



University of KwaZulu-Natal

School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics

**Examining Women's Agency with Respect to the Appropriation of *Runyoka*
in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe**

2020

Calvin Justice Mapangisana

Student Number: 217080858

**Examining Women's Agency with Respect to the Appropriation of *Runyoka*
in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe**

BY

Calvin Justice

A RESEARCH STUDY SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACADEMIC
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS IN ART

In the Subject of

GENDER AND RELIGION

At the

SCHOOL OF RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND CLASSICS

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, PIETERMARITZBURG, SOUTH AFRICA


SUPERVISOR

Dr. Kennedy Owino

November 2020

DECLARATION

I, Calvin Justice Mapangisana hereby declare that the contents of this dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in text, is my original work which has not been submitted to any university for similar or any other degree award. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged.



Calvin Justice

November 2020

Date

APPROVED BY:



Dr. Kennedy Owino

SUPERVISOR

November 2020

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is with profound gratitude that I acknowledge the support of the following people towards the completion of this project.

First of all I would like to thank My Supervisor Dr Kennedy Owino, your support and endurance when everything felt like it was not making sense was so overwhelming.

Secondly, I would like to thank Professor Charlene van der Walt for always telling me “*Calvin, sort your shit out*”. This research would not have been here if it was not for your push.

Thirdly, I would like to thank my father, Stephen Mapangisana, Mr Daniel Mapangisana and Dr Anniegrace Mapangisana-Hlatywayo.

Calvin Justice

November 2020

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Thokozani Mhlana, My mother. I sometimes cry to my sleep as I wish you were here to witness the man I have grown up to be. My Father, my pillar Stephen Mapangisana, you became everything for us as a family. Dr Anniegrace Mapangisana-Hlatywayo I can't forget your immense support. Mr and Mrs Daniel Mapangisana "*Baba Va Tyrice na Mai Vacho*" you are equally appreciated thank you *Baba na Ama*i for everything.

Caleb Chirove, this work is also dedicated to you, brother, and you know I can't thank you enough for all your support.

ABSTRACT

Recent studies reflect increasing subjugation of women within African independent churches. Women within these churches fall victims of deeply entrenched patriarchal hegemony that renders these women voiceless and powerless. This study therefore examines how women's agency through the appropriation of *Runyoka* can bring about the desired situation that enables women not only to flourish, but also usher in the desired transformation within the African Independent Churches in regards to gender relations. The study offers a critical interrogation of the socio-cultural factors that may have necessitated the appropriation of *Runyoka* by women within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

In order to understand the agency of women within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe, this study applies *Nego-feminism* as a theoretical framework utilised to analyse the appropriation of *Runyoka* by women. *Nego-feminism* as theoretical framework interrogates how women respond to cultural practices that makes them vulnerable and disempowered, based within the complexity of negotiation and compromise in the context of African cultures. In other words, *Nego-feminism* is a feminist theory that implicitly acknowledges the capabilities of women in dealing with patriarchy.

As a descriptive qualitative study, phenomenology and interpretive document analysis were used as research Methodologies. The focus of phenomenology is on understanding the unique lived experiences of individuals by exploring the meaning of a phenomenon. This study utilised secondary data in seeking to understand the ritual of *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church and thematic analysis was used as a method of data analysis. Thematic analysis as a method of making sense of the data gathered for the purpose of interpretation was adopted for this study based on its theoretical flexibility.

KEY TERMS AND IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS IN THIS STUDY

Central Locking, HIV and AIDS, Marriage, Masculinity, *Rumyoka*, Agency, Apostolic Churches

LIST OF ATTACHED APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: UKZN Ethical Committee Approval

Page 97

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCZ	Apostolic Churches Council of Zimbabwe
ACRJ	Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice
AIC	African Initiated Churches
AU	African Union
JMAC	Johane Masowe Apostolic Church
UCCZ	United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe
UDA-CIZA	Union for the Development of Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCHF	World Conference of Human Rights
WHO	World Health Organisation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
KEY TERMS AND IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS.....	v
LIST OF ATTACHED APPENDICES.....	vi
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii-x

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LOCATING THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction	12
1.1 Background and Context.....	13
1.1.1 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe.....	13
1.1.2 <i>Runyoka</i> : Central Locking	15
1.2 Preliminary Literature Review	16
1.2.1 Global and Zimbabwean History on Sexual Control Methods	16
1.2.2 Gender, HIV and AIDS.....	19
1.2.3 Men, Patriarchy, Power and Privilege in African Marriages	21
1.2.4 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe.....	23
1.3 Rationale	24
1.4 Critical Questions and Objectives	25
1.5 Research Hypothesis	26
1.6 Limitation of the Study.....	27
1.7 Structure of the Study.....	27
1.8 Conclusion	28

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.0 Introduction	29
2.1 Feminism as a Theoretical Perspective	29
2.1.1 African Women Theologians.....	30
2.2 <i>Nego</i> -Feminism.....	32
2.2.1 <i>Nego</i> -Feminism as a ‘Give and Take’	34
2.2.2 <i>Nego</i> -Feminism as ‘Knowing when’ to Disrupt Patriarchy	34
2.3 Methodology	35
2.3.2 Research Design	35
2.3.2 Data Production and Sampling.....	36
2.3.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation	37
2.4 Conclusion	39

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS NECESSITATING WOMEN’S AGENCY IN APPROPRIATION OF *RUNYOKA*

3.0 Introduction	40
3.1 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe	40
3.2 Apostolic Churches and Conceptions of Health in Zimbabwe.....	42
3.3 Apostolic Churches, Women and Marriage.....	43
3.4 Social Practices Necessitating the Appropriation of <i>Runyoka</i>	45
3.4.1 Men’s High Sexual Urge	45
3.4.2 Long Distance Relationships	46
3.4.3 Inability to Negotiate Safer Sex Practices	48
3.5 Cultural Practices Necessitating the Appropriation of <i>Runyoka</i>	48
3.5.1 Polygamy	49
3.5.2 <i>Lobola</i> (Bride-price).....	49
3.5.3 Widow Cleansing.....	49
3.5.4 Levirate Marriage or Wife Inheritance	53
3.6 Conclusion	54

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS SETBACKS THAT WOMEN FACE IN NEGOTIATING SAFE SEX WITHIN MARRIAGE IN JOHANE MASOWE ZAMBUKO APOSTOLIC CHURCH

4.0 Introduction	55
4.1 The Concept of Religion	55
4.2 Religion, Gender and Health in African Apostolic Religious Groups	56
4.2.1 Apostolic churches unwillingness to educate the girl child and child marriages.....	59
4.2.2 Apostolic Doctrinal Belief and Teaching on Spiritualization of Illness	60
4.2.3 Sumission to Husbands	63
4.3 Conclusion	65

CHAPTER FIVE

FLOURISHING OF WOMEN AND TRANSFORMATION OF APOSTOLIC CHURCHES THROUGH WOMEN'S AGENCY

5.0 Introduction	66
5.1 Transformation within Christian Churches and in the Zambuko Apostolic Church	66
5.1.1 The Christian Church as an Agent of Social Transformation.....	66
5.1.2 Transformation within the Zambuko Apostolic Church	69
5.2 Women's Agency And Flourishing in the Zambuko Apostolic Church	70
5.2.1 The Concept of Flourishing	72
5.2.2 Women's Agency in Faith Community	72
5.2.3 Patriarchy, <i>Runyoka</i> and Women's Agency.....	74
5.2.4 Runyoka and Women's Agency in the Zambuko Apostolic Church.....	77
5.3 Cultural Construction of 'Ideal African Masculinities'	78
5.4 Women's Agency in Negotiating Alternative Masculinities	81
5.4 Conclusion	82

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction	83
6.1 Contribution to New Knowledge.....	85
6.2 Gaps for Further Research	87
BIBLIOGRAPHY	88

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LOCATING THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The issue of women's agency is increasingly becoming important in the world at large. In the developing nations of Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, the overshadowing of women's rights continues to be of major concern, especially owing to the largely patriarchal social structures and systems embedded in various cultural contexts. In religious sects like the Johane Masowe apostolic church, many practices geared against women's agency continue to be enacted, chief among them being the concept of "*runyoka*" or "central locking," purportedly to guard against infidelity. This study examines this cultural practice adopted in a religious context in light of the need for women's agency within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

In one of the YouTube videos shared by Mhungu (2017) on the social video platform, explained that Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri of the Johane Masowe Zambuko has come up with a remedy of interest where he locks the private organs of married couples with keys such that they will not be functional outside their marital relationships. Shown in an interview at his Chitungwiza shrine, Madzibaba Stephen himself goes on to explain how he does this ritual or prayer, which he calls "*munamoto veruzhowa*" (prayer of protection). Whilst this ritual is praised for its capacity to, among other things, promote love and caring, understanding and even in enhancing physical appearance of married partners, the extent to which it affects agency and leads to the transformation of women within such apostolic churches requires attention.

In order to accomplish the objectives of this study, in this chapter I present the background and context to the study, the location of the study within the existing literature, the rationale for this study, the critical questions and objectives of the study, and the research hypothesis and the limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with a chapter conclusion presenting the outline of the study.

1.1 Background and Context of the Study

This study investigates women's agency in appropriating Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's 'Central Locking' as a religious ritual aimed at controlling men's sexual practice and behaviour in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church (JMZAC) in Zimbabwe. Commonly known as *runyoka*, (women fencing), the 'Central Locking' is normally understood as a cultural ritual used to enforce sexual discipline and control on women by men. However, in the context of this study, it is women who are seeking control of male sexual discipline by subjecting them to the ritual of *runyoka*. This study therefore explores the nature of the social, cultural and religious factors necessitating and the implications thereof of women's agency in appropriating *runyoka* (in this case, the 'Central Locking') as a religious ritual performed by Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's of the JMZAC in Zimbabwe.

The sections that follow therefore locates this study within the African Apostolic religious groups by exploring how women's agency has sought to control men's sexual behaviour in JMAC through the application of *runyoka* as a form of agency.

1.1.1 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe

The apostolic church movement has largely been successful in terms of the growth in membership and its social impact. In Eastern and Southern Africa, the sect is believed to now be much larger over the traditional mission church movements like Protestants and Catholics (Manyawu, 2016). In Nigeria, countries to the south of the Sahara like Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the sect is evident through its various groupings and gatherings which do not conform to the general structure of the traditional churches. Mapuranga (2013:2) suggests the Christian community in Zimbabwe is big and diverse, comprising of protestant, catholic, Pentecostal, independent and African-initiated (Apostolic) churches. According to Machingura (2011:186), there are many Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe, but there are only two that command sizable following namely, the Johane Marange and Johane Masowe churches. It is estimated that of the 75% of the total population who are Christians, as much as 20% belong to the apostolic sect and the figures can actually be higher than estimated (Machingura, 2014:178). This percentage translates to as much as 2.5 million people (Machingura, 2014).

Amongst the major apostolic churches in the country include the African Apostolic Church, the Zion Christian Church, the Independent African Church, *Guta RaJehova* church and Johane Masowe (Mapuranga, 2013). The Johane type of apostolic sects are split into two basic churches, namely the Johane Marange and the Johane Masowe WeChishanu churches. The term *Masowe* is commonly used in Shona to identify these churches, particularly arising from their sacred places of worship which may be located in the mountains, valleys or any other open locations (Mapuranga, 2013). They can also be called *mapositori*, which is a Shona derivative of the English word apostles, with the terms *madzibaba* (fathers) and *madzimai* (mothers) often used to denote the male or female members, whether singly or in plural (Mapuranga, 2013). Their names are also often tied to the surnames of their founders, such as the African Apostolic Church of (Paul) Mwazha, the Apostolic Church of Mugodhi or that of Madzibaba Ishmael.

There are also various “mushrooming” Apostolic sects in and throughout Zimbabwe, which are often too numerous to mention for the purpose of this study, yet all significantly similar in composition, leadership and in the nature of worship. The Johane Masowe Church is one of the churches typically called the “garment” churches (Mukonyora, 2008) due to the fact that their members usually wear long, loosely fitting robes which may be coloured as white, blue, purple, red, yellow or green. White, however, remains the commonest colour (Mukonyora, 2007). The existent of a wide variety of these sects is evidence of the dynamism of their religious doctrines, attitudes, laws and practices, although they are generally not so different in the ways in which they operate. Amongst the common characteristics of these sects include that they each came into being as a result of leadership, governance and religious differences from the mainline or traditional churches.

Munyaradzi *et al*, (2016) also observe that Apostolicism in Zimbabwe was founded out of the need to resist foreign divinities that were being preached by early missionaries. The two main Apostolic sects in Zimbabwe have equally same doctrines with the only difference being their degree of radicalism in terms of religious beliefs (Munyaradzi *et al*, 2016). Such literature is of particular interest to this study because the church in which the ritual of *runyoka* is being practiced is also an Apostolic church. It is an Apostolic Church which has connections and characteristics to the main Apostolic churches which have been described in the literature above.

1.1.2 *Runyoka*: Central Locking

Concerns around sexually transmitted diseases among women in Africa have been a noted concern. African women theologians such Oduyoye (2001) as well as Phiri and Nadar (2009) have pointed out that heterosexual African marriage pose a danger for women mainly because it is in marriage that women get infected with HIV and AIDS. This observation comes from a position notably that marriage is revered not only in Zimbabwe but also in most African societies (Hlatywayo 2012). Kaunda (2017:13) similarly shows that among the Bemba people of Zambia, marriage is important and revered. However, what is a disappointing fact to note is that the institution of marriage has become a space where violence and abuse against women is rampant, but women are also oppressed, infected with STIs and HIV by their husband.

In a context ranged by HIV and AIDS, an interest in this study has been sparked by a video titled Madzibaba Stephen (Central Locking system).¹ In the video, Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri of Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church explains how he can perform a religious ritual whereby he locks the male reproductive organ so that married men will not be able to get involved in extra-marital sexual activities or infidelity as a form of preserving marriages. For the ritual to take place, a disgruntled partner brings a padlock and his/her spouse clothe item in order for the prophet to perform the ritual by locking away the padlock which is left at the prophet's shrine. It is important to note that the 'Central Locking' as a 'religious remedy' is a unique cultural ritual in Zimbabwe that draws similarities with a cultural method of sexual control termed *runyoka* (see Mawere, 2011). As a form of "religious marriage therapy," the prophet indicates that the reason he came up with this Central locking system is because he had witnessed serious breakdown of marriages. In the video there are two couples who were interviewed. The first couple interviewed points out that they came to seek the services of the prophet after they had been constantly fighting following the wife's suspicion of her husband. The second couple also narrated their own experience in which the husband indicates that he had noticed he was locked as he tried to indulge in sex outside his matrimonial relationship. Upon making this realisation, the husband confessed that he knew his wife might have sought the services of Madzibaba Stephen (meaning, the 'central locking'). According to the wife, the

¹ Shephard CBJ Mhungu, Latest on Madzibaba Stephen (Central Locking) www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zsqx7rxAM4y Youtube 2:40, Posted 21 October 2017

‘Central locking’ was the only solution for her to try and preserve her marriage and to protect herself from sexually transmitted diseases. It is within this context that this study has emerged. Important to take note of regarding this study is that the current practice termed as the ‘Central locking’ retains a similar ritual practice known as *runyoka* which is culturally used in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe as a method of regulating sexual behaviour. However, the ritual has not been used within the religious context not until Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri of Johane Masowe Zambuko, which is located in a place called Chitungwiza in Zimbabwe, began to appropriate the practice as a religious ritual. This practice within the Apostolic Church setting led by Madzibaba Stephen is similar to what Mwandayi (2011), Mlambo (2015) and Mawere (2012) terms as *runyoka*, which they defined as wife fencing. The only difference in this case, as investigated in this study, is that women are appropriating a traditional cultural ritual that was used to enforce sexual discipline on women by men.

1.2 Preliminary Literature Review

This section provides a brief survey of existing debates in the available literature. The section looks at sexual control methods, gender HIV and AIDS, men, patriarchy, power and privilege in African marriages and African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe.

1.2.1 Global and Zimbabwean History on Sexual Control Methods

According to Baumeister and Tengwe (2002) the suppression of women’s sexuality was a psychological intervention in Western cultural history and a number of socialising influences such as parents, schools, peer group and legal forces have cooperated to alienate women from their own sexual desire. Europe, for example had its own methods of sexual control even though they are shrouded in controversies and treated as myths that never existed. For instance, the Chastity belt is one of the instruments that were used in Europe to enforce chastity and fidelity (Rosenthal 2012). A chastity belt is a locking device designed to prevent sexual intercourse or masturbation. Such belts were historically designed for women ostensibly for the purpose of chastity, protect women from rape or dissuade women and potential sex partners from sexual temptation (Rosenthal 2012). According to Sheumaker and Wadja (2008) the chastity belt was used as an anti-temptation device during crusades. When the Knights left for the Holy lands on the crusades, their wives would wear a chastity belt to preserve faithfulness (Rosenthal 2012). Sheumaker and Wadja (2008) further explain that though some

of these belts were worn externally, some were inserted inside the vagina to injure the penis in case a man wanted to rape a woman. Of great concern regarding sexual control devices is the double standards often applied to women as compared to men. Baumeister and Tengwe (2002) in this case argue that the drive for sexual morality is an ambiguous one in that certain sexual activities by women are condemned while permitting the same activities by men. According to a feminist analysis, the reason given for such ambiguity is because men regard women as their possession entitle to their sexuality and therefore seek to keep them to themselves (Baumeister and Tengwe 2002). This observation is of utmost importance because it helps to unravel how sexual control methods in Europe mainly served the patriarchal ideological structures in controlling women in the then society. This, in some ways therefore points to the uniqueness of the sexual control ritual in Zimbabwe appropriated by the agency of women in a religious context.

Studies on *runyoka* can be traced back to 1994 in Zimbabwe when Scott and Mercer (1994) conducted a study showing the links between *runyoka* and HIV and AIDS. The study investigated cultural practices that posed a challenge on HIV and AIDS prevention strategies. There was a general consensus among the respondents in this study that HIV and AIDS and *runyoka* are one and the same thing. According to Scott and Mercer (1994), the Shona speaking informants in their study defined *runyoka* as a fatal disease that strikes a man who has sex with another man's wife, and it is as a result of a curse. What is clear in this case is that disease (illness) in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe is explained in relation to their cultural belief systems. This religio-cultural connection of what affects one's health therefore shows the interwoven nature of cultural practices and belief systems in the Zimbabwean cultural context. This understanding is specifically dominant among Apostolic religious groups who emphasize exorcism and healing.

