of African origin but also in that it seeks to advocate and enhance African women's emancipation and equality about gender, class, and race (Goredema, 2010).

Negotiation has played a significant role in managing power dynamics with my husband. For instance, I and my husband run the same account. I come from a family where my parents are still working and my husband's parents are retirees. I and this man (her husband) run the same account, he will just go and withdraw money and send it to his parents without my consent and I don't usually get to send my own parents' money. When I confronted him, he said but my parents are doing well and still working, so they won't need money and I am like no, my parents need my money too. The same way your parents raised you, is the same way my parents raised me...so it's not only your parents that must reap the fruit of their labour. He apologized and then he decided to listen to my own opinion on how we manage authority in our house.

Secondly, we have both have the responsibility of taking care of the kids but my husband put that responsibility on me, as though I gave birth to the kids alone. So, I had to negotiate and plead with him to consider that I am still studying and it's hard enough let alone I bear all the stress of taking care of the kids. I had to come up with a roster of who bathes the kids and makes dinner, it has been fun watching him take care of the kids, he feels involved too.

Mrs Elizabeth, Nigerian

Mrs Elizabeth's narrative supports the tenets of Nego-feminism that explains that, if African women want to accommodate men by striking compromises, that is, adopt a moderate and diplomatic stance in dealing with rigid men, then these men must be involved as their opinion and involvement are equally needed for a change. I argue that this negotiation approach has a good potential of yielding positive results in terms of persuading African men to adopt change.

The exploration of Nego-Feminism empowers African women to understand their gendered status in society while giving them a voice to negotiate their survival and equality in a world that is dominated by patriarchal trends. From the discussion with the participants, it is evident that women and even their husbands have adopted the use of negotiation and compromise to achieve marital peace and a good power dynamic in their marriage. Thereby they make sure that power is not centralised to the husbands as head of the house, but the wives also hold power in decision making in their home.

7.4 FOOD AND SEXUAL ENGAGEMENT IN MAINTAINING POWER DYNAMICS

The findings of this research bring to the fore the relationship between food and sexual activity as one of the themes that emerged when analysing research question four. The narrative of the participants in this study revealed that cooking good meals, constant engagement in sexual activity and respect are pointers for women to ensure that power is decentralised within their home. This section examines how food forms a vital aspect of expressing desire, intimacy, and eroticism, and giving sexual pleasure as emanating from the findings of this research. One of the participants recants how she has been able to use love making to gain a little power in her marriage

> *Making love and taking care of the home has also helped me gain a little power of my own- when I make love to my husband, and I request for anything I want, he will always do it for me. I enjoy doing this so much because It has given me small power over him, and I also don't deny him sex because I know he will get it outside anyway, so I do my best to please him. I also take care of him very well, I make sure he doesn't lack food and I groom him to look good, you know he's like my own big baby and I take pride in that. I enjoy it and it gives me power within my own space in the home to dictate how I want things to be done and he listens.*

Mrs Mercy, Zimbabwean

Similar to the narrative presented above is the expression of Mrs Tafazwa who expressed that food has assisted her in gaining control to some certain level in her marriage:

> *One thing that has helped me gain my ground is as a woman is feeding my husband. This has really helped my marriage *laughs*, it sounds funny but really it helps. I cook my husband's favourite meals for him when I want to have my way in certain things. There is an adage that says, the way to a man's heart is through his stomach. So, I make sure I feed my husband well enough that I seductively have my way when I see he is getting too stubborn. To me, this has really worked for my marriage. You know, serve him like a king, use one hand to rub his head and use the other hand to get what you want.*

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

Another participant presented that good food is the way to a man's heart:

> *Whenever I have quarrel with my husband over any matter and I know I am at fault, I just know how to make him happy and apologise. Before he gets back from work, I will make his favourite dish and serve him in a sexually appealing manner. I am very happy doing this for the man I love. We have been together for seven years now, so he knows my antics…whenever I prepare his favourite food like that, we end up in bed and settle whatever rancour that is between us. For me, that's where I get my own power. My husband is the one financing the home so I do things to please him sexually and other things I can do make him know that I equally matter in this marriage.*

Mrs Phebian, Kenyan.

The narratives presented above indicate that food and sexual intimacy enhance power dynamics in their marriage. According to Mrs Tafazwa, she explained that if her husband is getting too rigid for her, she has devised a means to handle the situation: feed, serve and receive. Going by the popular adage, good food is the way to a man's heart is evident in these findings. Most women claim that they engage in good cooking, special attitude of love and attention to their husband and sex are key to gaining power from their husbands to get what they want.

Presented narratives by these women also indicate that they enjoy doing these acts, cooking, love making and grooming their husbands. This brings to fore the idea that these are not mechanised chore that they do to sustain their marriage, it is what make them happy and they get to have shared autonomy in their marriage. These findings indicate that power is perceived as control over one's partner and the ability to make decisions. This theme discovered that women say they feel more powerful in their marriage when they make unilateral decisions and also have confidence that their husbands will always seek their opinion before making a major decision about their homes.

7.5   RESPECT: A CORE VALUE OF PEACE IN AFRICAN MARRIAGE

Marriage occupies a very integral position among Africans; the connection between marriage and family can be hardly separated. Since the family which is maintained by marriage is the basic unit of any political and social organization, the process of erecting and maintaining it is given serious attention across traditional African societies. While discussing with the participants of this study, I realised that they often referred to respect as part of the values that

guide power relationship within their marriage. This theme of respect emerged and is discussed in detail in this section of the chapter. One of the participants discussed how respect has been of utmost importance in her home.

> *Respecting my husband and his decision is very important. A man honours whoever respect him, I learnt that while I was still in a courtship with my husband, respecting and massaging his ego has helped get power over certain things in our home, like determining the type of school our kids would attend, my husband wanted to take my children to a school where the tuition is very expensive, he was doing that because his friends kids attend the same school, I knew our financial status at the time and I knew it was a bad idea, I just had to be patient with him and allow him go on with his decisions and then with humility and prayers I was able to convince him that it wasn't the right decision to make at the time and thankfully, he understood and saw reasons with me. He enjoys being respected and I try as much as I can to respect him and his decisions and then I communicate my feelings to him, and I am able to understand that I have power in my own way, and I try not to overreach when I am dealing with my husband. I give him respect he deserves.*

Mrs Tobore, Nigerian

Mrs Tobore's story shows how men value respect in their marriage, especially when it is coming from their wives. She narrated that even with respect, she still needs to prayerfully bring her ideas to her husband. This indicates that, with some men, respect is a good factor, however, in order to get your request accepted, you still have to offer prayers. She also points out how she communicates her feelings and calmly discusses her own opinion without overreaching. By this act, she is able to gain power especially in the decision making of their home. Mrs Janet further reiterates this point:

> *One thing that i think has held this family in regards to power relationship is the respect I have for my husband. You know African men loves respect more than their lives, so it's better to just give them the respect you think they deserve. My husband is the sole provider for this home, so all I do is accord him with the respect he deserves and I think that has helped us a lot. He has learnt to start respecting my decision too now.*

Mrs Janet, Nigerian

The narrative presented above indicates that mutual respect in marriage is important because it is a sign of trust, support, and the knowledge that both husband and wife love and appreciate each other. Successful marriage is based on the foundation of mutual respect. In addition to the narrative presented above, one of the participants mentioned that she uses what she termed *antics of a woman*, she claims these antics have helped her gain a level of control over her husband

> *My culture is one that has helped me hold power too, in Yoruba the elders say pon oko e le (meaning – respect your husband). It is the way you treat your husband that other people will treat him. The respect you accord to your husband is the same people accord to him- therefore respect is very important in preserving power dynamics in marriage. for me, I believe respect is an act of love, I respect my husband, we might quarrel at home, but I never let it show outside and that has given me an edge with my husband because he knows I respect him a lot.*