According to Mwandayi (2011), traditional healers not only sniff out crime but also dispense special medicines which deter ordinary people from committing ant-social acts. For instance, in a case where a man is suspecting his wife of indulging in an extra-marital affair or he is afraid that she might get seduced during his absence, men consult diviners who give them *runyoka* (fidelity charm/fencing or a safety lock) to safeguard their interests. Mawere (2011) also observes that most healers regarded *runyoka* as a weapon used to punish people who committed adultery, while others indicate that it was a way of determining whether a wife or a husband is faithful. Symbolically, Mawere (2011) further explains that, *runyoka* is a complex

‘venereal disease’ caused by sleeping with a fenced woman or man. The fencing can be culturally done by either of the partners to ensure that the spouse would not be involved in adulterous activities. This study therefore interrogates the practice of *runyoka* appropriated for religious reasons resulting from women’s agency in an African Apostolic Church context in Zimbabwe.

Understood as a marriage saving therapy ritual, Mawere (2014) outlines the consequences of having sexual relations with a married woman or man who has been fenced by *runyoka*. The consequences generally vary yet remain very serious. In some cases, the pairs may not be able to separate from each other once they have had a sexual encounter until the one who set the *runyoka* comes to their rescue. In such cases, if assistance is delayed, the end result for the pair is death. Mwandayi (2011) echoes the same view regarding the consequences of *runyoka* and its nature, observing that there are numerous types of *runyoka*. The first type is where one places *runyoka* on the bed and it is believed any foreign person who would sleep on it will be harmed. The second type of *runyoka* takes a form of a ritual that is added to the wife’s food or drink and is said to cause severe abdominal pains to the secret lover. A more dramatic kind of *runyoka* is one that does not allow the two lovers (*offenders*) to separate once they have engaged in a sexual act until the legitimate husband returns (Mwandayi 2011). It is important to note that although *runyoka* is a *Korekore* term, among the *Ndau* tribe of Zimbabwe, there is a practice which has taken similar trend to that of *Runyoka*. To control the sexual behaviour of women in the *Ndau* culture, men prepare a herbal porridge termed “*Shupa*” (*Shupa* can be translated as a mixture of herbs that enhances men’s virility and protects them from spousal infidelity). According to Mlambo (2015), the herbs in the porridge protect men from being victims of unfaithfulness. In case the wife is involved in extra marital affairs her husband would bleed to death. In this case, despite the practice appearing as risk to men, it is interesting to note how men continued to promote the practices hence serving as a tool of power and control over women. The above observations are important for this study especially in seeking to interrogate gender dynamics that exists within the context of the study. First, the observation that the administering of sexual control practices was originally by men against women calls for attention. Second, now that women have taken the initiative to appropriate *runyoka* as a cultural practice against men to ensure they abide within the expected moral behaviours in a marriage relationship establishes an academic gap which this study seeks to address.

It is important therefore to note Mawere's (2014) observation regarding the relationship between infidelity and HIV/AIDS and how people have adopted *Runyoka* to control sexual behaviours of their own spouses in order to promote fidelity as a practice intended to reduce the risk of contracting HIV. According to Mawere (2014), in certain parts of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, some people use *runyoka* (literally known as wife fencing) to regulate sexual behaviour. In some instances, *runyoka* is also used as a mechanism to promote good moral sexual behaviour among children, especially young girls (Mawere, 2014). It is of paramount importance to take cognisance of the deep patriarchal nature of the Zimbabwean society and how through patriarchal tendencies men have the sole responsibility to regulate the sexual behaviours of their spouses without regulating their own sexual behaviours. *Runyoka* therefore presents an opportunity where imbedded and prevailing discourses on gender, health and sexuality should be interrogated within an Apostolic religious space.

1.2.2 Gender, HIV and AIDS

Khetiwe Ndhlovu (Nodate 135) argues that "HIV is a gendered disease." Women are the ones who are highly affected and infected by the HIV pandemic. Van Klinken (2016) likewise points out that since the 1990's, it is increasingly acknowledged that the HIV epidemic in Africa has a gendered face. The gendered nature of the HIV virus is an important factor that informs this study because the study is premised particularly on women's agency to confront male sexual and behavioural patterns which seek to control women. As a result of this awareness, both scholarship and intervention programmes mainly focused on women and on discourses of women empowerment in relation to HIV and AIDS. For example, subsequent researches have shown that women's vulnerabilities are often related to behavioural patterns of men that are undergirded by perceptions of masculinity which eventually put men themselves at risk (van Klinken and Chitando 2016). In relation to this observation, Chirongoma (2006) explains that cultural practices and violence affect women's abilities to enjoy a healthy, safe and stress-free existence. The adverse and multi-faceted impact of traditional practices with a social system of patriarchy continues to deny women their rights under customary law. Chirongoma (2006) further resonates that, inequality is apparent in laws that treat women as second-class citizens, in social norms and customs that deprives them of knowledge about their bodies and strip them of the power to make independent decisions in endemic and widely patterns of violence and abuse (Chirongoma, 2006). The above observation shows how with the influence of culture, women are disempowered and left helpless. This in the long run makes them

vulnerable to HIV through the actions of men. Nonetheless, the main focus of this study is to investigate the implications of cultural practices applied to achieve an alternative purpose to that which it was initially envisioned, in this case, to maintain the dominance of men over women while, at the same time exposes women to STIs and HIV and AIDS.

Ackermann (2008) states that, at heart HIV and AIDS as a gendered pandemic exacerbated by poverty and as such it requires a theological response that is prepared to wrestle with the implications of gender inequity in our traditions and our practices as well as the reasons for continuous grinding poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. For this reason, Marshal and Taylor (2006) also reiterate that the inability to provide for the family impacts negatively on the male psyche and as a result men seek to redeem their bruised images through sexual prowess with multiple, concurrent partners. The forms of masculinities that emerge in this process are therefore a product of men's battered ego due to poverty and it is important to explore how poverty leaves men with only one option of seeking to redeem their battered ego through other ways of being men. It is therefore interesting for this study to examine male practices which necessitated women's agency in adopting *runyoka* as a religious option to address male behaviour. In supporting the gendered disposition of HIV within African societies, Haddad (2002) points out that women's biological dispositions coupled with the disadvantages and oppressive socio-cultural situations indicates the odds are stacked against them. It is therefore important to note that Zimbabwe as the context for this study is situated in a country with very high unemployment rates.

Ackermann (2004) further shows how Teresa Okure startled her hearers at a theological symposium on AIDS held in Pretoria in 1998 by saying that there are two viruses more dangerous than the HIV virus because they are carriers enabling the virus to spread rapidly. The first virus is the one that assigns women an inferior status to men in society. This is further strengthened by Bahemuka (1995) who argues that whilst it is believed that the conjugal rights of a marriage union are for procreation and pleasure of the couple, in most African societies the wife is not expected to seek sexual gratification. The wife is always expected to assume a passive role within the marriage union. This failure by women to equally negotiate on matters related to their safe sex in marriage is in itself a death inviting behaviour. The silence by women due to their assumed inferior status is another dangerous factor which puts women at risk in the marriage institution. However, the main focus of this study is to

understand how women broke their silence especially on issues concerning their wellbeing and survival by applying a traditional ritual previously adopted by an African Apostolic Church.

Haggerman *et al* (2010) states that marriage is correspondingly identified as an HIV risk factor for women in Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa whereby in some countries married women (25.8%) are likely twice to be infected with HIV as compared to their never married (13.4%) female counterparts. However, despite the risk associated with marriage, Masenya (2003) shows that a woman is only considered to be fully human through marriage, which suggests that she needs a husband to complete her. Hlatywayo (2012) argues that marital unions within African communities are highly esteemed, and further, the marital bed is considered as a safe haven by many. However, this assumption creates a false sense of protection in a context of HIV infection since a considerable number of married couples do not use any form of protection against sexually transmitted diseases. This false sense of security within the institution of marriage has resulted in a number of women getting infected with HIV by their spouses. It is this realization that marriage is no longer safe from HIV that women have to look for alternative means to ensure safety in marriages. This study therefore explores how woman appropriated *runyoka* as a sexual control method to bring sanity and fidelity in marriages among African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe.

1.2.3 Men, Patriarchy, Power and Privilege in African Marriages

Hlatywayo (2012) points out that the spread of HIV and AIDS is fuelled by common place practices and beliefs, notably those surrounding sexual intercourse. For this reason, HIV and AIDS can be examined in relation to how men practice their perceptions of being men and behavioural patterns that accompany such practices. For example, Hlatywayo (2012) shows that various masculine activities fuel the spread of the HIV epidemic in the *Ndan* culture in *Chipinge*. The wide acceptance of these notions results in the perpetuation of risky sexual behaviours, leading to HIV infection. Further, to reinforce the above observation, Rakgoasi and Odimegwu (2013) in their study for instance discovered that men in Botswana attributed their sexual partnerships to lack of satisfaction within their relationships. While the lack of sexual satisfaction may be an excuse that man use to indulge in sex with multiple partners to cultivate a sense of heroism and conquest, such practices can haunt men because they might not be able to perform sexually at home. In their view, such can result in woman also having multiple sexual partners (Rakgoasi and Odimegwu 2013). It is within this context that this

study seeks to explore how women have appropriated *runyoka* to control men's risky sexual behaviours, which exposes women to HIV.

Rakgoasi and Odimegwu (2013) in their study concluded that most men accepted the seriousness of the HIV and AIDS epidemic and many acknowledge that the epidemic is driven by certain practices in which many men participate in, sometimes in pursuit of certain 'idealized' masculine norms. Having multiple concurrent sexual partners contributes to the spread of the HIV epidemic. Some men felt that it was natural for men to have multiple sexual partners because they have a larger appetite for sex than women (Rakgoasi and Odimegwu, 2013). Uzodike and Osike (2012) stated that the phenomenon of masculinity is particularly glaring in Southern Africa, for instance, where men generally oppose gender equity policies and actions based on their belief that African cultures do not permit women to be active in the public space, nor be equal with men for that matter. Such misconceptions and misrepresentations of African cultures and its patriarchies provide the operational *raison d'être* of contemporary male violence and negative ways of men portraying their masculinities evident in perpetuating women's vulnerability to HIV. Such misconceptions not only inform, but also reinforce patriarchies and male power and privilege in a marriage context through structures of culture and religion. This study therefore interrogates the extent at which such misconceptions not only exposed women to health risks but also necessitated women's agency in Prophet Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

Domestic violence is one of the outworking of male power and privilege exercised in patriarchal Zimbabwe. According to Chirongoma (2006), violence against women in Zimbabwe is deeply embedded in the history of the country. It is rooted in poverty, political instability and indigenous patriarchies. Women often have little social and economic power within their relationships, which makes protecting themselves against patriarchal dominance difficult. Most married women are at great risk because even when they know that their partners are unfaithful, they are powerless to negotiate safe sex primarily because of patriarchal tendencies which places men in charge in sexual activities where men are to decide when and how sex is done (Chirongoma 2006). Further, Soko (2012) observes that there are some common male behaviour that facilitates the spread of HIV and AIDS and most *Karanga* men believe a man's virtues lies in his prowess and his vices are cowardice, be they social, cultural or political. This therefore brought Soko 2012 to conclude that men are the vehicles of transmission of HIV and STIs. Male behaviour and its sexual urge, as many would believe are

culturally informed. This study is therefore significant in building on existing research by demonstrating how women can make use of available cultural, religious, legal and social resources to destabilize patriarchal power and privilege that idealize impositions of inhuman culturally conditioned male behaviours and patterns of life.

Chirongoma (2006) also points out that in Zimbabwe there are so many unreported cases of marital rape because women feel that nobody will take them seriously rather, they will be ridiculed by the police and the society at large. Chirongoma (2006) therefore concludes that marital rape in Zimbabwe remains rampant despite the efforts of women groups. For this reason, Chitando (2012) responds by articulating that recognizing the importance of man in the response to HIV should be linked to social construction of men. Chitando (2012) went on to state that it has generally become more acceptable that society plays an important role in shaping men. According to Chitando (2012), it is the society that prescribes what men may or may not do and of significance has been society's double standards regarding irresponsible sexual behaviours for men and women. Whereas women are expected to be chaste and restrained, men are excused when they have multiple partners. Rather, contrary to the expected cultural norm, this study seeks to investigate how women have taken it upon themselves to control the irresponsible male sexual behaviours using *runyoka*.

According to Soko (2012), in the Karanga cultural landscape, there are cultural practices that facilitate the spread of HIV and AIDS. Some of the practices are marital such as *barika* (polygamy) - a practice whereby a man marries more than one wife, *kugara nhaka* (wife inheritance) and *kupindira* (overtaking) whereby a brother of an infertile or deceased man is expected to sleep with his sister-in-law in order to produce children on behalf of the brother. Through such cultural practices, the chances of spreading HIV and AIDS are abundant. Since this study is located within the Zimbabwean context, an exploration of the Zimbabwe's cultural practices that are HIV risk factors are interrogated with socialization of men in mind.

1.2.4 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe

This study seeks to investigate whether the 'central locking system' adopted within the African Apostolic Church which in normal circumstance is known and used to advance patriarchal values that supports the subordination of women could be a resource that women can effectively use for their advantage to bring change and transform patriarchal ideologies. Moreover, it is interesting to note that from the *runyoka* video that it is women who are seeking

the use of the ‘central locking’ system to protect themselves from contracting HIV within a marriage context. Notably so, this is contrary to what African Apostolic Churches are best known for in Zimbabwe, as they uphold patriarchal tendencies of male domination in family and religious spaces.

These Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe are characterized by a number of beliefs when it comes to marriage, health, education and sexual reproductive rights. Machingura (2011) observes that the Johane Marange and Johane Masowe Apostolic sects are known to get into conflict with the Zimbabwean government due to their radical stance to issues related to health, education and marriage. Machingura (2011) and Munyaradzi *et al* (2016) both concurred that the two major apostolic churches are characterized by polygamous marriages, teenage (and) child marriages, rejection of family planning methods and patriarchy. This is particularly important because it creates a juxtaposition of the Apostolic Church in this study on the basis that it has adopted a traditional sex control ritual being appropriated to control men within a religious context. Importantly, other Apostolic churches are known for vices such as child marriages, polygamy, lack of education for girl children and family planning rejection.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

This study mainly focuses on the extent to which the practice of “*runyoka*” informs the agency of women in Zimbabwe’s apostolic sects, as well as the transformative capabilities demonstrated by such women. My interest in the study was mainly prompted by personal observations of the extent to which women in these churches have become possessions of their male counterparts through such practices which seemingly perpetuate male domination over them. I was once a member of the apostolic sect and during my membership, I witnessed *runyoka* rituals being done and having an effect on women who were, even before the rituals, viewed as people who lacked the wisdom and power to make sexual decisions and where need be, their husbands made decisions for them. As an outsider during the period of this study, the availing of an opportunity for women in Apostolic Independent Churches to appropriate the *runyoka* practice is a positive development as it shows that woman can also make sexual decisions on their own. The general stereo-type was that women who were not so ritualised would be considered of loose morals or are prostitutes and having *runyoka* performed on one was regarded as the standard upon which her faithfulness was tested and preserved. For reasons already mentioned in sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, in the focus of this study from a gender,

religion and health perspective is mainly prompted by the desire to properly understand the situations leading to the institution of *runyoka* as well as the possible effects it has on the rights of the women, both those initiated and those yet to be initiated.

I therefore interrogate the agency of women in Johane Masowe Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe by considering the religious setbacks they face in negotiating safe sex within Apostolic contexts of marriage and through the ways in which their agency influences and informs religious and social transformation.

1.4 Critical Questions and Objectives

The key research question for this study has taken into consideration particular broader issues that fall within the scope of the study. Such include gender-based violence, sexual rape, women's participation in decision-making and gender equality.

In responding to some of the above-mentioned broad issues, this study addresses one critical question that states:

What are the possible social, cultural and religious factors necessitating women's agency in appropriating runyoka in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe?

In attempting to answer this key question, the study addresses the following **sub-questions**:

1. What are the socio-cultural factors necessitating women's agency through appropriating *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe?
2. What are the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within Apostolic contexts of Marriage in Zimbabwe?
3. In what ways does women's agency influence and inform religious and social transformation to enable women to flourish in marriage and society at large?

The main **Objectives** of the study are:

1. To explore the socio-cultural factors that necessitates married women to seek agency through appropriation of *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

2. To examine the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within Apostolic contexts of marriage in Zimbabwe.
3. To ascertain possible ways that women's agency informs and influence religious and social transformation to enable women to flourish in marriage and society at large.

1.5 Research Hypothesis

This study supposes that the agency of women seen in their option to utilise the ritual of *runyoka* provided by prophet Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri, of the Johane Masowe Apostolic Church comprised of the patriarchal socialization that perceived women as those required to adhere to church rules, customs and values. Proceeding from this assumption, this study explored the extent to which the agency of such women has been compromised by the church to which they belong. This study therefore argues that based on the church's patriarchal nature which promotes gender imbalances in the favour of male adherents, female members of the Johane Masowe Church have their agency compromised, both within and beyond the church structures and spheres of influence. The basic rights possessed by such women are, therefore, often violated owing to affiliation to this religious sect.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

To carry out this study, particular limitations were expected and were actually faced during the process of this study:

1. Data bottlenecks: as the majority of the Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe are not legally registered entities, empirical studies on these churches are limited. The result is a dearth of academic literature on the topic and to make up for this limitation, the study focused on the legally registered church organisation, Johane Masowe, for which an appreciable amount of literature is easily available.
2. Politicisation: due to the nature of the research which required investigations into the extent to which female congregants in the Johane Masowe Apostolic Church are segregated against, which curtails their agency, the study could easily have been affected by political contestations within the church. Most of the Apostolic sects are already known for power squabbles, splits and occasional violence incidents. To guard against the study being considered a politically motivated undertaking, a primary study was much more practicable than a secondary study. As a secondary study, analysis of available

literature was required and this did not need the distribution of questionnaires or any other data collection instruments in the field, thereby avoiding contact with any church members avoiding the possibility of politicisation.

3. Time constraints: Due to the limited period for research, the scope of this study only focused on one major Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe, namely the Johane Masowe. The study did not focus on other Apostolic churches because this would require an in-depth and exhaustive analysis in the given, limited time.