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

Another participant narrated how her grandmother taught her the act of respect and this has been of benefit to her marriage:

> *My grandmother also taught me respect, hmmm…this one is very major in dealing with a man. They love to be respected, so one value that I hold is respect for my husband. I respect his decisions, if we have any argument, I go to him quietly and I talk things through respectfully. I don't shout, he doesn't shout. Nobody hears our voice when we fight but we argue and sort everything out inside our room. I respect him a lot and he also respect my opinion.*

Mrs Tafazwa, Kenyan

The discussions presented thus far reflects the principles and strategies adopted by women to maintain a degree of equality in the power dynamics in their homes. Their narratives are in line with the tenets of Nego-feminism, where communality, negotiation, love, and respect are the systemic approach identified by feminists to transform patriarchal values. Interestingly, women acknowledge that their husbands are God ordained head for their homes, however,

they understand their place as wives is equally vital in the decision making and power dynamics of their home. The findings shows that even the culture has imbibed these women to learn to respect their husbands as the head of the home. It is important to note that none of the participants mentioned that they had struggled in having respect for the husbands, it appears that respect comes as a natural value to these women, and they have utilised this value in achieving the decentralisation of power in their homes. Thus far this section speaks of the cultural values adopted by these women to maintain power dynamics in their marriage. The next theme that emerged in this chapter, discusses financial empowerment as one of the strategic ways to maintain power dynamics within their marriage.

7.6 THE ROLE OF WOMEN'S FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE IN MAINTAINING POWER DYNAMICS

The emergence of women getting involved in paid employment has lifted the standards for liberation (Siwila, 2012). Women in marriage deal with many hurdles and being a wife who is totally dependent on her husband for financial gains is essentially being tied to be under the control of the man. The response from these women proves that financial independence helps them make the right choices about their lives and their husbands respect them:

> *One thing that I also know that has helped my marriage in power making roles is getting my financial independence, I have a job and it has helped me, As a woman I had to make money, I cannot just sit and watch, I have children. God forbid, what if my husband dies tomorrow, I will now be back to nothing. I had to brace myself up and start working, from which I have been able acquire some properties for myself. With my job now, he cannot tell me to shut up because he needs my contribution to the upkeep of the home. For me, financial independence has helped me have power in my marriage.*

Mrs Ayoh, Cameroonian

Mrs Ayoh has indicated that getting a job to sustain her husband and family has been liberating; she explains that it is a power making role. She explained that if death of her husband occurs, then she is back to nothing; this kind of situation has led her to reason through the importance of financial independence. With her job and income intact, her husband has begun to value her contribution towards the home and she cannot be relegated. This supports the findings of Ojong (2013) that women who are gainfully employed have the

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means to resisting patriarchal values as against their counterparts that are dependent on their husbands for survival.

Power and relation shape our social practice,s and that includes gender roles (Kuumba, 2006). Men are considered to enjoy the privilege of being constructed as powerful members of society and as having authority over women. In the arguments presented by Berdhahl and Fiske (2007), power is dynamic, and it is socially constructed to relative suit a particular social relationship. They argued further that, an individual can be powerful in one social context and not have such power in another context.

> *As a statistician, I make good money and even though I have power to make decisions within the office, there is a limit to what I can do at home because my husband is my lord. I will always think African culture to be very selfish and patriarchal. They don't always want a woman's idea. The culture does not regard women at all and that has always been the problem and I am not 100% okay with the culture. I have noticed that the best way to get my husband under my armpit is to follow his instruction, initially I struggled with it but what I do now is manipulation (laughs). I have learnt to make my husband think that I obey him meanwhile I do my own things. For power relationship, my husband takes the power decision in this marriage. I just listen to him, and I do what I think is best for me.*

Mrs Janet, Nigerian

The assertion presented above indicates that, although some women have power within their workspace, they do not share the same autonomy when it comes to the confines of their home. For Mrs Janet, she claims that financial independence has not really done much for her as she has adapted the concept of manipulating her husband to believe that she obeys him, while she does what she considers good for herself.