1.7 Structure of the Study

This study is discussed in six chapters exploring the possible social, cultural and religious factors necessitating women's agency in appropriating *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Churches. The following chapter outline presents the structure and flow of the study:

Chapter One provides a general introduction and the focus of this study. This includes the background of the study, the key research question and its sub-questions, the objectives and the limitations of the study. The Chapter introduces and presents the background to the study, postulating a brief review of literature that addresses the key aspects of the entire study.

Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical framework and the methodological considerations for the study. The chapter discusses in details *Nego*-feminism as an applicable theory for the study. Discussions on feminism as a useful theory highly critical and constructive theory for the study are provided in this chapter, as well as how *Nego*-feminism helps to interrogate the appropriation of *runyoka* within the African Apostolic religious context of Zimbabwe. Chapter two also provides the methodological roadmap for the study, as a descriptive, qualitative study which adopted a phenomenological research perspective and interpretive document analysis.

Chapter Three examines the socio-cultural practices that have necessitated women to seek agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The key premise for the chapter is the "Socio-cultural factors necessitating women's agency in appropriation of *runyoka*." The chapter begins by providing background overview of African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe, Apostolic Churches and Conceptions of Health in Zimbabwe and of Apostolic Churches, Women and Marriage.

Chapter Four examined the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage contexts in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The main focus of the chapter is the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic church in Zimbabwe.

Chapter Five presents ways through which women's agency influence religious and social-cultural transformation to enable women to flourish in marriage and society at large. The major premise of this fifth chapter to this study is perspectives on flourishing of women and transformation of Apostolic churches through women's agency.

Chapter Six draws this study to its conclusion. The chapter highlights the major inferences arrived at from the findings of the study, as well as the associated commendations and proposals that can be adopted for use in enhancing women's agency and transformation within the scope of Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe, and beyond.

1.8 Conclusion

The major focus of this chapter has been to introduce and locate the study. To this end, the chapter discussed key introductory aspects of the study, including the research background and context, focusing on African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe and the concept of *runyoka*; a preliminary review of literature on key study aspects such as global and Zimbabwean history on sexual control methods, gender, HIV and AIDS, men, patriarchy, power and privilege in African marriages and African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe. Also, this introductory chapter presented the rationale of the study, critical questions and objectives, the research hypothesis as well as the structure of the study. In the following chapter, a review and discussion of the theoretical framework and the methodological considerations of the study is presented.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.0 Introduction

Chapter one introduced this study by describing how the issue of *runyoka* manifests in the Johane Masowe Apostolic Church, and the various meanings it has to the agency of women. In order to examine how the socio-cultural practices have necessitated women to seek agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* in Chapter Three and identify the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe Chapter Four, this chapter presents the conceptual framework and the methodology applied for this study. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section locates *Nego*-feminism within the broader critical feminist work and perspective in gender studies. The second section discusses phenomenology and interpretive document analysis as a methodology utilised for the study. The Chapter concludes by highlighting how interpretive document analysis was applied in three phases to analyse and interpret the data gathered in order to make sense of the literature obtained for the enter study.

2.1 Feminism as a Theoretical Perspective

To examine how the socio-cultural practices have necessitated women to seek agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* thereby identifying the religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe, this study has applied *Nego*-feminism as a theoretical framework within the broader approach of African women's theology within Feminist studies.

African women's theological approach can be located broadly within feminist perspectives and critical studies. Feminism in general has received extensive theoretical treatment as both an activist movement and a body of ideas that underline the need for positive transformation of society such that women are not marginalised but treated as full citizens in all spheres of life (Mekgwe 2010). As defined by Rakoczy (2004:11), feminism is critical and constructive, and is based on the conviction of the full humanity of women, thereby seeking to “engage in

reconstructing human society, including religious institutions, to reflect women's equality with men." Although the word 'feminism' was first used by Hubertine Auclert in 1882 in naming the political struggle of women in Europe and North America (Rackoczy 2004), its characteristics have moved from a focus on political rights to concerns with women's full participation in society and culture. This is purposed as a search for "an ideal of recreating humanity itself according to patterns of eco-justice, that is, of right relationships at every level and in relation to all of reality (Schneiders, cited in Rakoczy 2004:15). As such, feminism is grounded in the belief of the respect of being of women and actively participating in the building of their rights (Rakoczy, 2004). It is for this reason that African women's theology would fall and follow the broader approach applicable in feminism.

Therefore, this study is informed by African women's theology as its theoretical framework. On the basis that the critical principle of feminism and particularly, feminist theology "as the promotion of the full humanity of women" (Rakoczy 2004:15), enables this study to apply ego-feminism as a perspective because it seeks to address concerns related to the marginalisation of women within an African Apostolic religious space.

In religious contexts and especially in faith communities, it is important to take into consideration what Johnson and Rakoczy (1997) point out as the criterion for discerning the action of the Spirit of God in feminism. This is held as the core where "whatever enables women's full humanity to flourish is redemptive and of God" and whatever damages women's full humanity is "non-redemptive and contrary to God's intent" (Johnson and Rakoczy 1997:53-54)

In the light of the above observation, I locate the work of African women theologians within the African context within the broader feminist approach. Hence, this study sought to utilise the perspective of African women theologians who seek to interrogate issues of religion and culture with a consciousness of women's experience of oppression and marginalization in Africa. African women theologies as an African feminist approach enable me to locate this study within the spectrum of gender, religion and health.

2.1.1 African Women Theologians

African women today participate in the ongoing work of feminism and feminist theology from African women theologians' perspective (Rakoczy, 2004). Seeking to make contributions to

Christian theology in Africa, African women's theologies addresses major injustices that women face within the confines of African religions and cultures. According to Oduyoye (2001), African Women's theology constructed at their own pace, from their own place portrays priorities and perspectives of the well-being of women. There has been an emphasis on survival as women have to live so that they may be present in this life to disclose God's hand in their lives and in actualities of Africa. Oduyoye (2001) goes further to explain that when African women theologize, they resort to tradition, but they do so with skills for critical examination. For example, Kanyoro (2002) argues for the use of 'African feminist cultural hermeneutics' as a way of critiquing oppressive cultural practices against women in Africa. Overall, there are two approaches to treating culture as a principle for hermeneutics. According to Oduyoye (2001), the first approach is one that addresses the issue of taking culture as a tool with which to understand and interpret one's reality of oppression and specifically how the bible is utilised to inform such oppression. This way of viewing harmful cultural practices enables women to view the bible through African eyes in order to distinguish and extract from it what is liberating (Kanyoro, 2002). The second approach is that which articulates the aspect of the appropriation of culture where one applies a hermeneutic of liberation to identify the positive aspects of culture in order to promote such (Oduyoye, 2001). In this case, this study falls within this second approach thereby seeking to highlight the possibility that women in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church saw in utilising cultural rituals (and practices such as *runyoka*), to contribute towards envisioned social transformation in relation to gender, religion and sexuality. This is done within Apostolic religious contexts by taking control of their husband's sexual behaviour through the 'central locking' method. The appropriation of *runyoka* by women is therefore an example of women working towards their liberation through making use of the positive aspects of culture despite the fact that some of the cultural practice had been used as a tool for oppression and domination by men.

Oduyoye and Kanyoro (2001) further postulate that Christian feminism as it undertakes "God talk" must work towards the liberation of women from an image of God created for women by men. It is within this observation that one can identify that the position of African women today, both within the wider society and within religious setting, is actually prescribed by what is deemed to be beneficial to the welfare of the whole community of women and men. This is strengthened by Kanyoro (2002) who argues that African Christians walk with one foot in African tradition and culture and another in the church and western culture. With this in mind, it is important to take note that in the African Indigenous thought system, culture and religion

in Africa are not distinct from each other. Culture and religion in Africa embrace all areas of one's total life. There is no sphere of existence that is excluded from the double grip of culture and religion. This therefore sheds light to the 'easiness' of *runyoka* as a cultural ritual among the Shona of Zimbabwe being utilised within the Apostolic religious context as a remedy to ensure there is stability in marriages. The practice is therefore serving the key recommendations of Kanyoro (2001) who points out that Christian feminism should strive towards the liberation of women. The need for liberation of women is therefore evident in their appropriation of *runyoka* as it seeks to empower women to have a say in the control of their sexual and reproductive health in a context that expose women to be at the risk of contracting HIV and AIDS.

In order to examine and interrogate the appropriation of *runyoka* within the African Apostolic religious context of Zimbabwe within the second approach of appropriating culture as a positive principle for hermeneutics towards envisioned transformative action for sexual and reproductive health, this study applied *Nego*-feminism as an interrogative theory. This approach to feminism in Africa is discussed further in the section below:

2.2 *Nego*-Feminism

The use of sexual control methods within the Zimbabwean Shona culture can be understood as having been in existence for a long time. The ritual has been used to ensure the sexual discipline of women in marriage contexts to ensure that they do not indulge in extra-marital relationships. In general, the ritual of *runyoka* is often practiced to reinforce the subordination and control of women's bodies as well as ensuring their sexual vulnerability to male power, privilege and control in patriarchal cultural context. This study therefore applied *Nego*-feminist as an appropriate theory to interrogate and analyse how women in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church have adopted the use of *runyoka* 'central looking system' as a form of agency in responding to male infidelity in a marriage context.

According to Nnaemeka (2004), *Nego*-feminism as a theory interrogates how women respond to cultural practices that makes them vulnerable and disempowered, based within the complexity of negotiation and compromise in the context of African cultures. In other words, *Nego*-feminism is a feminist theory that implicitly acknowledges the capabilities of women in dealing with patriarchy. Kaunda (2017) in her study titled "*Negotiated Feminism? A study of Married Bemba Women Appropriating Imbusa Pre-Marital Curriculum at Home and Workplace*" argues

that *Nego*-feminism as a postcolonial concept is mainly concerned with cultural transformation. Kaunda (2017) further states that indigenous traditions do not happen in a vacuum, but rather are created everyday through negotiation. In this regard, *Nego*-feminism is based on the premise that women do not just passively appropriate cultural demands but are constantly negotiating culture. Even though the aspect of negotiating culture for transformation is as much an important aspect of *Nego*-feminism in the African context, hence for this study; the study has also incorporated the aspect of detonating patriarchal landmines as explained by Nnaemeka (2004).

Nnaemeka (2004) therefore points out that although *Nego*-feminism challenges patriarchy through negotiations and compromise, the application of this perspective also considers when, where and how to negotiate or negotiate around patriarchy. In this way, the *Nego*-feminist theory adopts a radical stance depicting its core theoretical concept and characteristic based on the ability to know where and how to detonate patriarchal landmines (Nnaemeka 2004). The agency of women in appropriating *runyoka* was examined through the application of *Nego*-feminism because it assisted in unravelling the socio-cultural and religious factors that necessitated the agency among women. As a critical lens, *Nego*-feminism also made possible to examine how women negotiate (and/or) compromise patriarchal domination in relation to sexual and reproductive health concerns among the *runyoka* practicing cultures of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. In applying the *Nego*-feminist approach as a theoretical perspective, this study discussed how women's agency in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church aims at unsettling male patriarchal privilege and power through the appropriation of *runyoka* by adopting 'negotiation,' yet at the same time, deciding to remain in the same patriarchal marriage context as a compromise seeking for change and transformation. This position can be identified with the perspective of the third type of feminist theology already discussed – reconstructionist Christian feminist theology; which adopts a liberationist approach to women's oppression and marginalization in faith communities. In this case, women within the African Apostolic religious contexts engage their oppression from a Reconstructionist perspective by envision *runyoka* as a transformative approach towards sexual reproductive health in marriage within their faith communities.

Even though *Nego*-feminism is a theoretical perspective that assists women to negotiate their response within the context of certain African practices, I acknowledge that it is not adequate to offer a comprehensive feminist perspective that seeks to redeem cultural practices within the

African context. While it is important to point out this shortcoming, it is necessary to make use of Tamale's (2011) assertion that culture is a double-edged sword that can be wielded creatively and resourcefully to enhance women's access to sexual justice. This ascertains the justification of women appropriating *runyoka* within Apostolic religious contexts. Considering the double-edged nature of culture, this study explored, for example, the implications of *runyoka* on men's sense of masculinity especially in religious marriage contexts in Zimbabwean.

2.2.1 *Nego-Feminism as a 'Give and Take'*

Nnaemeka (2004) defines *Nego-feminism* through two aspects. First, *Nego-feminism* is the feminism of negotiation. Second, *Nego-feminism* stands for "no ego" feminism. Nnaemeka (2004) therefore explain that in the foundation of shared values in many African cultures are the principles of negotiation, give and take, compromise, and balance. In this case, negotiation has the double meaning of "give and take/exchange" and "cope with successfully/go around." African feminism or feminism as practiced in Africa challenges and engages patriarchal structures and cultures through negotiations and compromise. It is from this perspective therefore that when women are abused and infected by HIV in their marriages in Africa it must not mean they are weak or docile. This can happen as a result of employing the concept of *Nego-feminism* as women adopt a give and take stance to the oppressive situations they face. This observation brings to the fore Muhwava's (2004) assertion that the act of denying a spouse his conjugal rights due to the fear of being infected with HIV may have consequences such as financial neglect. In such cases, women will weigh what is best for them and their children. The adoption of *runyoka* as an alternative to deal with men's infidelity in religious marriages therefore is applied to determine the nature of 'give and take' as a gamble between women's sexual reproductive health and patriarchal dominance in a cultural context.

2.2.2 *Nego-Feminism as 'Knowing when' to Disrupt Patriarchy*

According to Nnaemeka (2004), the second characteristic of *Nego-feminism* identifies when, where and how to detonate patriarchal landmines. It also assists in determining when, where, and how to go around patriarchal landmines. Nnaemeka (2004) further postulates that the application of *Nego-feminism* should also put into perspective when, where, and how to negotiate with or negotiate around patriarchy in different contexts. For African women, feminism is an act that evokes the dynamism and shifts of processes as opposed to the stability

and reification of a construct. The creativity and dynamism are evident in the appropriation of *runyoka* among Zimbabwean women associated with Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church to curb infidelity. *Runyoka* as a sexual control method used on men by women in this case is a direct confrontation with patriarchy. According to Mwandayi (2011), in a case where a man is suspecting his wife of indulging in an extra-marital affair or he is afraid that she might get seduced during his absence, the man consults a diviner who gives him *runyoka* (fidelity charm/fencing or a safety lock) to safeguard his interests. The act of appropriating the use of *runyoka* by women on men is a confirmation that African women know when, where and how to detonate patriarchal landmines. By knowing when, where and how to detonate patriarchal landmines women have appropriated *runyoka* in Zimbabwe as an attempt to destabilize patriarchy in an area when HIV has claimed lives of married women.

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Research Design

This descriptive qualitative study utilizes phenomenology and interpretive document analysis as research Methodologies. According to Petty (2012), the focus of phenomenology is on understanding the unique lived experiences of individuals by exploring the meaning of a phenomenon. In other words, phenomenology as a method of investigation probes into the meanings of peoples' lived experiences as they live through those experiences (Van Manen, 2014). In the case of this study, experiences of women demonstrated and presented in a YouTube video² that necessitated the phenomenon of *runyoka* remains central to its research design. Hence, as a method of carrying out research for this study, phenomenology has been utilised to enable me to examine the practice of *runyoka* as a phenomenon where women use what was initially a cultural ritual to have control on men's sexual practices/behaviour in a context of sexual and infidelity among the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. Phenomenology as a method of research therefore applies a process of reflection, interpretation and a search for meaning (Qutoshi 2018) by examining the ritual of *runyoka* phenomenon within this African Apostolic religious context as it appears in the experiences of women's agency or change.

² Shephard CBJ Mhungu, Latest on Madzibaba Stephen (Central Locking) www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zsqx7rxAM4y Youtube 2:40, Posted 21 October 2017

2.3.2 Data Production and Sampling

This study utilised secondary data in seeking to understand the practice of *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church. Saunders *et al.*, (2011) suggest that secondary data is that data which would have been already collected for other purposes than the research at hand, and that a study using such data will mostly be reanalysing it. Among the major types of secondary data are documentary, multiple source of published and survey of secondary data (Saunders *et al.*, 2011). This study relied majorly on the documentary type of secondary data, which comprised of audio-visual (media) recording, both published and non-published materials like organisational reports, academic articles and books, information gathered from web pages and institutional reports and records. At a more general level, it is important to state that there is limited research publish on the aspect of *runyoka*.

As a secondary research, the study relied predominantly on literature review and content analysis for its discussion. In this case, the first source was mainly from ‘unpublished’ secondary data obtained from a YouTube video by the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The focus was mainly on the religio-cultural ritual of *runyoka* as appropriated by the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. Other YouTube videos involving the Johane Masowe church, particularly those portraying church beliefs and practices with regards to healing, marriage, women’s leadership, health and sex, were utilised for the purpose of this study. For instance, in the video entitled “*Muchato wedu*” (“Our wedding”), uploaded by PrakazMedia (2017),³ portrays a newly-married couple kneeling among a singing group of church congregants where special rites are pronounced upon the new wed couple. Majority of the adherers seemingly aimed at the woman who is told to solemnly keep her marriage intact by not engaging in extra-marital affairs.

This study also made use of another video uploaded under the official YouTube channel for Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri, named Stephen Star Capital TV,⁴ which include live sermons, recordings of church gatherings, foreign trips, press releases and other miscellaneous YouTube videos related to the Masowe eChishanu Zambuko church. Such a YouTube video was a type of documentary secondary data that, according to Saunders *et al.*, (2011), can include such

³ James Ngube “Muchato wedu Johanmasowe echishanu.” Zimbabwean Apostolic Church Johan masowe Wechishanu (September 2017). YouTube.com. [Accessed 25 February 2019]

⁴ See, Stephen Star Capital TV. YouTube: <<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCK4B8gCNfETn4kdWmAuTsQ/videos>>. [Accessed 25 February 2019].

materials as pictures, voice and video recordings, television programmes, films as well as databases of organisations.