On the contrary, another of the participant claims that money has been able to stop the humiliation she has faced in the hands of her husband and her in-laws. She explains below

> *When we newly moved to Durban, my husband was the only one working and he would usually send money back to his mother in Nigeria and just generally take care of the house. One day I asked him for money to send back home to my mother, he said we have to budget it for the next month, I waited for next month and he kept*

postponing the money. I was very hurt. That singular act made me decide to go learn a trade because it was difficult for me to get a job here. I started learnt hair dressing and nails. Once I opened my own shop, I started making money and now I even make more money than he does, but I have forgiven him and he knows very well that I cannot take nonsense from him again. If I ask him for money, if he has he will give me, if he says no, I go ahead and do things with my own money. It gives me freedom.

Mrs Walter, Nigerian

The narrative presented by Mrs Walter indicates that financial independence gives freedom from always looking to the husband for provisions. The importance of financial independence towards gaining power within the household is brought to the fore by the discussion presented from this finding. These women claim that financial independence has helped them put their lives into perspective; they are able to make meaningful contribution to their homes and this gains them respect from their husbands. However, Mrs Janet's experience is quite different as she explains that, regardless of her position at work, she still finds herself struggling with the issues of power with her husband. Mrs Janet's situation acknowledges Diako's (2012) assertion, that the strategies involved to evaluate power in a relationship within the African system of marriage remains an individualistic opinion, as the situation that pertains to one marriage will likely not pertain to the next one.

Marriage is considered a fertile ground for gendered roles and patriarchal values to keep thriving. Kyalo (2012) suggests that for power relations and dynamics in marriage to be resolved, partners in the marriage contract must constantly reflect on their perceptions while also considering the diversity of their society. Therefore, I argue that if partners give room for an egalitarian ideology, they can overcome the challenges posed by power struggles in their marriage. Feminism scholar, Oyewumi (2016) argues that marriage is a mode of expanding lineage and family structures, therefore there is a need to call for the universalization of gender categories and the gendering of marriage as a fundamental means of organizing principles for all societies across time.

On the whole, marriage across African cultures differs, although these cultures share similar boundaries. It is evident that culture endorses men's superiority and women continue to be in the subordinate roles. However, the women involved in this study have indicated that there are ways, values, and strategies they have adopted to manage patriarchal values in their home. Each narrative presents that within the African marital systems, there are values that rule and

guide the marriage system, either in the patrilineal or matrilineal society. According to the findings in this chapter, there are adequate values and strategies adopted by these women to ensure the longevity of their marriage. However, it is important to also note that patriarchy is reperformed and restructured. Hence, these women continue to challenge patriarchal narratives especially with male power and autonomy.

7.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored gender and power dynamics in the households of African migrant women in Durban and the impact of negotiation. The chapter revealed that gender power relations are not uniform in all households but there are similarities in the values that helps maintain power dynamics in their marriage. It highlights that the gender roles ascribed to men and women are interwoven with contestations of power. This chapter also revealed that migration can impact marriage and change gender relations of spouse and power can be (re)negotiated. It is also imperative to note that where negotiations took place, it was done amicably and for some it was done grudgingly.

This chapter also noted that there are some other strategies African migrant women have used to challenge power relations in their marriage, such as respect, food, sexual engagement among others and these factors have given them some sort of autonomy in marriage and through their own efforts they have been able to redefine their situations. The concept of power dynamics is deeply rooted in culture and religion of people, and this was highlighted in various responses of the women. It was also discovered that women can negotiate for increased autonomy and inclusive decision-making process in their households.

Notably, this chapter discovered that power dynamics are not welcomed in all households; decision making and autonomy depend on the husband as the head of the family as there are little to chance for negotiation. For some households, there is still an imbalance of power but, for other households, they adopted an equal share of power. As earlier noted in this chapter, different categories of women have over time challenged the concept of patriarchy. Despite their efforts, patriarchy and inequalities of power are still prevalent in marriages across cultures, regardless of the educational status of the spouses. Attention was drawn to the findings that struggles for power can lead to strife, conflicts, and bad tension in the household.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The study explored the lived experiences of African migrant women on gender oppression Pentecostal Christian religion. The data generated through this study that addressed African culture and Christian religion, marriage, and oppression provided both similarities and differences regarding the view of patriarchy, migration, self-identity, and oppression in marriage. Given the above background, this study builds on existing knowledge, while discussing the genesis of *oppression* as it applies to the aim of this study, specifically within the African context. The study explored the meaning and impacts of oppression on women in both Pentecostalism and their marriage more broadly.

The introduction of the study provided insights into the study and highlighted the important aspects of the study such as the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, and the research question. This was followed by the review of literature pertinent to the study. The literature review puts the research project into context by showing how it fits into the subject of discussion and the analysis of information resources available as it relates to the aim of the study (Kaniki, 2006). The literature review of this study drew insights from relevant books, journals, published and unpublished thesis and dissertation and electronic materials and it extended from the early writings to the most recent. Although the literature presented for this study assisted in grasping a better understanding of the study, it was evident that there was a dearth of literature on the topic of gender oppression, religion, and migration especially within South Africa. Literature on migrants of different nationalities within South Africa revolves around settlement, reasons for migration and integration strategies; these were not however, done through a gender lens. This study filled in the identified gap by focusing on the gendered lives of these migrant women, the role of religion in their sense of identity, their gender ideologies in the migration site. The study was underpinned by various theories, as not one single theory could succinctly explain the different concepts in this study. Hence, this study adopted the use of social construction theory, gendered geographies of power and Nego-Feminism. The theoretical framework chapter explained the relevance of the three theories to the aim of the study. The social construction theory explored women's construction of gender ideologies and their self-

identity. The gendered geographies of power was used to examine gender ideologies in transnational spaces, how migration has affected their former and new gender lives, while Nego-feminism, which is foregrounded around traditional African values, assisted in understanding how women operate within patriarchal terrains.

From the literature gathered, this study argues that oppression, stemming from the biblical categorisation of women as weaker vessels and from the teachings of the church leaders on their perception of women, hasr impaired the chances of Christian women gaining total freedom from oppression. Findings from various scholars in the reviewed literature reveal that church leaders have continued to identify and associate today's women with Eve, thus, according to them, women are responsible for man's initial sin. Hence, this assertion is categorised as the beginning of women's subordination. The key narrative of the migrant women involved in this study revealed that gender oppression is deeply rooted in both African culture and religion. The socio-religious aspect that upholds patriarchy within African system is deeply rooted right from the upbringing (childhood) stage. These women have experienced oppression from different angles as presented in themes in the analysis chapter 5. Migration as a factor presented here in this study provided a hope of liberation for these women, however, the study discovered that their experience and construction of gender oppression transcends beyond their location, as they still continue to experience oppression in their new location.

These migrant women explained that oppression continued regardless of the fact that they are in a new country, while some also attest to the fact that gender patterns have significantly improved since they migrated. The study revealed that migrant women who have faced oppression in their home have found themselves in a position where they have to renegotiate their former social constructions of gender. This simply implies that migrant women in this study encounter social and cultural contradictions that challenge their marriages and help them adopt ideologies that transform their homes. Additionally, many of these migrant women face challenges of oppression in the hands of their husbands, families and even the policies of the society and they have learnt to challenge authorities and cope with these challenges. Therefore, this study probed into different aspects of their lives, particularly their religious beliefs, the teachings and the role of biblical interpretation that further drives home patriarchy and how it affects their identity. This study was conducted in Durban, South Africa, which is a booming hub and destination for migrant families, the city of Durban has

been proved as a peaceful place, a thriving spot for business, more study opportunities and relatively tolerant to foreigners (Maharaj & Moodley, 2002).