The second source of secondary data was obtained from available literature based on the focus of this study. In this case, the study has utilised data made available from previous studies rather than collecting and relying on raw empirical data that require analysis and interpretation. The scope of secondary data collected, reviewed, analysed and utilised in the study in the form of existing readily available published literature included published journals articles, research papers, books and various publications related to the focus of this study. These addressed issues related to sexual agency, infidelity rituals, sexual and reproductive health within African Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe. This form of data has been essential to the purpose of this study because it provided valuable information that was insightful to the subject matter of the study. For the production of data and documented literature was sampled first through identifying, describing and utilising the relevant research and publications available. Second, I then synthesised the findings into coherent statements in an attempt to understand and describe the phenomenon of *runyoka* that was being examined in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

2.3.3 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis comprises of a process applied in seeking to make sense of the data (in this case, literature) gathered and sampled for the purpose of this study. In this case, the study utilised a thematic analysis as a method of data analysis. According to Thomas and Harden (2008:5), thematic as a method applicable in most qualitative methods of data analysis involves the process of identifying key and consistent themes that develop in the gathered data and literature. Thematic analysis as a method of making sense of the data gathered for the purpose of interpretation was adopted for this study based on its theoretical flexibility. This was a useful method in the process of analysing emerging issues related to women seeking agency, experiences related to sexual and infidelity ritual in contexts of HIV and AIDS. This was understood within the context of infidelity that seemed to contribute to marriage breakdown based on socio-cultural and religious reasons and factors that necessitated the use and practice of *runyoka* among the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The analysis was carried out in three phases as follows:

Phase one: The analysis started with exploring key religious and socio-cultural factors/themes which relate to the practices that are necessitating married women to seek agency through sexual control of their husbands in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. According to Petty *et al* (2012), this stage of thematic analysis required me to listen to the official video located in the YouTube channel of Stephen Star Capital TV, and read the data (the literature gathered), several times in order to gain familiarity with the data/texts. For this phase a thorough engagement with the literature focusing on socio-cultural and religious practices of *runyoka* was prioritised. The sources that were consulted were those that are located within the Zimbabwean cultural and religious context of the African Apostolic churches of the Johane Masowe Zambuko. The emerging themes were limited to the cultural and religious practices that exposed women's sexuality and infidelity, thus acting as a catalyst for women's agency.

Phase two: The second phase sought to identify variations, similarities, patterns and relationships across the available secondary data (both unpublished and published) literature on the religious and socio-cultural resources that women have drawn on in the context of negotiating safe sex within marriage in Zimbabwe. This phase aimed not only to highlight but code the data (information from the data/literature available) in order to reflect and make sense of the emerging ideas from the literature focusing on women's experiences in relation to challenges in negotiating safe sex within the marriage context in Zimbabwe among Apostolic religious groups. The process was continually repeated over and over based on the awareness made by Petty *et al* (2012) that such a process is not a linear sequential action but is a process that overlaps throughout a research period.

Phase three: Following the identification of socio-cultural factors that necessitate women to seek agency through the appropriation of *runyoka*, this third phase sought to theoretically engage with *Nego-feminism* as a framework that can aid discussion on how the agency of women could bring about social and religious transformation thereby enabling women to flourish. The main tenets of *Nego-feminism* that were utilised as units of analysis are on 'negotiation around', 'negotiation with' and how women confront patriarchal landmines (Nnaemeka 2003). This phase also takes into consideration the cautious raised by Tamale's (2011) observation that culture is a double-edged sword that can be wielded creatively and resourcefully to enhance women's access to sexual justice as a process of making sense of the appropriation of *runyoka* by women in the Zimbabwean context. The analysis pointed out how

culture and religion have been utilised creatively as a resource in the Zimbabwean context of African Apostolic churches to enhance women's access to sexual justice.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the relevant literature related to the theory applied in this study has been reviewed. In particular, the chapter has presented review of literature on feminism as a theoretical perspective, including a survey of literature on African Women Theologians. The chapter also discussed a review of key literature on *Nego-feminism*, highlighting the key concepts of *Nego-feminism* as a give and take as well as *Nego-feminism* being able to know when to disrupt patriarchy. This chapter also discussed the methodology of the study where such aspects as the research design, the data production and sampling approaches and the data analysis and interpretation methods were presented and justified. The subsequent Chapter focuses on the socio-cultural factors that necessitate women's agency in appropriating *runyoka* within marriage in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS NECESSITATING WOMEN'S AGENCY IN APPROPRIATION OF *RUNYOKA* IN JOHANE MASOWE ZAMBUKO APOSTOLIC CHURCH

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two described feminism as a conceptual framework for this study and *Nego-* feminism as its applicable theory. The chapter also discussed the methodology used for the study describing how the study is a descriptive qualitative research that utilizes phenomenology and interpretive document analysis as its research Method and design. The focus of this chapter is to discuss the social and cultural factors that necessitated women's agency in appropriation of *runyoka*. The chapter responds to the questions that are nested on the push factors that have promoted women's agency thus necessitating the appropriation of *runyoka*. The objective of the chapter is to discuss some social and cultural practices, with a purpose of examining how these practices might have encouraged women to appropriate *runyoka*.

This chapter is therefore divided into three sections discussing: (i) African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe. (ii) Social practices that have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka* and (iii) cultural practices that have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka*.

3.1 African Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe

According to Machingura (2011), there are many Apostolic sects in Zimbabwe. Despite the numerous variations in Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe, the two groups that command huge followings are Johane Marange and Johane Masowe Apostolic church (Machingura, 2011). Whether one should use the term 'church' or 'sect' in referring to such African Apostolic religious groups is an ongoing contention among researchers. Hence, some scholars apply the term 'sect' or 'church' interchangeably or as suits the intension of their work. However, the focus as to whether one applies 'sect' or 'church' seems to retain the emphasis that these religious groups are 'African indigenous' by their origin that seek to retain particular traditional customs and beliefs in their practice of Christianity (Machingura 2011). This study does not seek to contribute to this debate. However, the term African Apostolic Churches is used for

the purpose of this study.

Mapuranga (2013) therefore classified Johane Masowe eChishanu and Johane Marange as African Independent Churches and that they are commonly known as “garment type churches” because they wear long robes.⁵ The assertion that Johane Marange and Johane Masowe are the dominant Apostolic groups in Zimbabwe is highlighted by Maguranyanga (2011) who explained that the Apostolic movements in Zimbabwe can be traced to Johane Marange and Johane Masowe groups which started in the 1930s in Marange and Makoni areas. These groups have since enabled other formations or variants of the dominant Apostolic religious groups to crop up. Machingura (2011) argues that it would be an act of injustice to talk about religion in Zimbabwe without pointing out the existence of apostolic religious groups in Zimbabwe due to the fact that of the 75% of the population of mainline Christianity, apostolic sects account for 20% of that population. Daneel (1971) pointed out in his earlier 1967 research that the Johane Marange church alone was estimated to have a population of about one million in Zimbabwe. Munyaradzi *et al.* (2016) also observe that Apostolicism in Zimbabwe was founded out of the need to resist foreign divinities that were being preached by early missionaries. The two main apostolic churches in Zimbabwe have equally same doctrines with the only difference being their degree of radicalism in terms of religious beliefs.

This study focused predominantly on the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. Johane Marange was born in 1912 in the Marange tribal area with both his parents from royal families (Daneel 1971). It is believed that Johane received his call to ministry in 1932 (Daneel 1971). According to Machingura (2011), the original growth of the Johane Marange is understood to have first originated within the inner and extended family circles. As the news of the new Church spread in Zimbabwe, people started to join the religious group from all over the Marange area, enabling it to become a spiritual force to reckon with when compared to mainline Churches in the like of the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, Salvation Army and Lutheran Churches. Daneel (1971) noted that, the healing miracles by Johane became a powerful spiritual force of attraction such that, all new members who came for healing sessions were automatically converted. There is much mention about the role of the Holy Spirit in Johane Marange ministry; an observation that is important to understand the theology and pneumatology of most of the apostolic movements. For example, the pneumatological ideology in this case is important in understanding the role that the Holy Spirit is purported to play in sanctioning second, third and fourth polygamous marriages. The

Johane Marange church has continued to grow besides the schisms that took place after Johane Marange's death.

3.2 Apostolic Churches and Conceptions of Health in Zimbabwe

Indigenous social and cultural beliefs among Apostolic religious groups inform perceptions of health and practices in Apostolic Churches. In relation to perceptions on health especially taking women into consideration, the Apostolic Churches can be classified into three categories. These categories are, the Ultra-conservatives, the Semi- Conservatives and the Liberals groups of Apostolic Churches (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2019).

The first category is that of ultra-conservatives which include the Johane Marange, Madhidha and Johane Masowe churches (UNICEF 2015). This Group totally deny the usage of western medicine. According to UNICEF (2015:6), "The ultra-conservative Apostolic religious groups depended largely on their own 'Apostolic health systems.' This⁵ include faith and divine healing through prophets and faith healers (UNICEF, 2015).

The second category is that of the semi-conservative that comprises of Apostolic religious groups such as the African Apostolic Church (of Paul Mwazha) and *Zviratidzo ZvevaPostori* (UNICEF, 2015). Within this group of the Apostolic churches, the use of modern health services and medicines is allowed, thereby envisioning ways of improving health outcomes. However, adherents of these Apostolic religious groups are "encouraged to seek spiritual counsel from the church leaders first before using modern health services (UNICEF, 2015:6). The third category is that of the liberal Apostolic churches. This group, as the name suggests, have no restrictions to its members taking medicine and using medical facilities (UNICEF, 2015).

Health among the ultra-conservative Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe is therefore a contentious issue as articulated by Maguranyanga (2011) who reiterates that, in encouraging Apostolic women and pregnant young girls to use Apostolic Health systems.

⁵ There is a contention whether the phrasing African Initiated Churches or African Independent Churches or African Indigenous Churches or African Instituted Churches should be used in this case. Overall, the abbreviation AIC has been applied to cover all of such groupings in this category.

The ultra-conservative apostolic sects expose them to substandard facilities, poor and inadequate medical care, and serious pregnancy complications without skilled birth attendants. It is important to note that it is in the backdrop of a space where the government is putting in place strategies to contain the death of women during labor. Maguranyanga (2011) further points out that these pregnant women do not test for HIV and this increases their risk of transmitting HIV to their new-born babies since they would have been administered with drug regimens to prevent mother to child transmission. This therefore poses great setbacks to the country's strategy to close the proliferation of new HIV and AIDS infections. Chitando (2007) therefore tries to explain the stance by ultra- conservative apostolic churches and the only explanation he can identify is the theological rigidity. Chitando (2007) explains that as a result of theological rigidity the drivers and co-determinants of maternal and child deaths, HIV and AIDS epidemic and entrenched gender insensitivities and the anti-modern health care stance cannot be addressed. This therefore motivates Dodzo *et al* (2016) to explain the main determinant of the ultra-conservative Apostolic churches towards health facilities pointing to their interpretation of sickness, injury and pregnancy which is often spiritualized that medicalized. Ultra-conservative Apostolic churches believe that everything that happens to a person has an origin and dimension of a spiritual realm. Such interpretations of health therefore become an important factor that influences and discourage women from seeking medical attention and intervention when it is necessary.

3.3 Apostolic Churches, Women and Marriage

A study conducted by Maguranyanga (2011) titled "Apostolic religion, Health and Utilization of Maternal Health in Zimbabwe" reveals that the status of women in Apostolic churches is determined by dynamic factors associated with cultural practices such as polygamy, religious beliefs and church doctrine that encourages multiple wives and numerous children. In this regard the manner in which women and children are treated in Apostolic churches is informed by the factors stated above. This explains, for example, why the practice of polygamy is rampant among Apostolic churches.

However, it is important to note that the practice of polygamy poses great health risks associated with HIV and AIDS, especially when one partner within the polygamous marriage is infected. There are also other social and cultural practices within Apostolic churches rampant that undermine the rights of women and children. These practices include polygamy, wife inheritance and pledging of young girls to marry older men. According to Maguranyanga (2011), that marriage of young children to older man under the guise of religion, the ultra-conservative Apostolic churches expose teenage girls to early pregnancies, pregnancy complications, risk to HIV and limit educational opportunities. However, to worsen the whole debate, the ultra -conservative Apostolic churches' teachings emphasizes marriage within their specific Apostolic church thereby discouraging women not get married to men from other Apostolic churches. This therefore appears to be a strategy planned to preserve the enculturation of Apostolic teachings and doctrine from being questioned by outsiders. Such conditions have therefore led to enlighten and the need for women and teenage girls to seek transformation on matters related to their sexual and reproductive health rights.

In addition to what has been discussed above, Machingura (2011) also highlights another important aspect that focuses on the shunning of any form of contraceptive by Apostolic religious groups. Observation is made that Apostolic churches hold a firm belief that any women who uses family planning or any form of contraceptive are sinning against God (Maguranyanga, 2011). According to Siyanda and Marevesa (2013), Apostolic Churches such as Johane Marange expose their members to risk due to their radical beliefs in relation to the use of modern health services. Men control every aspect of women's life in Apostolic churches as they determine how women should live their lives, including their sexual health. This control begins from the very first time a girl child is born. Such a desire to have control over the lives of women depicts the need for power and privilege within patriarchal structures that relegates women and girls to passive recipients of men's domination and abuse. In such circumstances, women are misled and socialized to accept that their role in marriage is giving birth and having as many children as men would like; and in so doing, they become 'good and faithful' wives to their husbands. This socialization is deeply engraved in women's understanding of their role to an extent that even though they stand to risk their health due to continuous pregnancy, they will continue to feel obligated as prescribed by the doctrinal teachings and beliefs of their Apostolic churches regarding marriage.

This section has pointed out the challenge's women face in Apostolic churches as relate to marriage. This now paves way for an in-depth discussion on the social and cultural practices that may have necessitated the agency for women to appropriate *runyoka*.

3.4 Social Practices Necessitating the Appropriation of *Runyoka*

According to statistics made available by Hagerman *et al* (2010), married women are increasingly at a greater risk of contracting HIV through copulating with their partners. It is therefore from this standpoint that reference to a study conducted by Carpenter (1999) is made. The study points out that in most cases, it is the husbands who are twice likely to contract HIV infections in a marriage context through promiscuity. This is natured by some social practices within the African society. It might be possible that such social perceptions and practices have necessitated women to appropriate *runyoka* in an endeavor to bring stability in their marriage relationships.

3.4.1 Men's High Sexual Urge

In the African context, men are not only portrayed but are also socialized to believe that they have a higher sex drive than their female counterparts. This idea of a high sex drive has been used by majority of men to justify their sexual urge necessitating the pursuit of multiple sexual partners and relations (Leclerc-Madlala 2000). According to Leclerc-Madlala (2000), there is a common belief among many people that men are biologically created with a higher sexual urge than woman. Leclerc-Madlala (2000) further explains that, with this kind of socialization and thinking, multiple sexual relationships among African men is construed to be a common phenomenon with men portrayed as working towards quenching their sexual appetite which is believed cannot be quenched by one woman in a marriage context. Since this understanding posits men as possessing higher libido than women, the socialization men portray suggests that men need more than a single woman to quench their unabated sexual desires. For example, in one of Madzibaba Stephen YouTube video titled 'Latest on Central locking system,' one man explained in Shona language stating:

“vadzimai vangu pavakaziva kuti ndiri kuita bonde nevamwe vakadzji vasiri iye ndakazongoshamisika ndakuona chombo change chisisamire kunze, ipapo ndakabva ndafungidzira kuti ndasungwa” (Mhungu, Youtube 2:40, Posted 21 October 2017 [youtube.com/watch?v=Zsqx7rxAM4y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zsqx7rxAM4y))

The translation is:

“When my wife suspected that I was having multiple sex partners, I was later surprised to find that I was no longer having an erection whenever I wanted to sleep with my other partners and that was the moment I suspected my wife had applied central locking system (*runyoka*) on me”

It is clear from the observation above that women in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church sought Madzibaba Stephen's intervention having suspected their husbands involved in multiple sexual partners. Culturally, it seems women are socialized into a control of having only one partner while men are allowed to engage in extra- marital sexual relations, a situation that fuels male infidelity viewed as a form of an 'deal' masculinity (Holtzam and McLeroy 2007:971). This seems to be one of the social practices that may have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka* within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church to combat and put into check and control the perception of men's high sexual urge.

3.4.2 Long Distance Relationships

According to Crush and Williams (2005), migration in Southern Africa is deeply gendered, a reality that has persisted since the colonial period with men moving while women restricted from migrating. However, the migration phenomenon has changed in postcolonial time where men are no longer dominating both internal and cross border migration. Women are also migrating as a result of the dilapidated economic system in countries which have scarcity of basic commodities and sky-rocketing inflations (Lefko-Everett 2007). The landscape of migration has hence shifted with emphasis also given to feminization of migration (Lefko-Everett 2007). The complexity of migration has therefore left many couples enduring in long distance relationships. Relating to a marriage partner from a long distance has become a breeding ground for promiscuity, especially for men, who seek comfort in engaging in multiple sexual relationships. This has therefore left their wives at the risk of STI's and HIV. Parikh (2007) points out that the unending call for gender equality which has taken centre stage in many African societies has been regarded as an attack on the male psyche and therefore men take it upon themselves by indulging in extramarital relationships to heal their bruised ego. Due to long distance relationship, women have therefore failed to keep the sexual escapades of their husbands in check. In such circumstances, a ritual such as *runyoka* is seen as an accessible and an alternative way of ensuring fidelity in their marriages despite constraints that distance subject their relations into.

According to Dixon-Muller and Wasseheit (1991), as much as married women feel they are faced with health risks of being infected with HIV, they display a sense of powerless to negotiate safer sex practices. Marshall and Taylor (2006) reiterated that the way women are socialized is a major problem that compounds their predicament in marriages; where women have grown accustomed to the fact that they are created to satisfy male sexual urge and pleasure. Furthermore, Menon (2014) observes that gender constructs results in imbalances in power between males and females and in many cases, married women are infected with HIV and thereafter suffer in silence due to the skewed power dynamics within the institution of marriage that bestow total control upon the husband. In addition, power imbalances within marriages restrict women from negotiating for safer sex as well as denying them their autonomy which results in an increase in the risk and vulnerability of women to HIV (Menon 2014:101). It can therefore be as result of the teachings women receive before they get into marriage which supports that as wives, women should subject themselves to the authority of the husband and they should never in any case challenge the husband. Muhwava (2004) further points out that many married women consider their marital status as a major risk factor for HIV infection as they are powerless to protect themselves. However, married women's inability to protect themselves and talk about their encounters is an indication of certain cultural traditions such as teachings and advices they get from elderly women in their communities. Within the African context, there are socially prescribed behaviors and cultural practices that have to be observed by both men and women. For example, within the traditional Shona culture, it is permissible for a man to have multiple sex partners. Failure to observe these behaviors and practices renders one to be a societal misfit. Many women therefore suffer in silence as they fear to be considered a societal misfit, should they contest cultural practices that are detrimental to their well-being (Muhwava 2004). However, in the current context of the HIV and AIDS epidemic, many of such prescribed behaviours and cultural practices expected of women such as encouraging women never to deny their husbands sex are harmful to their well-being. The realization that harmful cultural practices are a risk to women's health could be one of the main motivating reasons that explains the current appropriation of *runyoka* by women in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church, seen an effort to instill sexual discipline in their husbands.

3.4.3 Inability to Negotiate Safer Sex Practices

Women's agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* may have been also necessitated by their inability to negotiate for safer sexual practices within the context of patriarchal African marriages. According to Dube *et al* (2017) the use of condoms in a marital union is very rare due to the fact that condoms are associated with promiscuous behavior and condom negotiation is made difficult due to a popular belief that the main objective of marriage is to reproduce and expand the family. With this in mind, a woman cannot deny her husband sex even if she feels she is putting her health at risk. In addition to this, Maguranyanga (2011:34) further observes that within Africa Apostolic churches any form of contraception is discouraged and any attempt to use contraception is sanctioned by even church elders. For instance, Apostolic Churches prohibit the use of any form of family planning, contraceptive or any form of birth control as this is understood to be against the Biblical moral code arguing that one should not take away a human life (UNICEF 2015). This, kind of position among Apostolic churches makes it difficult for women to negotiate for safe sex, a position which portrays an increased health risk to women in Apostolic religious groups in Zimbabwe (Ngwaru 2019:13).

Tolan (2005:8) further reiterates that the vulnerability of women is further worsened by the coital ratio per week which is three or more times per week. According to Muhwava (2004:139) if a wife refuses his husband conjugal rights there are consequences and these consequences might range from violence, divorce, financial neglect and the husband might even opt for a remarriage to quench his sexual thirst. This situation does not help but worsens the risk of women's health even the more. It is in such circumstances that women have sought agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* which as a sexual control method. The three practices discussed above highlight the main social factors that could necessitate women to resort for the appropriation of *runyoka* as a form of agency. The section that follows discusses cultural practices that have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka*.

3.5 Cultural Practices Necessitating the Appropriation of *Runyoka*

In Zimbabwe, mainstream views of black magic relate to the utilization of hurtful enchantment and some other methods or gadgets in causing sickness, mishap or death or in bringing damage to any individual or creature or property (Chireshe *et al*, (2012:211), Chavunduka (2001). A man who speculates that his partner is being unfaithful may go to a traditional healer

(commonly referred to as a *n'anga* or a *sangoma*) and get a sort of prescription to put in her food or beverages (Chireshe *et al*, 2012). This medication has the impact of bringing a kind of distress called *runyoka*. If by any chance any man has sex with her, he will experience the ill effects of sickness. A spouse who speculates that her husband is having extramarital illicit relationships may likewise utilize mystery drugs to 'lock him up,' that is, to make it impossible for him to have an erection outside his marriage. This will guarantee unwavering sexual loyalty and consequently minimization of HIV transmission. On the other hand, however, even extramarital partners may make use of similar prescriptions in which case the legitimate spouse will be victimized of her matrimonial rights. The extramarital spouse may go to a *n'anga* to get the impact of the *runyoka* turned around. There are, as such, many cultural practices which necessitate the use of *runyoka*, the major of which are as contained in the following discussion.

3.5.1 Polygamy

Polygamy refers to a marriage relationship where a husband has two or more wives (Mbiti 1989). In Zimbabwe there are two types of polygamous marriages that are practiced. The first is a registered customary marriage prescribed under the Customary Act [Chapter 5:07] and the second one is an unregistered customary law union which is only strengthened by the payment of *lobola/roora* (Thobejane and Takayindisa 2014:14) however in Zimbabwe the most practiced one is the unregistered customary law union. Within Apostolic religious the unregistered one is the most practiced one. Men therefore feel empowered and at liberty to engage in polygamy based on the traditional cultural support they obtain in Zimbabwe. In an attempt to stifle the chances of ending up being in a polygamous marriage, woman can opt to appropriate the use of *runyoka*. The use of *runyoka* to control the husband will ensure that the husband will only be sexually available to the wife and not any other woman.

3.5.2 Lobola (Bride-price)

Traditionally, cattle are used as a means of officially acquiring women for marriage. A bride price is often demanded as a payment in exchange for a wife and the exchange was deemed as the only guarantee for a stable and conflict free marriage (Rajuili 2004: 200). In this regard, the practice of *lobola* is understood to be a way of creating long lasting relationships between the two families, strengthening relationships between the families of the wife and the husband. More importantly, within most African cultures, the payment of *lobola* is regarded as a sign of

unity and a symbol of respect for the married woman (Shope 2006). However, on the other hand, in as much as the payment of *lobola* symbolizes respect for the married woman, Tarugarira *et al* (2014:63) observes that the payment of *lobola* may be construed as the commodification of women. Further, *lobola* is considered as a transfer of the woman's rights from her family to the husband's family; thereby, if the husband dies, the wife is expected to be inherited by the surviving brother of the husband. It is also important to note that within Apostolic religious groups some parents pledge their younger daughters to elderly men for financial gains, with the age difference the possibility that young girls are widowed at a very young age is very high (Thobejane and Takayindisa, 2014). Thereafter, the woman continues to endure the obligations of being a wife.

With time evolving, *lobola* payment has also changed and money has replaced the payment of *lobola* in cattle form. This has however led to the commodification of women leading to imbalance of power in marriage often seeking to favor men than women (Shope 2006:68). This whole marriage set up serves to strengthen patriarchal privilege and structures worsening further the plight of women by placing their health into risk. Masenya (2003:107) observes that through the practice of *lobola*, the husband determines the wife's identity and the payment of *lobola* to the wife's family is often interpreted as paying for the complete and unreserved control of the wife and her body. In such cases, men build sense of entitlement to a woman's body, including sex. Women are therefore traditionally viewed as male property, leaving them with no say on what matters most – health decisions.

According to Shope (2006), patriarchal power is one of the key tenets at the centre of the debate over *lobola*. It can therefore be argued that whilst the payment of *lobola* traditionally accords respect and status for women, it is also seen as the thread that binds women to patriarchal authority (Shope 2006:69). Machingura (2011:194) had observed that within Apostolic religious churches, the rich and the elderly men who can pay *lobola* are the ones most parents pledge their daughters to. In this scenario girls are commodified thus resulting in them ending up in polygamous marriages. In this regard, *Lobola* gives the man the authority and imposes on women every reason to submit to the authority regardless of the risks that women are being exposed to. Therefore, in many cases, the practice of *lobola* robs women of their right to negotiate for safer sex methods within their marriages. A woman's body is regarded sexual as a measure for the continued promotion of patriarchal values since she is obligated to give birth to male heirs (Mbuwayesango 2007).

This therefore denotes that once a woman is married in the context of African Apostolic religious churches, she forfeits the privilege to make decisions on issues related to her sexual reproductive health such as protected sex, family planning and maternal health services. From my experience in the Zimbabwean context, if a woman fails to give birth to male heirs, her family is obliged to bring a substitute wife who in most cases is a younger sister or niece to the wife. In the case where the couple is failing to have a male child culturally considered to be an heir and are HIV infected, the substitute wife has high likelihood of being exposed to the virus as well. Mbuwayesango (2007:67) in this case observes that in circumstances where the husband is infertile, a close member of the family is secretly chosen to take over the infertile relative's duties in the bedroom, all in endeavor to provide and leave an heir for the family. It is therefore through the appropriation of *runyoka* that women can tilt the balance of power for an equal footing for their husbands. The appropriation of *runyoka* can also aid women in marriages to enjoy the respect they deserve as women who had the privilege of *lobola* paid to their family than being treated as commodities by their spouses. In cases where the woman fails to provide an heir for the husband, the probability of the husband getting a second wife is limited due to the appropriation of *runyoka*.

3.5.3 Widow Cleansing

The plight of a married woman continues even after the death of her husband. Certain cultural rites involving sexual relations have to be performed during and after the burial ceremony of the husband. One of the rites that are required of women is the widow cleansing ritual which is performed soon after the death of a husband. After the death of the husband, a widow is considered to be unclean and hence the need for a purification ritual (see Mugambe 2006 and Mwamaloba 2008). Furthermore, in both traditional and religious circles, there is the belief in supernatural forces that are deemed to be dangerous thereby necessitating the need for rituals or ceremonies to purify those who came into contact with such supernatural forces (Encyclopedia Americana cited in Mwamaloba 2008).

Further, Freedman (1992) points out that most religions believe contact with a corpse renders one impure. Rites associated with death are therefore held with fear; a situation that leads to the designation of widows being declared unclean (Gehnep cited in Mwamaloba 2008). However, it is also important to take into cognizance that within the Shona African culture, it is believed that the spirit of the dead can cause problems and also that there is need to

disconnect the spiritual connection between the dead husband and the spouse, hence the need to cleanse the widow. The cleansing is all patriarchal embedded since the widow after cleansing becomes accessible to any selected male member in the family to take over as husband. In this case, sexual intercourse is regarded as a means of widow cleansing.

Widow cleansing is understood to restore health to the family of the deceased and the community at large. In communities practicing this ritual, widows have no option but to partake in the ritual otherwise they will be ostracized from the community (Mwamaloba 2008). Fear of isolation, destitution and/or being ostracized, coupled with the powerlessness of women in negotiating for safer sex makes widows extremely vulnerable to HIV infection.

Widow cleansing therefore stipulates that the widow is expected to have sexual relations with a relative of the deceased husband (Mugambe 2006 and Mwamaloba 2008). However, in some communities, the widow is expected to secretly have sexual relations with someone outside the family of the deceased as a way of cleansing herself (Mwamaloba 2008). This act is believed to cleanse the widow from the spirit of the deceased husband which is believed to continuously haunt her if the cleansing ritual is not performed. The person doing the cleansing is normally expected to engage in unprotected sex. The use of condoms for the sexual ritual is forbidden because it is believed that the physical barrier renders the cultural ritual invalidity. In other cases, it is argued that using protection can evoke the wrath of the deceased if foreign objects are used on their wives (Shisanya 2006). The use of condoms even in Apostolic churches is shunned and this strengthens Machingura's (2011) observation that African Apostolic religious groups incorporate African cultural practices in their Christianity.

The practice of widow cleansing has health risks in the current context of HIV and AIDS. If the widow is infected with HIV, the person performing the cleansing ritual is at risk and in most cases, the cleanser is a married man with chances of infecting his wife with HIV. The situation becomes worse if the cleanser is in a polygamous marriage; all his wives will be at risk. If the cleanser is HIV infected and the widow is negative, the widow becomes most vulnerable to HIV (Bongmba 2007). On the other hand, Gausset (2001) observes that some African communities are aware of the risk of HIV infection through widow cleansing. In such case, there is a substitution of sexual cleansing with herbal remedies to purify the widow.

However, this alternative method is shameful to the widow as in many cases, it brings to the fore the widow's health status as well as denying her the right to undergo the traditional method of cleansing (Gausset 2001). An alternate model employed by other communities involves requesting the widow to undertake an HIV test. Nonetheless, this method is equally shameful to the widow who may experience stigma and discrimination, should she prove to be HIV positive (Gausset 2001:517). In remote and/or rural areas, a request for HIV test may be hindered by logistical problems including lack of transport (Gausset 2001). Drawing on this argument, this study argues that in most cases, only the widow is requested to take an HIV test while the status of the cleanser remains unknown. In this regard, the widow remains vulnerable to HIV infection. It is therefore important to note that within Apostolic religious churches the uptake of modern health services is not advisable. The possibility of being tested for HIV before the practice of widow cleansing is minimal. This study therefore argues that the need to protect their spouses against taking part in widow cleansing which is a cultural ritual in Zimbabwe; women within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church who happen to be ethnic groups who practice traditional widow cleansing might feel justified to adopt the appropriation of *runyoka*.

3.5.4 Levirate Marriage or Wife Inheritance

Based on the practice of widow cleansing discussed above, widows in some communities within sub-Saharan Africa are culturally expected accept inheritance in cases where a husband dies in order to ensure continued relations with her husband's family as well as retaining some of the productive resources she may have acquired through marriage. Mugambe (2006) observes that most women accept the practice of wife inheritance due to their economic vulnerability. Furthermore, Mugambe (2006:75) points out that women who are economically independent can opt to refuse to be inherited but inheritance laws in many sub-Saharan African countries deny women the ability to assume total control of the family property as a result of the death of a spouse. Women, therefore, accept levirate marriages as a way of gaining some control over their late husband's family property which ensures them access to land and food security (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002:54).

The cultural practice of levirate marriage or wife inheritance denotes that when a wife in the family loses her husband through death, one of the deceased's brothers is expected to take care of the family of the deceased and this includes taking over the widow as his own wife

(Mbuwayesango 2007:10) This practice is regarded as a way of appeasing the spirit of the deceased husband as well as safeguarding the widow from promiscuity which might shame the husband's family (Mugambe 2006). Justification of this cultural practice rests on the premise that it is a way for the surviving males in the husband's family to take care of their brother's widow, children and household. However, in some extreme cases, only the sexual rights of the widow are inherited (Mugambe 2006). Gausset (2001:31) argues that this practice is informed by socio-economic conditions dictating that a woman needs a man to look after her welfare, her children as well as ensuring that she has continued access to land.

Levirate marriages increase the vulnerability of married women to HIV infection (Mbuwayesango 2007). In many cases, no HIV tests are done before solemnizing this cultural arrangement. Furthermore, in this type of marriage, the inherited widow risks being infected by the inheritor (Mbuwayesango 2007). In cases where the widow is already infected with HIV, she risks passing the infection to the inheritor who will then pass it to his wife or wives (Mbuwayesango 2007). Most Apostolic religious churches promote multiple partnered marriages, so the idea of wife inheritance is rampant. According to Machingura (2011) in his article titled "A diet of wives as the lifestyle of the Vapostori Sects: Polygamy Debate in the face of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe" when a family member dies without siring an heir the family anoints a close relative to inherit the wife in an endeavor to sire an heir for the family.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter has provided a detailed background of African Apostolic religious churches and more specifically, looked at the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church their beliefs regarding issues around sexual reproductive health. The chapter discussed the social and cultural factors that have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka*. The objective of the chapter was to discuss in detail the links between the social and cultural factors that necessitated women's agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* and their role in African Apostolic religious churches.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS SETBACKS THAT WOMEN FACE IN NEGOTIATING SAFE SEX WITHIN MARRIAGE IN JOHANE MASOWE ZAMBUKO APOSTOLIC CHURCH

4.0 Introduction

Chapter three identified the socio-cultural factors that necessitated women's agency in appropriating *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. In my discussion, the chapter highlighted how the socio-cultural factors evident within African Apostolic churches, including Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic church, necessitates women's agency in the appropriation of *runyoka*. In this chapter, I now examine some key religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage, thereby contributing to their agency in seeking to appropriate the ritual of *runyoka*. The chapter concludes by pointing out how religious beliefs and practices necessitates women's agency in appropriating *runyoka*.

4.1 The Concept of Religion

Religion and spirituality are most of the times used interchangeably, although they have different meanings (Rumun 2014). Spirituality is defined in individual terms, characterized by experiences involving meaning, connectedness, and transcendence, whereas religion is defined in communal terms, characterized by institutionalized practices and beliefs, membership and modes of organization (Rumun 2014). Thus, whereas spirituality is understood at the level of the individual, religion is more of a social phenomenon, and as such is included in the more overarching concept of spirituality. Religion can also be conceptualized as religiousness, as an individual phenomenon, characterized by the adherence of an individual to specific beliefs and practices (Rumun, 2014; Testerman, 1997). The term "religion" is therefore increasingly used by scholars in the narrow sense of institutionally based dogma, rituals and traditions (Testerman, 1997). Pargament (1997), defines religion broadly as "the search for significance in ways related to the sacred," encompassing both the personal and social, traditional and non-traditional forms of the religious search. Pargament (1997) uses the term, "spirituality" to describe what he calls the central function of religion, that is, the search for the sacred

Religion also ought to be defined in terms of its relationship with law and human rights. As already noted, its definition is not free from controversy (Mutangi, 2008:9). Horton (1960) summarizes three prominent definitions of religion. One defines religion as ‘covering an area of human activity which lacks sharply delineated boundaries’, the second refers to religion as ‘a class of metaphorical statements and actions obliquely denoting social relationships and claims to social status’, whilst the third definition is that of ‘the belief in the supernatural’. Religion takes the boundless and binds it into the limitations of language and culture, even as it may also transform culture. For the purpose of this study, Horton’s third definition of religion would apply.

4.2 Religion, Gender and Health in African Apostolic Religious Groups

In Apostolic Churches, the number of wives for a male church member is a reliable proxy measure of his seniority or status in church leadership (Mpofu *et al.*, 2011:562). In this case, women and children are spiritual minors to males. Church prophets are believed to have the gift to intercede between the living and the spirit world, and to be empowered by the Holy Spirit to drive out demons that may be causing illness among prospective or current church members. The predominant belief in metaphysical explanations for their health conditions adds to the church’s control and regulation of health aspects of members’ lives. Most studies done seem to attest how health belief systems shaped by cultural, economic and religious factors affect the experience of health and illness decisions and behaviours regarding treatment and satisfaction provided (Mufunda, Albin and Hjem, 2012; Mbanya *et al.*, 2010; Chalmers, 1996:31).

In most of the cases, religious beliefs underlie or lead to the sexual abuse of women. For example, some of the women are coerced into sexual relations with some male church members based on “God-given” claims obtained from supernatural dreams directing such marital unions. In most of the cases, it has been noted that often it is the interested male or his male friends or accomplice who claim to have had the dream, and the women, out of the fear of God, unwittingly follow the instructions given (Ngwaru 2018). Most apostolic churches would rather prefer to deal with the issues of female abuse within their structures and this could be the reason why they shun participation. Although most of them do not keep organized records of sexual abuse, it is evident that these churches deal with these cases due to the highly patriarchal nature of their different denominations. Called by different names, AICs

have some form of disciplinary committees in each and every of their circuit or branch or diocese which is composed of church elders and headed in most cases by the head of that unit. In most cases, this is usually the head *madzibaba* or *mufundisi*, depending on how they call these members of the clergy (Masanya, 2003). An example through which women's sexual choices are negated in the Zambuko Apostolic Church is through the belief that women who are barren or infertile can be cured by the male priests or by having intercourse with particular men or a group of men. By engaging in sex with specific male partners selected from within the church, it is believed that spiritual healing could occur and cure the woman of infertility (Machingura 2014). This practice has since given rise to many unwanted husbands, unwanted children as well as unwanted marriage arrangements, especially because involved males are often married to other women.