The fourth chapter of this study provided an in-depth discussion of the research methodology adopted and the qualitative method used in this study. The chapter was dedicated to explaining the research methodology and methods adopted in this study. It explained the need for qualitative research, presented the sampling method, data collection method, outlined the profile of the participants and discussed the interview process. The research participants were all migrant women from different African countries selected through purposeful sampling technique. They were 15 in number, ranging from postgraduate students to employed self-entrepreneurs. During the phase of in-depth interviews, my engagement with the participants, I made use of the self-reflexivity mode; as Gill & Maclean (2002) argue, fieldwork is a relational process and, therefore, a reflexive approach is not only desirable but also necessary

The other chapters, asides from chapter eight, emanated from the data collected. Data collected from in-depth interviews were transcribed, coded, and analysed in relation to established major themes that were derived from data coding. These themes were used to write the various chapters, from chapter five to seven. Chapter five was discussed in two major themes; first it explored the realities of women and their experience of gender oppression and secondly, the theme of migration and its context; reperforming gender and their complex realities, whilst chapter six was in two parts, relating to objective two and three. This examined the role of the church, women's identity and patriarchy and part b of chapter six explored the relevance of biblical patriarchy and its effect on marriage. Chapter seven of this study probed into the values that guide African marriages and discussed the intersectionality of gender and power dynamics in migrant households. This study ended with a conclusion that summarized the research and presented findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, and suggestions for future studies.

This chapter discussed the overview of the study, summary of the chapters, how the research objectives were achieved and the recommendation for further studies.

8.2 ACHIEVING THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This section of the study highlights the findings that was set out to be achieved by the objectives of this study. The following listed objective was identified by this study, which

was, firstly, to explore the key narratives of migrated black African women's experience of gender oppression in marriage; secondly, to examine the role of the Pentecostal church in the establishment of black women's identity; thirdly, to explore the status of patriarchy in interpreting biblical text and how it applies to black Africans' marriage; and lastly, to explore the values that guide and rule African Christian marriages with regards to power relation.

This study revealed a number of findings. It was discovered that African women regardless of their roots faced different degree of oppressions in their marriage; these oppressions were associated with their traditional African practices and cultural influences. It was discovered that tribalism, family and in-laws are a contributing factor to oppression of women in their marriage. This study established that African women are troubled by their gender roles, and it is mostly a causative factor in the oppression they feel in their marriage. Part of the key narratives presented by these women also revealed that they are exploring different ways for them to successfully develop resistance to these patriarchal values.

Another finding that was revealed in this study proves that migration has its impact in these women marriage. It was revealed that migration changes former gender perspectives of these women, their lives previously in their home were gendered and now moving into a new country has significantly improved their lives, especially built on the fact that they are now able to challenge and negotiate their space. The study also discovered that migration has its impacts on household structures and the gender patterns involved. A significant finding of this study is that, for some households, patriarchy has been refashioned in their host country and the challenge of gender roles, relations, identities is a continued circle for them.

An important finding was that although the church is presented as a hope for liberation of women, it is also a place where patriarchal values thrive. The study revealed that Pentecostal teachings hold a degree of patriarchal power because these women are enforced into submission that rubs off their self-esteem because they do not want to disobey the word of God, as emphasized in Ephesians 5 vs 21. The study also found out that Pentecostal churches continue to be a ground for marginalization of women through surface reading of the Bible. The findings also present that culture and religion are closely interwoven to further suppress women from gaining total liberation

To prevent women from being marginalised and victimised, the church has a critical role and obligation to reframe gender norms that undermine women's justice and equality. With that stated, this study discovered that the surface interpretation of the Bible done by pastors has

drawn a lot of women into unjustifiable situation with their husbands. Another significant finding from the study was that the educational level and ability of some of these women to read and understand the Bible for themselves have proved to be liberating for them. Hence, education and personal growth are pointers to liberation for women.