It is important therefore to take cognizance of the fact that healing and health play a very noteworthy role in the existence of African people. Magezi (2016) noted that in Africa, life is premised on a very broad understanding whereby to be fit means to be free from sickness and diseases, free from the challenges of life, having a job and a good marriage. In comprehensive terms, healthiness is a state of wellbeing in all areas of life. Within African Apostolic Churches, healing and the quest for wellbeing plays a fundamental role. Machingura (2014) and Daneel (1970) concur on the fact that healing is used as a tool for evangelism. In this light, healings in the African Apostolic Churches has greatly been influenced by the Shona cultural context. The world is interpreted in spiritual and religious ways and science has no place. The African culture has cultivated within Africa a very strong belief that the relationship between the universe and its creator is a very strong one. Within African societies any form of misfortune and death is interpreted as an act of evil spirits and the only solution to rectify the misfortune would be through consulting a greater power (Lartey 2005). With this in mind, Maguranyanga (2011) observes that in Apostolic Churches, it is believed that sicknesses are as a consequence of witchcraft, evil spirits or a bad association with God which can only be restored spiritually and not by modern medication. This has therefore influenced the perception of the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church members and their health seeking behaviours.

Influenced by this type of devoutness, the African Apostolic Churches emphasize more on divine healing and prophecy (Chitando *et. al.*, 2014). Paying particular attention to health within the Ultra-conservative strands of the Apostolic Churches which include Johane

Marange, Johane Masowe and the Madhidha they remain firm on their belief on healing and do not tolerate its members to utilize modern medicine (Maguranyanga 2011). However, it is important to take note that the semi conservative and the liberal groups of the Apostolic churches are slightly flexible when it comes to health, healing and modern medicine. For example, African Apostolic Church (*Mwazha*) and Zion Christian Church (*Samuel Mutendi*), display doctrines that are not evidently noticeable on matters related to divine healing. They therefore encourage their members to seek prayer before they would proceed for medical care from modern health care facilities (Maguranyanga 2011). According to UNICEF (2015), it is observed that all illnesses and diseases among the Apostolic religious groups are believed to be caused by evil spirits and demons, hence they have to be dealt with spiritually within the church. Church elders, prophets and Apostolic birth attendants who are believed to be graced with divine power to solve any health problems are the ones who have the sole responsibility to deal with health problems that arise from time to time. UNICEF (2015) further posits that in the ultra-conservative constituent, using of modern medical facilities is absolutely intolerable. Machingura (2014) and Maguranyanga (2011) concur that modern health facilities and medicines are viewed as institutions of the devil. The Apostolic Churches consequently regard modern health facilities and medicines as originations of men, hence to them abandoning faith healing and turning to medical care is a symbol of little faith in God (see Dodzo *et al* 2016). Dodzo *et al* (2016) further suggests that the Apostolic Churches also create their maternal health services to followers outside their religious clusters. Whereas UNICEF (2015) and Machingura (2014) contend that the Apostolic Churches refuse medical treatment grounded on religious beliefs, Dodzo *et al* (2016:30) shows that religious segregation in the health facilities against the Apostolic Church members motivated them to make alternative provisional health centers to care for the sick.

4.2.1 Apostolic Churches unwillingness to Educate the Girls and Child Marriages

The women's ability to negotiate for safer sex is possibly influenced by their academic level. In order for one to understand, there is a need they have to be educated first. Obviously, this is of importance because even though the leaders and preachers often use Shona, they speak of laws and constitutional issues which require one to have an appreciable level of education to understand. The issue of dependence on the views of other listeners is on the center stage in the debates on the role of education in the ability to negotiate for safe sex. This is especially

so since women often listen to their friends, relatives and peers (Machingura 2014). Hence, most of the views people hold over such decisions like the use of condoms is adopted from their friends (Maguranyanga 2011). This shows that whilst one's level of education plays a critical role in determining their understanding and, consequently, the ability to negotiate for safer sex, the role of hearsay and shared views with friends and peers is also influential in dictating how they perceive and understand the any topic on sex. If the women have heard negative views on the safer sex, then there are high chances of holding and passing on the same negativity. Likewise, holding positive views may also lead to the transfer and perpetuation of the same.

According to Bishau (2010), Apostolic churches such as Johane Marange and Johane Masowe belong to the world of people who neither write nor read many books, often because the majority are illiterate and are rarely understood when they express themselves. This therefore translates to high rate of illiteracy that influences negatively their theological articulation of educational and sexual reproductive health issues particularly in relation to women. The lack of desire to educate women is therefore a way of ensuring women remain subordinated to men because with education comes enlightenment. The enlightenment will encourage women to challenge practices such as unsafe sex practices that exposes them to HIV and other STT's. It is unbelievable how any form of family planning is prohibited as ungodly. Women who engage in any form of family planning are likened to murderers and put in the same rank as those who engage in abortions (Maguranyanga 2011).

Machingura (2011) observes that girls can be married off as soon as they reach grade seven which is the last level in primary school in Zimbabwe. This therefore means that girls can be married off at about thirteen years old and this further worsens the plight of the girl child venturing into marriage without the required maturity to deal with the demands of marriage. By marrying young and uneducated girls, older men in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church have the advantage to control aspects of their lives, including sexual and reproductive health of the young girls without being questioned. Older men within the Apostolic religious context are drawn to younger girls due to the fact that they believe they are sexually pure (Masanya, 2003). Sexual purity is one of the teachings that girls within African Apostolic religious groups are taught to observe (Ngwaru 2018). Power is therefore exercised without being threatened, resulting in men having the privilege to control even the sexuality of their wives without resistance. This is as result of low levels of education as most of the women in

Apostolic churches lack understanding of sexual reproductive health rights. Therefore, the inability to articulate issues due to lack of education becomes a major stumbling block to the young girls married by older men in Apostolic churches such that they end up feeling powerless to negotiate for safer sex practices in their marriages.

Religious institutions like Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's Zambuko Church have often put forward interpretations of scriptures and religious law to justify early marriage. Thus, in the Zambuko church, the practice of *runyoka* reinforces both value-based and protective arguments for the subordination of women. Values-based arguments are used strategically to define or assert group identity and early marriage can be part of a struggle over cultural traditions and the future meaning of those customs. On the other hand, protective arguments reflect the view that early marriage and the use of *runyoka* will protect girls and their families from shame and the stigma of unsanctioned sexual relations. This view contradicts the belief among older men in the church who believe that an unborn female child could be pre-selected by the higher spiritual influence to be married to a church leader, and those early marriages for girl children occurred more often than by chance (Mpofu et al., 2011).

African indigenous churches still perpetuate discrimination and the oppression of women within their congregations (Mutangi, 2008), thereby defeating the efforts of many civil society organizations trying to eradicate inequality and to emancipate women. Children are also affected, especially girls, because it is considered unnecessary to send a girl to school given that she will get married upon reaching puberty. Hodzi (2014) states that at the heart of the reasons for these 'unions' are issues of sexuality, power and patriarchy (Hartmann, 1981), culture, religion and a touch of poverty, being other drivers of such marriages. The dominant view is that a girl's virginity will be more secure if she is married off early rather than left to be explored by her as she is allowed to grow.

4.2.2 Apostolic Doctrinal Belief and Teaching on Spiritualization of Illness

There are various beliefs and practices which exist within the apostolic churches, perhaps even more than in other non-apostolic Christian churches. The awareness of Apostolic religious groups as Spirit-type churches (Gregson *et al.*, 1999) has a great influence in their religious beliefs and practices in that, everything that revolves around their life is interpreted spiritually. The Holy Spirit is therefore the basis of spiritual revelation, prophecy, healing, instruction, and protection. According to Machingura (2011), the Holy Spirit is embraced as the divine force

that guides the church and equips prophets and some church leaders and members with special prophetic and healing powers. This understanding therefore reinforced and influenced the ultra-conservative Apostolic religious groups, for example, to shun the use of modern medicines, health services and contraceptives as they believe it is against what is expected by the church's teachings and is of the devil. In this case, women are discouraged to take medication and advise from medical practitioners on issues related to their sexual and reproductive health. For example, UNICEF (2015) report shows that there is a belief among most Apostolic churches, including Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church; that all illnesses and diseases are caused by evil spirits and demons. For this reason, Apostolic churches religiously believe that any type of illness have to be dealt with spiritually within the church. Gregson *et al* (1999) concurs with this perspective postulating that the understanding of the spiritual realm is divided into two, which is the Holy Spirit against the evil spirits. Sibanda and Marevesa (2013) therefore argue that the Johane Marange sacrifice lives of its members based on their radical beliefs that discourage the use of western medicine and modern health services.

Caldwell *et al* (2002) contends that as a result of the perpetuation of such cultural beliefs like male sexual superiority in some religions, men are accepted to have a characteristic or organic requirement for sex that makes it inadmissible for them to acknowledge sexual submission in a solitary relationship, rather than to have numerous sexual mates. This social generalization likewise puts young men in danger of contracting HIV as they will experience the social strain that comes with set ideals of being real or genuine man. Norms and practices in Zimbabwe have reproduced male mindset that is portrayed by a disguised, voracious and narcissistic want for sex with multiple women, coupled with a prejudiced frame of mind towards ladies who are seen to be essential objects for sexual delight and the bearing of children (Zvoushe, 2012). This conduct fundamentally increases the odds of such men to contract HIV infection and in this way pass it on to the following female partners.

It is therefore noted that in most cases, Apostolic leaders encourage faith-healing as the only option and remedy to deal with diseases and illness while the use of modern health services is viewed as a weakness from the devil. This has disempowered women in these religious groups to have ownership of their sexual and reproductive rights. They therefore emphasize strict adherence to religious teachings and practices, compliance with normative values, and impose penalties on those who violate church regulations and religious teachings (Gregson *et al*. 1999).

This has consequently resulted in the followers of the Apostolic churches to look for alternative ways of not only dealing with their sexual and health problems, but also health services that are allowed by their religious beliefs and laws. This kind of doctrinal belief and teaching espoused in Apostolic religious groups therefore serves as an influencing factor in disempowering women in Apostolic churches to negotiate for safe sex in marriage. This is because these women do not get in contact with modern medical health facilities where they get to learn and be informed about safe sex practices. Therefore, their inability to negotiate for safe sex is as a result of knowledge deficiency on issues related to sex and reproductive health. For example, based on strong emphasis of illness as spiritual in Apostolic religious contexts, women are prohibited from having a say whether or not and when to use of condoms even in situations where they feel their health is at risk of contracting HIV.

It is therefore important to note that the alternative health services are not user friendly and expose women to risk. Within the ultra-conservative Apostolic churches such as, the religious teaching, practices, and church regulations profoundly shape health-seeking behaviors, and is therefore not surprising to note that the ultra-conservative Apostolic groups are likely to have a significant proportion of their adherents suffering from or dying from conditions which can otherwise be addressed easily through medical assistance (Mbuwayesango, 2007). Women in these religious spaces have been indoctrinated to such an extent that the doctrine they receive from their church leaders and prophets go unquestionable to an extent that negotiating safer sex practices that can minimize their chances of dealing with unplanned pregnancies or sexual transmitted diseases through the use contraceptives and condoms is almost impossible (Ngwaru 2018).

Despite evidence of such teachings, the appropriation of *runyoka* in Apostolic churches contributes to one of the ways through which women see the possibility of being empowered to have a say on their sexuality. Religion largely changes the way some of the women think and understand issues they are indoctrinated with at the church. In some churches, such women will become so accustomed to abuse that they actually do not see things, as they should in normal circumstance. The abuse will have become so entrenched that even when they hear the truth, they actually think the preachers are wrong.

Religion is therefore utilized as a tool contributing to the failure of women to be open-minded regarding issues related to sexual and reproductive health. They actually perceive the

transformational programmes to be the work of the devil. In fact, some of the Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe advocate against listening to anyone talking against church programs because it is considered as one of the dangerous things to women.

4.2.3 Submission to Husbands

It is important to note that the position of women in the Apostolic churches is one of submission despite the fact that numerically they are the majority (Kutsira 2013). This might be as a result of their upbringing in an Apostolic church context where they are taught that submission entails humility to God and their husbands. Kutsira (2013) observes that among Johanne Masowe eChishanu, women do not have problems with submitting to their husbands. This kind of teaching creates a rich platform for men to abuse and take advantage of women through control and manipulation. It also gives a clear picture that women in Apostolic religious space cannot question the authority of their husbands resulting in men enjoying a lot of privileges than women in their marriages. This results to subordination of women. This understanding of obedience and submission needs to be critiqued since it turns to be religiously oppressive to women.

The form of indoctrination that is prevalent within Apostolic Churches is so strong to the extent that women submit to the demands of their husbands the same way they submit to God. Some of the doctrine prevalent within Apostolic churches relates to women's subordination, women not allowed to take powerful positions in the church, marriages are arranged through prophets and church leaders and the idea of large families being supported by the church (Ngwaru 2018). Oppression within these circles seem natural to an extent that women feel it is the will of God that they should be victims of male chauvinism. It is also important to note that the principles that guide women and men in the Apostolic churches have been applied in double standards. For example, within Apostolic churches, education is a privilege for the boy child. Machingura (2014) further postulates that men have the freedom of 'marrying outside' the church while women are forbidden. In cases where a girl marries someone who does not belong to their church the parents do not accept the bride price (Machingura 2014). Giving birth to as many children as one could possibly manage remains the main aim of many women in the Apostolic Churches as required by the Apostolic teachings and doctrines (Gwaru 2018). This belief is based on their interpretation of the bible which encourages people to give birth and multiply. Machingura (2014) observes further that

men in Apostolic churches play no responsibility in the welfare of children as they grow up. It is assumed therefore, that the role of women is to ensure that children have everything they need, and it is done through doing menial jobs. Due to teachings within Apostolic Churches which reinforces that decision by men cannot not questioned and that women can never have the capacity to challenge their husbands to be responsible in issues related to their children's welfare. This therefore further compromise the ability of women to negotiate safe sex with their husbands as the patriarchal system in the Apostolic churches relegates them to the peripheries of decision-making giving men the monopoly to do as they please.

Chitando (2014) observes that there are some interlocking similarities between Old Testament Jewish Tradition and the Shona culture. It is there as a result of these interlocking similarities the presence of a strong patriarchal dominance is felt in Apostolic churches. The link between culture and the Apostolic churches' religious belief system is therefore evident and cannot be disputed. For example, the authority of their agency in seeking to appropriate the ritual of *runyoka* as an option for their safety. The next chapter seeks to establish the flourishing of women and transformation in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church through women's agency. husband in the African culture and the African Apostolic churches are unquestioned and unchallenged and the role of women in both entities is relegated to childbearing and satisfying the husband's needs. This means that women have a double oppression from their Shona culture and religious expectations which are not often easy to break away from. Kutsira (2013) and Machingura (2011) concurs that respect of women's voice does not exist in the JMAC. In marriage, women are reduced to objects, merely created to satisfy the sexual appetites of men. To achieve their selfish goals, male elders, prophets and churches facilitate marriages of young girls even without their consent. Everything is arranged and finalized without the input of the girl who is getting into the marriage (Machingura 2011). Often, the Bible is used as a tool to enforce such marriages while in other times, the unquestioned voices of the Apostolic Church prophets are sought. Situations of forced marriages have forced teenage girls to drop out of school in order to get married to men who are older than their own fathers. The young girls will then be expected to get pregnant and bear children, yet their bodies are not fully developed and matured to sustain the process of pregnancy and delivering of babies which usually result in complications that may eventually lead to maternal deaths (UNICEF 2015). Muronda in Machingura (2014) asserts that parents or guardians can make marriage arrangements for their adolescent daughters in accordance with the Shona traditional custom *kuɓvarira*, where a girl can be pledged as a wife even before

birth. Some arranged marriages are done by parents for economic gains. Kutsira (2013) concurs with Machingura (2011) but stresses that some families survive on marrying off their children to fellow church members. It is important to note that when marrying off the child it is the men who make decision on who to marry off their daughters too. Therefore, this patriarchal dominance within African Apostolic marriages that makes it hard for women to negotiate for safer sex practices.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has explored key religious factors that constrain women to negotiate safer sex practices within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic church. Discussed in the chapter are definitions of the concept of religion, gender and health in African Apostolic religious groups. Among the key factors highlighted are the unwillingness to educate the girls, child marriages the need for women to submit to their husbands and doctrinal teachings and spiritualization of illnesses. The chapter has pointed out these key religious factors that act as setbacks for women in negotiating safe sex within marriage.

CHAPTER FIVE

FLOURISHING OF WOMEN AND TRANSFORMATION OF APOSTOLIC CHURCHES THROUGH WOMEN'S AGENCY

5.0 Introduction

Chapter four discussed the religious setbacks that women face in seeking to negotiate safe sex in marriage within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Church. The chapter examined key religious teachings and doctrinal position which inform factors that contribute to setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage. Within the context of this study, these factors inform women's agency in seeking to appropriate the ritual of *runyoka*, with a hope that they will be able to negotiate safe sex with their husbands. Chapter Five will therefore discuss how women's agency can bring about transformation in a context of socio-cultural and religious factors that inhibit women to negotiate safer sex practices by opting to appropriate *runyoka*. The chapter examines what would 'flourishing' mean for women in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church

5.1 Transformation within Christian Churches and in the Zambuko Apostolic Church

The next section explores women's agency within African Apostolic churches.

5.1.1 Faith Communities as an Agent of Social Transformation

Research on the relationship between Christian religion and well-being has concluded that nurturing, non-punitive religion is associated with mental and physical health and that active participation in activities of any faith community that enhances the member's social support system is beneficial (Faull 2012). Being part of a group with strong moral values has a stabilizing effect on members and compels them to consider the welfare of others. In recent times, realities on the African continent has shown how religious communities such as churches use unity as an advantage by updating, motivating and advancing thought-provoking issues for the contemporary church to act upon or react to, against political, economic and social injustices (Van Wyk, 2017). According to Omar (1999:27), the local church, for example, is influenced and driven by the reformation agenda in a secularized state. Moreover,

Omar continues to observe that contemporary churches, in particular the “religious leaders are obliged to maintain their historic role of being the moral conscience of society and raise their voices of protests against ... violations of human dignity.” It is therefore evident that church leaders should be compelled to exercise their historic role and constitutional duty to work together with government to achieve moral generation as a common cause to transform society.

Maseno and Owojaiye (2015) bring to fore characteristics of indigenous African church women after conversion exemplified in their dress code, cleanliness and confessional practice. They highlight significant changes to the lives of women in their cuisine, hospitality and in their rejection of versions of polygyny (Maseno and Owojaiye, 2015). It further shows that revival focused attention on the home beyond cleanliness and hospitality even as married women were frequently among the first to hear their husband’s confessions of their behaviours such as drinking, abuse or adultery.

There are similarities of roles between faith communities as agents of social transformation and the community development workers. Community development workers “are participatory change agents who work in the communities where they live, and to whom they have to answer for their activities. They are required to help people in their communities improve their own lives and change their circumstances” (UNICEF 2015). This approach is very much in line with this research’s social constructionist view that sees religion as a means of social transformation. In this case, the “locality” of the faith community, therefore, determines its participatory role. The church, for instance, is not simply a model community or “counter-community,” but rather an integrated part of any particular community while remaining true to her peculiarity as a model community. The church is therefore informed by the community about its “practical calling,” pointing to specific issues it is called to address. This approach of being sensitive to the community means the agent of transformation must affect the people both economically, politically, socially and personally (Emedi, 2010). Pillay (2017) states that throughout the ages, in spite of other ecclesiologies, the church has been involved in the life of humankind, in making of nationhood, building of culture, structuring of society with its functions and institutions and in shaping the form and quality of political systems.

Sundkler and Steed (2000) observe the ambivalent role the church has played in being a catalyst for women's liberation and her complicity in their subordination (Mwaura, 2005). On the one hand, the church, they note, had opened up new opportunities for women through education for girls and through roles of leadership. On the other hand, the church operated in and through the churches, discriminating practices upheld by 'divine authority.' Women in these churches find relief for their physiological and psychological symptoms that are often linked with dissatisfaction at home. Elsewhere in Africa, African Initiated Churches (AICs), have healing homes and even hospitals that deal with women's specific problems like infertility, maternity care and their roles as wives and mothers (Mwaura, 2005). Women thus give each other material and spiritual support, which could be interpreted as liberation. Women, just like men, therefore experience the Holy Spirit and are endowed with the ability to dream, see visions, prophesy, preach, teach, exorcise and even heal (Mwaura 2005).

The church as a religious and social organization, driven by moral and social principles as contained in the fundamental teachings and doctrine of Christian faith, is expected to play an important role towards the social change and the improvement on society's value system. This will lead to the transformation of the social life and put society in a holistic growth- and development-oriented direction. There is the assumption that if Christianity dominates a community and overrules the traditional laws, ethics and norms with her model principles of life, such community will be transparent in politics, policy formulation and implementation of public programmes and projects (Akanbi and Beyers, 2017). In other words, in a community where there is a considerable influence of Christianity, it is expected that there should be less of social vices because Christian teachings and doctrines should aim at transforming individual lives and re-brand the society. This should be to the extent that there will be political stability, economic prosperity, social and moral sanity, a reduced rate of corruption and mutual cooperation among individuals and groups, including religions.

Durkheim (1997:64), stressing the importance of religion and its role, states that in the most primitive tribe, religion is a strong integrative force through its instillation of common values and identity and that religion comes with values and norms that are shared within groups. This, according to him, helps strengthen the integrity of a society (Durkheim, 1997). Durkheim (1997:187) is interested in religion largely because he considers religion to be especially effective in developing common value and, therefore, it is a good source of integration.

Faith institution and communities in a religious society like Africa, in particular, are expected to play a very important role in motivating and influencing the social-political and economic life of the people within their community. As has been stated in the previous chapter, religion goes further and beyond its role in strengthening the social fabric. Religion exerts a cultural influence so deep that it has in effect become a defining factor of the world's major civilizations. Despite the shortcomings of some of the Pentecostal churches, especially in their emphasis on health and wealth gospel, their contribution to nation building cannot be overlooked as their contribution is significantly remarkable. In this way religion does influence society (Akanbi and Beyers, 2017). According to Pobee (1997), the transformation of human beings concerns the impacts conveyed by the society to tolerate the individuals growing up with it and must include what is personal, sensual, material and spiritual in trying to understand the concepts of God. Within a society, transformation alludes to social changes in the human culture, in this manner, personal satisfaction, organization and nature (Pobee 1997).

5.1.2 Transformation within the Zambuko Apostolic Church

The Apostolic Church Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ) took insight of the way that women were powerless and, hence, their empowerment ought to be mainstreamed inside the congregations. The association ran programs that managed HIV and AIDS from a gender point of view (Chitando *et al.*, 2014:145). They impugned customary marriage and wife inheritance issues, settling on Christian marriage and common marriage that does not conflict with the biblical esteems. Such a conviction coming from the ecumenical body is a reasonable sign of their exertion towards social change. The move has likewise energized and encouraged indigenous Apostolic supporters to come up with empowerment programs and not become objects of criticism as a result of their neediness. ACCZ changed the practices, laws, arrangements and rules that have generally been acknowledged inside the Apostolic Churches which fuel the spread of HIV and AIDS, for example, polygamy, spouse inheritance, child marriages and declining to go to medical clinics (Chitando *et al.*, 2014). Even so, in Zimbabwean media and culture, religious generalizations work at both between faith and intra-faith levels. In spite of the fact that between faith, assessments are not plainly communicated, the media now and then displays inconspicuous religious preferences. For instance, the Zambuko Apostolic church's prophet or profound healers are significant objects of satire on social media. In this way, the Apostolic prophets of the Johanne Masowe and

Johanne Marange bunches are lumped into a similar classification with the African Doctor as individuals who are caught in a time travel. The media will in general speak of African Independent Churches and African Traditional Religion as retrogressive and hostile to advancement.

As Apostolic church seeks to reproduce itself over time, it also must achieve transformative growth. The church also perceives public education for children important for their individual health and wellbeing in a modernizing national economy. The school is the major institution from which church members learn developmentally appropriate social behavior for the wider community, of which their church is a relatively disconnected part. Prospects exist for some of the children from the church community to attain bicultural social competencies from participating in the diverse value systems represented by church and school (Mpofu and Watkins 1997). However, children from the church community could also experience estrangement from the competing value systems of the church and school, and this would carry significant risk for wellbeing.

Despite recent changes in ideology aimed at improving access to health services for members of the Apostolic faith and spearheaded by the Union for the Development of Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe (UDA-CIZA), traditional beliefs still prevail especially among the ultra-conservative Marange and Madhidha Apostolic groups (Gwavuya and Salama 2018). These deleterious impacts on access to health and health outcomes can be exacerbated by the asymmetric power that the churches bestow to men and husbands, which constrains women's decision-making in relation to health. The ACCZ has noticed the victimization of women and has supported their empowerment. Therefore, the association has suggested that women's empowerment and transformation is a big test to the apostolic churches, as well as to the common society. A transformed woman is able to assert her dignity. However, to the extent that there exists women disempowerment in the Zambuko Apostolic church, so are some of the men also disempowered. Chitando *et al.*, (2014) explain this by stating that those men who disempower women are also victims of their own arrogance.

5.2 Women's Agency and Flourishing in the Zambuko Apostolic Church

5.2.1 The Concept of Flourishing

According to Keyes (2002), the presence of mental health is described as flourishing and the

absence of mental health is characterized as languishing in life. Keyes (2002) further unpacked that one key characteristic of flourishing is positive functioning and it has six psychological wellbeing dimensions. The six dimensions include self-acceptance, positive relations with others, personal growth, purpose in life, environmental mastery and autonomy. It is therefore important to note that individuals function well when they like most parts of themselves, have warm and trusting relationships, seeing themselves developing into better people, have direction in life, are able to shape their environment to satisfy their needs and have a degree of self-determination. It is important to note that the principle of flourishing first addresses the individual's psychological wellbeing which has an impact on the individual's mental health. Mental health is therefore an integral part of human flourishing hence without it, individuals fail to function properly which in turn affects their relationship with other individuals. Through the appropriation of *runyoka* as a way of demonstrating their agency, women have sought to bring about transformation in Johanne Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church, capability to allow women to flourish as individuals.

However, it is of utmost importance to note that there is more to flourishing in life than just psychological wellbeing. Keyes (2002) argues that whereas psychological wellbeing represents more private and personal criteria for evaluation of one's functioning, social wellbeing epitomizes the more public and social criteria whereby people evaluate their social functioning in life. These social dimensions consist of social coherence, social actualization, social integration, social acceptance and social contribution. It is of utmost importance to note that individuals function well when they see society as meaningful and understandable, when they see society as possessing potential for growth, where they feel they belong to and are accepted by their own communities, where they accept most parts of their communities and where they see themselves contributing to community. This relates with one key tenet of *nego-feminism* which states that one key element in African communities is their existence through interaction with others and the meaning that is derived through those interactions with significant others (Keys, 2002). Flourishing in this case is being made a reality through women's agency by the appropriation of *runyoka*. Conflicts in marriages can really hamper women's ability to flourish in their societies because it lowers their self-esteem and self-respect. However, women's agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* ensures that women develop a sense of peace of mind. In various ways, this can enable women to have a positive impact on their general flourishing as individual and in their communities (Masanya, 2003).

5.2.2 Women's Agency in Faith Communities

According to Samari (2017:561), agency entails the capability to articulate one's own strategic choices, to regulate resources, and to make attitudinal changes under evolving constraints. Samari (2017) further articulates that while there are several related terms including women's status, gender equality, and women's autonomy, agency is a context-specific, multidimensional construct, functioning at individual and communal levels with application to societies. In this regard, since agency is context specific its presence among women of African Apostolic churches is undeniable, especially looking at their ability appropriate *runyoka*. Agency in this case includes attitudinal changes, favoring gender equity or greater participation in decision-making (Kabeer 1999). It is therefore important to note that the appropriation of *runyoka* in AICs did not happen in a vacuum but rather as a result of women identifying that there was a problem and the problem therefore needed a solution. In this regard *runyoka* aided woman in bringing the much-needed equity between man and women in a patriarchal space. It is rather this change in attitude as influenced by women's agency that brought about the need to appropriate *runyoka* as a response to challenges they face in their marriages as a result of religious beliefs, socio-cultural factors and doctrinal teachings.

Samari (2017) shows, for example, that despite the attention devoted to women's agency and fertility, empirical studies have not been able to clarify the relationship in developing countries. There are several potential hypotheses. First, greater agency can change a woman's fertility desires, making it more acceptable to hold lower fertility aspirations. Second, greater agency may provide women with more access to information about reproductive health, which may lower fertility desires (Samari 2017:563) I concur with Samari's (2017) assertion, however the issue of reproductive health is still a contentious issue within AICs. The aspect of access to information regarding reproductive health among women within the African Apostolic religious context is a cause of disagreement because the doctrinal teachings within these AICs knowledge about and access to information on women's sexual reproductive health will allow women to flourish in relation to their sexual and reproductive health needs, decisions and behaviors. Access churches do not allow them to use the services of modern health facilities. Yet in this age of HIV and to information on sexual reproductive health service will empower women to have informed decisions on safer sex practices since African Apostolic churches' doctrines and teachings support polygamous marriages and yet

polygamous marriages put women at risk of being infected with HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Ackermann, 2008). This study further observes that greater agency is linked with the desire for fewer children. Some studies such as Balk (1994) and Mason (1987) assume that agency is associated with fertility in the same way as measures of women's status (education and employment). Education and employment increase the opportunity cost of having children, which reduces the desired number of children (Balk, 1994; Mason, 1987). Samari (2017) further articulates that women with much agency have greater cognizance of the opportunity costs of having children. Delays in childbearing among women with much agency could reflect deliberate decisions of the higher opportunity cost of children or simply the cumulative effects of time spent in activities that compete with childbearing like education and establishing employment. This is rather contrary to what the ultra- conservative Apostolic churches' belief entails in relation to childbearing. Childbearing is central to their belief as children are viewed as a source of labour (Maguranyanga 2011). This is one aspect the agency of women through the appropriation of *runyoka* seeks to address as it results in monogamous relationships that will reduce significantly the number of children per family.

Mason (1987) as cited in Samari (2017), discovered that greater agency also equips women to adopt new fertility attitudes in relationships. Women with less control in the household may be restricted in family-planning decision-making and negotiations with partners about contraceptive use (Maisto, 2008). For example, in Zimbabwe, women with no decision-making power had more children than women who had some power (Hindin, 2000). According to Samari (2017), in Egypt, women are either under collective decision-making with their parents or completely rely on the male partner's decisions on issues that affect their reproductive lives.

In her study on AICs, Mwaura (2005) argues that women are left out in the terms of leading the Apostolic churches. They depend on the guideline of co-dependency. In most cases, women may hold, in this regard, positions of power due to their spouses' situations as priests (Mwaura 2005:423). Where a woman might be the senior member, a male may exist as an ostensible head. Spouses and even girls of religious administrators might be appointed ministers because of places of their husbands or fathers. Such women may obtain great influence for they may have a role in the arrangement of the organization and setting up activities that advantage other women. Messages of independence, equivalent access to wealth, and female initiative hypothetically upgrade the empowerment of women, whilst the

subjection of women to men may lessen it (Gundersen 2018).

Golla *et al.* (2011:4) characterize the empowerment of women as having concerned with having both the capacity to succeed and progress economically as well as the ability to settle on and follow up on economic choices and mentions that the two are associated. For instance, resources and aptitudes that enable women to progress financially, like those obtained in school, can prompt power and influence. When training, economic well-being and other financial factors are controlled, it is noticed that women in Pentecostal churches have more leadership influence than those from Apostolic churches. Of the Christians denominations, women in Apostolic churches have less control than other Christian traditions in matters such as decision-making for enormous family buying and medicinal services (Gundersen, 2018). However, having agency will empower women to acquire resources and abilities.

Faith communities are actually spaces where gender imbalances have been perpetuated. The church only enforces or propagates the notion that women are inferior to men. This is not stated publicly but in its hidden narratives. To some extent, it can be argued that the church has lost its relevance in advancing women's issues and their agency. There is actually the perpetuation of gender imbalances through the continued upholding of negative stereotypes against women. This is worrying especially given the role and influence of the church within the society. In Apostolic religious grounds, the practice of *runyoka* is a clear indication of patriarchal religious beliefs and structures.

According to Meyers (2002), woman's identities are gendered in patriarchal cultures and it impedes women's ability to function as self-determining agents. Gender relations are highly influenced by community norms and values, and the community is a strong predictor of women's empowerment (Mason and Smith 2003). Assumed gender roles and positions influence decisions between husbands and wives, including fertility decisions. Highly stratified gender contexts diminish women's negotiating power and give husbands a relatively strong voice in decisions about use of birth control and fertility (Mason and Smith 2000).

5.2.3 Patriarchy, *Runyoka* and Women's Agency

Patriarchy refers to the male domination both in public and private spheres (Saltana 2010) Within the Zambuko Apostolic Church, the use of *runyoka* provides one way through which patriarchy is institutionalized. *Runyoka* enforces patriarchy, in that women in Zambuko

Apostolic Church are only complying with patriarchal systems by protecting their patriarchal marriages to the extent of controlling their husband's sexuality. Sultana (2010:2) contends that patriarchy describes the institutionalized system of male dominance. Patriarchy is also explained as a set of social relations between men and women, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create independence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women (Sultana, 2010). In the case of Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's church, the *runyoka* practice is one way through which gender-based social hierarchies are addressed as women can also create independence and solidarity in fighting against patriarchal tendencies that exposed them to harm.

The dominant position of male leadership in the church, which is perceived as spiritually legitimate, allows males a lot of flexibility in how they interpret and enact faith-oriented moral injunctions (Lammers *et al.* 2010). Senior women of the church are ascribed leadership qualities in terms of how well they are perceived to discharge selfless service for holy living by self and others. Patriarchal culture includes ideas about the nature of things, including men, women and humanity, with masculinity most closely associated with being human and femininity relegated to the marginal position of "other" (Aggarwal, 2016:60). It is about standards of feminine beauty, and masculine toughness, images of feminine vulnerability and masculine protectiveness. Whereas private patriarchy is practiced at home, based on materialism; where a home maker has no power because she does not earn an income, despite of the work and her contribution to the household, in the form of services and emotional support (Aggarwal, 2016).

Male adherents from the Zambuko Church partake in the practice of private patriarchy. Private patriarchy directs women's subjugation within the family through gender inequalities and specified gender roles (Bhebhe, 2016). Men are labelled as heads of their families because of their breadwinning role which delegates them the power to control the women in their families. Habiba *et al* (2016:212) describe that household/family is the most influencing patriarchal structure in the private domain. Household and family social structure focuses on the women's roles and natural gender segregation between male and female in the family where the male is considered as breadwinner and female as a homemaker (Bhebhe, 2016). The division of gender roles enables women to subordinate and dependent on men socially, culturally and economically. Hence, patriarchy makes men believe they are more powerful in the family and this system provides site for women's subjugation in the family.

The other, – public patriarchy is practiced at public places, i.e. work place and state. It takes various forms – discrimination, disregard, insult, control, exploitation, oppression, violence – within the family, at the place of work and in society (Meyers, 2002). If a woman goes ahead and neglects what she is supposed to do, in accordance to the patriarchal social system, she is criticized and sometimes not accepted as a good woman. Sultan (2011:10) describes public patriarchy as controlling and limiting the power of females as compared to males. Public patriarchy directs women's suppression at the economic level and workplace. In this form of patriarchy employment and state are most dominating social structures which entail women's suppression (Sultana 2011). Institutions which play important role in the establishment of public patriarchy are state, government, religious places (churches, mosques and temples etc.) and employment. These social institutions infuse patriarchy in society by prevailing the gender inequality in their status, position, power and control within the society (Habiba *et al.*, 2016). With public patriarchy, women are allowed to take employment, but they are suppressed by gender inequalities in the position of power, education, promotion, job requirement and salary. These differences drive gender disparities in education and employment, and female poverty (Atwell, 2002:68; Walby, 1990).

Hence, the Zambuko Apostolic Church is also a good case of the manifestation of neo-patriarchy. Neopatriarchy is a new form of control and oppression over women in the family, which is functioned through different types of violence to suppress the woman's identity and create dependency in the family (Habiba *et al.*, 2016; Rehman, 2009:165; Sultana, 2012). The setup of neo-patriarchy in the family creates rift between resident women and new married women in the dynamics of power control in the family. What this shows is that patriarchy as an entrenched system is also embraced and perpetuated by women. There can be different reasons for the internalization of patriarchy among women. These can be jealousy, insecurity of status in the family, sharing love and affection, previous background of suppression by mother in law, among others (Habiba *et al.*, 2016). Critical lenses of *nego*-feminism therefore enable one to see how women to negotiate patriarchal systems.