This study also revealed that in the traditional African practices there are values that are upheld to ensure longevity and power imbalance in marriage. The average African man was discovered to hold respect in very high esteem; thus, it was discovered that respect plays a huge part in power dynamics of these women's homes. Additionally, this study brought to the fore the strategies adopted by women to ensure that the power dynamics in their home are equal; strategies such as food, good sexual activity, compromise and ultimately negotiations were identified as to keep power shared within the politics of the household.

8.3   LIMITATIONS

The study mainly focused on migrated African women and their lived experiences of gender oppression in marriage. There are a few limitations identified for this study

1. The sample size of the study is small; therefore, the findings cannot be generalized as the total experience of all black migrant women in Durban. These findings may not reflect the different situation of women across different contexts.
2. The study is only limited to the experiences of migrant black women; their husbands were never interviewed. This puts a limitation to the study, as the experience or opinions of their husbands would have made a significant contribution to the data analysis of the study
3. Similarly, the study did not present the voice of the pastors, clergies, and church leaders. There would have been a significant addition to the findings if the church leaders were interviewed to ascertain the roles they play in their congregants' self-identities and ultimately, their marriage.

8.4   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The study applied a gender lens to explore the lives of black migrant women in Durban. The data gathered proves that there is a crucial role gender plays in the lives of women; the oppression, the struggles, their resistance against these oppressions are often silenced. This study was only conducted amongst migrant women living in Durban, there is a possibility that

their experiences will be different from other migrant women living in other parts of South Africa. Further research could also be conducted among South African women married to men from other African countries as their experiences would be largely different from the one presented in this study. Future studies should explore the experiences of men on feminism ideologies especially within newer generation marriages.

This study also suggests that further research be carried out on migrants from a particular region of Africa, for instance, a study that examines the lived experience of migrants from East Africa into South Africa and their experience of oppression through the lens of religion. Additionally, this study recommends that the South African Human Rights Commission improves the rights of migrant women living in the country. Future studies should conduct a comparative analysis of the experiences of educated women and uneducated women, especially on methods adopted to build resistance to patriarchal values that exist in their marriage. Finally, the study suggests that the one-sided reading and marginalisation of women that comes from the interpretation of the bible must be restructured, in such a way that women and men begin to feel equal within their home and there is no power divide, with the promotion of equality for women.

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APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Dear Participant,

My name is Ifedayo Ajimakin. (2*17078879*). I am a PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College. The title of my research is Gender Oppression and Pentecostal Christian Religion: An exploration of the position of Black African Migrant Married women in Durban. The aim of the study is to develop an in depth understanding that describes the position of African Christian women and their experiences on gender oppression in marriage. I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.

•Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.

•Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.

•The interview will take about (*45 minutes*).

The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

•If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban.

Email: dayo.ajimakin@gmail.com;

Cell: 0736307141

My supervisor is Prof VB Ojong, located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Contact details:

Email: ojong@ukzn.ac.za

Phone number: 0718904832

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Duduzile Dlamini, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: Dlaminid1@ukxn.ac.za,.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Research Questions

African women have been subjected to oppression in various ways, these women have built ways in which they resist patriarchy in public and private domains. The aim of this study is to develop an in depth understanding that describes the position of African Christian women and their experiences on gender oppression in marriage. Specifically, the study has the following research questions,

What are the experiences of migrant black African women in Durban on the issue of gender oppression in marriage?

How has the Pentecostal church played its role in the establishment of black Christian women's identity?

Are there any relevance of patriarchy in the interpretation of biblical text and how does it apply to black African marriages?

1. What are the values that guide and rule African Christian marriage with regards to power relation?

Research Objectives

The following objectives were formulated for this study

5. To understand migrated black African women's experience of gender oppression in Christian marriage.
6. To examine the role of the Pentecostal church in the establishment of black women's identity.
7. To explore the status of patriarchy in interpreting biblical text and how it applies to black African's marriage.
8. To explore the values that guide and rule African Christian marriages with regards to power relation.

APPENDIX C: GATEKEEPERS' LETTERS

GATEKEEPER'S LETTER A

GLENWOOD
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
339 Esther Roberts Rd, Glenwood Durban 4001

31 October 2019

To whom it may concern,

This letter serves as notice that Ifedayo Ajimakin (217078879) has been granted permission to conduct research relating to her studies at UKZN at the Stella Campus premises of the Glenwood Presbyterian Church, situated at the corner of Levenhall and Deane roads, Glenmore, Durban.

She will be interviewing members of the congregation that meets at these premises on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, and has been granted permission by the leaders of that congregation.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Brett Williams
Tel: 031 205 3717

GATEKEEPER'S LETTER B

THE REDEEMED CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF GOD

S/A PROVINCE 3 CHAPEL OF PRAISE,

241, UMBILO ROAD, DURBAN.

Pastor (Dr.) E.A. Adeboye
General Overseer
Pastor E. A. Ibitayo
Regional Pastor
(Southern Africa 2)
Pastor G.K. Adejimi
ACC/Provincial Pastor
(KZN/Mpumalanga)

www.rccgdurban.org
info@rccgdurban.org
+27313059005, +27822192146

Reg. No: 1996/11012/08

Date: 16 August 2019

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/Ma,

RE: Acceptance Letter to Conduct Research by Miss. Ajimakin Ifedayo

We write to give consent to **Miss. Ajimakin Ifedayo** with **Student No: 217078879**, a PhD Research Student at the Department of Gender Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa to conduct her research in the above-named organisation. In addition, this letter serves as a gatekeeper's letter to conduct the research work titled: *"Gender and Cristian Religion: An exploration of the position of Black African Christian women on submission and gender equal rights in marriage"*. This study will be conducted with our women in the above-mentioned Christian Organisation.

Miss. Ajimakin Ifedayo has shown interest in our organisation and we are glad to offer her an opportunity to conduct her research with us. Her study is an interesting one and could help us achieve our goals as well, we will therefore provide the required support for her research work.

If you have any concern or require additional information, you may please contact our organisation on any of the contacts provided below.

Yours Faithfully,
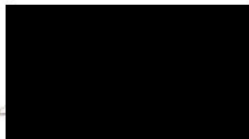
Dr. Deacon Rufus Adebayo
Church Secretary/Province 3 Administrator
+27742007979 | femolapes@yahoo.com

Past. G.K Adejimi
Pastor in Charge of Province 3
Tel: +27 313059005
+27822192146 | kolacomfort@yahoo.com

GATEKEEPER'S LETTER C

GLORY MINISTRIES

Glory Ministries-South Africa

201-469NPO

C/O 3 Egret Way

Yellowwood park
Durban
4004

05 January 2020

Prof Ojong Vivian
University of Kwazulu-Natal
232, Mazizi Kunene Avenue

Dear Prof Ojong Vivian

In my capacity as the administrator of Glory Ministries NPO in South Africa, I would like to confirm that permission has been granted to Ms. Ajimakin Ifedayo (217078879), currently studying for her PHD degree to conduct research among black women in the Church that agrees to participate in her study.

The permission is applicable to Glory Ministries Branch at 9 College Lane, Durban Central, South Africa.

Yours faithfully

Elder Munyaradzi Dunmore James Matsika

Administrator – Glory Ministries, Province of South Africa

APPENDIX D: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

26 February 2021

Miss Ifedayo Adesola Ajimakin (217078879)
School Of Social Sciences
Howard College

Dear Miss Ajimakin,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002488/2021
Project title: Gender Oppression and Pentecostal Christian Religion: An exploration of the position of Black African Migrant Married women in Durban.
Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 13 January 2021 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) 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.

APPENDIX E: EDITOR'S LETTER

Crispin Hemson
15 Morris Place
Glenwood
Durban
South Africa 4001

hemsonc@gmail.com
0829265333

_____

This is to confirm that I have undertaken language editing of a thesis by Ajimakin Ifedayo Adesola, entitled Gender oppression and Pentecostal Christian religion: an exploration of the position of African migrant married women in Durban.

7ᵗʰ December 2022