Classical patriarchy is usually based on extended family structure where the senior men (fathers) remain head of the families followed by senior women. Senior men deal with the public affairs (outside of the family) and senior women deal with the private (inside the family) domain of the house (Golla *et al.*, 2011:124). Kandiyoti (1988) has suggest the concept of patriarchal bargain. It is a plan (tactic) in which a woman prefers to conform and preserve

patriarchal norms, accepting gender roles that overall suppress women but raising her own power and choices. Kibria (1990) defined patriarchal bargain as the ways through which both male and female arrange and accommodate the set patterns of rules and determine and limit the gender roles (relations). It is within these forms of patriarchy that women within the Zambuko Apostolic Church learn to ‘negotiate’ with for the purpose of transformation especially on issues related to sexual and reproductive health.

According to Kurebwa (2013), the challenge of lack of self confidence among women for their course of agency is as well seen in their failure to support one another in positions of leadership and conflict resolution. This, in various ways confirms the assertion that women are sometimes their own enemies. Kurebwa (2013:130) observed that while it was undeniable that women bore the brunt of gender inequality because of patriarchy and other factors, it was also true that they were their own detractors. This is further supported by findings by Jenkins (2012) and Masunungure and Mbwirire (2016) who observed a tendency by women failing to support each other in positions of leadership and resenting the advancement of other women.

5.2.4 *Runyoka* and Women’s Agency in the Zambuko Apostolic Church

Women in the Zambuko Apostolic Church cannot and are not allowed to leave their marriages because it is against the church’s religious rule to leave her husband’s house for any reason. No man in his right senses will ever marry her after she had left her husband’s place meaning she will not have male protection her whole life (Kasinamunda, 2016: 1984). Religion has been used as a tool of manipulating women and imposing fears on them and making it very difficult for them to leave their marriage. This makes women unable to leave or run away from the abusive marriages because even the women need man’s protection and security, they cannot stay “unmarried” (Kasinamunda, 2016:1990).

In the event that a man submits infidelity, he is probably going to get *runyoka*, a complex venereal infection that takes different forms. Now and again the offenders may not be able to separate following their lovemaking event. In different cases, the man’s stomach may swell up or he may even lose his private parts (Chirongoma, 2013). This is quite regular particularly among the more established ages of Zimbabweans, the vast majority who have experienced childhood in conditions where black magic and witchcraft were the main thrust in any move and in basic leadership.

It seemed, from these findings, that the majority of the women relied on either church leaders and authorities or on the laws and doctrines of the church to provide for their needs. This went against the concept of women's agency which, Agency is therefore a person's choice and power to expel gender from their life. The observation that gender is imposed on individuals shows that gender is a social construct accompanied by societal expectations. In most cases socialization in ultra-conservative the ultra-conservative Apostolic churches in Zimbabwe have constructed gender roles that every woman should abide with. However, these roles create a breeding ground for oppression of women and reinforce patriarchal tendencies. This therefore means that in as much as women in ultra-conservative Apostolic churches are oppressed their experiences can help in creating agency thus bringing about transformation in systems that have been oppressive to them. In this case through the appropriation of *runyoka* women will have the privilege to marriages that are not characterized by multiple sexual partners. The appropriation of *runyoka* by women in Johanne Masowe Zambuko is an example of women's agency and this will result in sexual behaviour change among men of this Apostolic church.

5.3 Cultural Construction of 'Ideal African Masculinities'

To fully discuss cultural perceptions of masculinities within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church, this section begins with a brief definition of the concept of masculinities. Whitehead and Barrett (2001) argue that it is difficult to assign a single definition to the concept of masculinities as they are "...plural, changing and historically informed around dominant discourses or ideologies of masculinism."⁶ However, they describe masculinities as "those behaviors, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine" (Whitehead and Barrett 2001). This definition implies that masculinities are not only informed by behaviours but are inclusive of languages and practices associated with maleness. Furthermore, Whitehead and Barrett (2001) point out that masculinities can be regarded as positive in the sense that they confer an identity amongst male persons whilst on the other hand, they can be regarded as negative because they are defined as not being feminine (Whitehead and Barrett 2001). According Connell (1995), "masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity." This, therefore, suggests a contestation between the male and the female. Masculinities are also regarded as "a set of fluid social and cultural performances" and such constructions are not static but are subject to change over a period of time (Whitehead

and Barrett 2001). In this regard, I argue that the fluidity of masculinities indicates that they reflect social and cultural constructions of what it means to be male within a given society, not biological but social constructs. It is within this frame of understanding which also informs Africans understanding of masculinities. African culture influences the African understanding of masculinities. According to Hlatywayo (2012), idealized African masculinities include the concept of an insatiable male sex drive, the notion of conquest, being a man as domineering, male as risk takers and the notion of the idealized male body. This type of understanding of masculinities is also evident within African Apostolic Churches. It is also noteworthy to point out that masculinities are both multiple and diverse; hence this section of the study explores how hegemony, one of the forms of masculinities, compounds the vulnerability of married women to the risk of HIV infection within African Apostolic religious groups in Zimbabwe. This suggests that it is possible to deconstruct negative traits of masculinities that may be detrimental to the health and well-being of others.

The term hegemonic refers to the “...cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life” (Connell, 1995). In this regard, hegemonic masculinities are defined as “...the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” and other men (Connell, 1995). Connell and Messerschmitt (2005) point out that because hegemonic masculinities thrive on the continued dominance of men over women, in some settings, gender violence is exercised to enforce this perpetual dominance. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinities are regarded as “...the idealized form of masculinity (being the real man) in a particular time and place” (Skovdal *et al.* 2011). Hegemonic masculinities are constructed on cultural dominance within communities (Connell, 2001). According to Maguranyanga (2011), within ultra-conservative apostolic churches, it is the man who controls all aspects of a woman’s life beginning with their marriage choices, ability to use contraceptive and access to education. Within the African Apostolic religious churches, the idealized form of masculinity is centered around the number of women and children a man has. This is due to the fact that the man in the African Apostolic religious churches believe in having bigger family for economic reasons since most of them survive on menial labors Maguranyanga (2011:175).

Hegemonic masculinities are closely associated with “male potency in sexual conquests” (Simpson, 2009). Skovdal *et al.* (2011) points out that even though hegemonic masculinities

serve as a survival strategy for men in difficult conditions, these masculinities are equally destructive. Skovdal *et al.* (2011) further argue that men who practice hegemonic masculinities engage in sexual relations with different sexual partners. Within the African context, a real man is identified as such through his numerous sexual conquests. In line with this perception, van Klinken (2011) for example observes that hegemonic masculinities are associated with the reluctance to use condoms as a way of practicing safer sex, a situation that exposes both men and women to the vulnerability of HIV infection. The use of condoms is perceived as weakness and associated with those men who are afraid of taking risks. It is important to note that African Apostolic churches don't encourage the use of condoms as it is viewed as an abomination and in most cases the end result is the spread of HIV. The idea of being put at risk due to certain idealized forms of masculinities by men within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church could have necessitated women to appropriate *runyoka* as a remedy. In line with the concept of hegemonic masculinities, a real man is further defined as one who is "...strong, in control, disease free, sexually promiscuous and the breadwinner of his family" (Skovdal *et al.* 2011). Further, in most communities, men are socialized to be "...tough; unemotional; aggressive; denying weakness; sexually unstoppable; and appearing physically strong in competition with other men" (Lindegger cited in Skovdal, 2011). It is therefore this type of socialization within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church that has necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka* by women. Their sexual prowess therefore becomes toxic to women as it exposes women to STIs and HIV and as a result this kind of behavior necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka* by women.

It is noted that hegemony as one of the dominant forms of masculinity is also equated with men's "privileged access to power and influence in the socio-economic and political sphere, and also often in the private sphere" (Skovdal *et al.*, 2011). However, even though hegemonic forms of masculinities accord power to men, some of the social expectations associated with these types of masculinities can be highly restrictive to men (Lee *et al.*, cited in Skovdal *et al.*, 2011). This is evidenced through men's reluctance to disclosing their HIV status as well as accessing medical treatment (Skovdal *et al.*, 2011). This is evident within African Apostolic churches as most of them believe in divine healing more than modern health facilities (Maguranyanga, 2011). Courtenay (cited in Skovdal *et al.*, 2011), points out that hegemonic masculinities are displayed through disengagement with health services and a careless health style with regards to issues of sex. Lindegger (cited in Skovdal *et al.*, 2011) points out a similar perception who through various studies identifies that unprotected sex with various sexual

partners is associated with virility. Therefore, hegemony is considered as a way of asserting manhood within society. However, this expression of manhood creates an environment for STDs and HIV infection. In Malawi for example, a study carried out by Kaler indicates that men regarded HIV as a symbol of manhood (cited in Skovdal *et al.*, 2011). This is a frightening observation as it reflects how hegemonic perceptions of masculinities socialize men into risky health behaviors without due consideration of the effects of such behaviors on their health and well-being as well as those of their spouses. Furthermore, Skovdal *et al.* (2011) argues that hegemonic masculinities interfere with women's access to medical treatment as well as their adherence to antiretroviral treatment (thereafter referred to as ART). Skovdal *et al.* (2011) observes therefore that the fear of being associated with HIV and AIDS results in men prohibiting their spouses from honoring hospital appointments as well as collecting their treatment. This situation compromises the health and well-being of their wives as well as creating an environment for HIV re-infection (Skovdal *et al.*, 2011).

5.4 Women's Agency in Negotiating Alternative Masculinities

It has been noted that ultra-conservative Apostolic churches are too rigid when it comes to their doctrinal beliefs and teaching. However, women's agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* has presented a chance for these ultra-conservative churches to transform to ensure that women flourish in these churches. The appropriation of *runyoka* by women has brought about the much-needed change in the manner in which men view marriage and their partners in the context of Apostolic church groups. Factors related to power, patriarchy and privilege in this context have been contested through women agency. It is important also to note that the leader of the church is a male and the introduction of the use of *runyoka* and making it available even to women was a clear sign of transformation within this Apostolic church. The willingness to allow women to act on their agency through the appropriation of *runyoka* outrightly shows the transformation that the church had underwent to all women to flourish.

Masculinities are also viewed as "a set of fluid social and cultural performances" and they are not static but are subject to change over a period (Whitehead and Barrett 2001). In this regard, I contend that the flexibility of masculinities indicates that they reflect social and cultural constructions of what it means to be male within a given society; therefore, they are not genetic but social constructs. This suggests that it is possible to deconstruct negative traits of masculinities that may be detrimental to the health and well-being of others. The agency of

women therefore through the appropriation of *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic church can be argued that it really brought about significant change in terms of how men behave. As previously noted by Machingura (2011), men within Apostolic churches thrive on multiple sexual relationships but however through the appropriation of *runyoka*, multiple sexual relationships are therefore put to an end. It therefore justifies Nnaemeka's (2004) observation that women in Africa know how to detonate patriarchal landmines. This because the researcher noted that with Apostolic churches multiple partners are encouraged and it is viewed as the norm by men themselves because they feel it enhances their status.

5.5 Conclusion

The major objective of this chapter was to discuss the flourishing of women and transformation of apostolic churches through women's agency. As such, the chapter has discussed women's agency, transformation and flourishing, women's agency in addressing socio-cultural and religious setbacks and oppression; women's agency in negotiating alternative masculinities and the transformation of African Apostolic churches. In the following chapter, I present the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

Having introduced this study in Chapter One, the previous five Chapters have presented and discussed the main focus of this study on “*Examining Women’s Agency with Respect to the Appropriation of Runyoka in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe.*” The key objective of the study was to explore the extent to which the practice of “*runyoka*” affects and informs the agency of women in Zimbabwe’s Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church as well as the transformative capabilities demonstrated by such women in their religious contexts. This chapter concludes this study highlights the contribution that women’s agency makes on the sexual and reproductive health of women in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Church.

To address the stated objectives of the study, the key research question for this study as stated in Chapter One sought to interrogate:

What are the possible social, cultural and religious factors necessitating women’s agency in appropriating *runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe?

In responding to this question, Chapter One located the context of the study. The Chapter introduced and presented the background and the motivation to the study, postulating a brief review of literature that addresses the key aspects of the entire study.

Chapter Two, discussed in detail the theoretical framework and the methodological considerations utilized for the study. The chapter showed that feminism is a useful theoretical framework since it is highly critical and constructive, thereby allowing it to be applicable in understanding how women’s experiences and engagements can be framed and understood. Nego-Feminism as a theory has been utilized in the study to interrogate the appropriation of *runyoka* within the African Apostolic religious context of Zimbabwe. The theory of Nego-Feminism was understood as a ‘Give and Take’ as well as a

‘Knowing when’ to disrupt Patriarchy theoretical perspective. Nego-Feminism as a useful theory in this study has helped to interrogate the lack of women’s agency and empowerment

through the practices of *runyoka* as appropriated in the Apostolic religious contexts. By highlighting the capabilities that women have in dealing with *runyoka*, Nego- Feminism was particularly useful in discussing the transformational element of women's agency. It is within this conceptual framework that this study used a descriptive qualitative research methodology, making use of the phenomenological research philosophy and interpretive document analysis in making sense of the secondary literature gathered for this study.

The study has shown that "Socio-cultural and religious factors necessitated women's agency in appropriation of *runyoka*." Chapter Three of the study therefore described how the socio-cultural practices within the Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe necessitated the agency of women to appropriate *runyoka*. The key themes that emerged and discussed in the study are polygamy, *lobola* (bride-price), widow cleansing and levirate marriage or wife inheritance. This chapter has shown that the Johane Masowe church belonging to the ultra-conservative group seriously held onto socio-cultural practices and strongly stood against the use western medicine, and entirely depended on their own health systems which are often faith and Holy Spirit-based and motivated.

This study has revealed that Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri specialised in the appropriation of *runyoka* as a way of not only preventing infidelity amongst his adherents, but also as a way of punishing those who would have engaged in extra-marital sex. In this regard, Chapter Four of this study examined religious setbacks that women face in negotiating safe sex within marriage contexts in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The chapter has shown why women in the Apostolic religious group are not able to negotiate for safe sex in their marriages based on religious beliefs and doctrinal teachings which are predominant in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. The finding of the chapter clearly shows how doctrinal beliefs and teachings disempower women from seeking proper remedies for their sexual, reproductive, personal or marital problems. Actually, it is disappointing to note that some common, day-to-day life issues such as menstrual health are sometimes related to sin, witchcraft or evil spirits, which signifies a high order of religious abuse of women and girls.

This study has established that socio-culturally-biased and religiously motivated reasons including patriarchal practices have necessitated the appropriation of *runyoka* by women through the assistance of Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe. For this reason, Chapter Five of this study sought to understand how

women's agency can bring transformation and flourishing in Apostolic religious contexts. In this regard, the role that religion has to in the quest of transformation of cultures and religious practices and beliefs is highlighted, including those which currently exist in the Johane Masowe Zambuko Church. The Chapter established that even though the transformative capability of the faith communities exists in a few apostolic churches in Zimbabwe, the majority of Apostolic religious groups continue to fail to transform owing to being ultra-conservative.

A key finding in the study has been that agency is context specific. The study has therefore established that agency relates to the freedom and ability to make independent choices, attitudinal changes, to make use of resources as well as to control one's life in the face of challenges and hardships. Discussions of patriarchy, *runyoka* and women's agency show that women, despite all the social challenges they face, continue to 'negotiate' and manage because of their high levels of agency. Such skills as negotiation and compromise, which are in line with the *Nego-Feminism*, allow women to face patriarchal society in seemingly normal ways. However, the study revealed that the self-determination and agency of women in the apostolic churches is compromised especially due to their ultra-conservative nature. In the case of Madzibaba Stephen Mugariri's church, the *runyoka* practice is one way through which gender-based social hierarchies are created or established and the practice offers men the solidarity in dominating female congregants. Religious institutions like the Johane Masowe Zambuko church are well-documented areas of public patriarchy, but the surprising thing in this study was that this particular church even goes beyond public patriarchy into private patriarchy. It dictates, for example, the young men's views of marriage and women as they are taught about how to treat their wives way before they are even married, whilst also doing the same to girls. As a result, young man who marries, for example, a non-virgin wife, already regards her as not worthy. Apart from practicing the traditional or classical type of patriarchy, the church is also resplendent with neo- patriarchal practices like clashes between leaders' wives and those whose husbands are not leaders in the church. These leader's wives demonstrate higher confidence over their female counterparts in the church, often being the first ones to embrace new church doctrines and pass them to the others.

6.1 Contribution to New Knowledge

The first major contribution of this study is towards feminist theology and scholarship in the context of Apostolic religious groups among African-initiated churches. While feminist

theology in other Christian traditions is more concerned with the leadership roles and positive contributions that women make to churches and the broader society, this study has presented a perspective that focuses on women's agency against men through appropriating *runyoka* as a cultural ritual intended to control their sexual behavior. In Africa and particularly in Apostolic Churches, the role of feminist theology is not necessarily to provide a voice for the inclusion of women in key decision-making, but is rather to emphasize the empowerment, agency and well-being of the women. Such women are not concerned with having a leadership position in the church, but rather they are preoccupied with their basic being: are they able make free choices in relation to marrying a partner of their choosing? Are they able make their own choices with regards to when to stay or leave a marriage, in light of having an adulterous or polygamous husband? Are they able to make their own decisions when it comes to protecting themselves from HIV infection, either by using condoms during sex, abstinence or by leaving unfaithful partners? Must they or must they not accept *runyoka* as the solution to their marital and sexual problems, especially given the psychological and social burden that is the price of the practice? These are the real issues that feminism and or *Nego-* feminism wrestle within Africa's Apostolic churches.

The second contribution that this study makes is towards the *runyoka* debate. The topic remains shrouded in mystery and understanding what *runyoka* is, what motivates its use, who benefits from it and the psychological and social repercussions it has, especially for the highly esteemed Christian woman, remains problematic. Even scholars seem to shy away or fear the debate on *runyoka*, preferring only to mention it in passing and cursorily. Instead, in this study I provide in-depth discussions on what *runyoka* is, why it is appropriated, who can make use of it, and the ends or goals for which it is put in place. Very few studies, if any, provide discussions of what *runyoka* is from within religious settings, why it is appropriated, and the ways in which it affects the flourishing and agency of female church members. The key contribution in this case is how *runyoka* as a cultural ritual has been adopted by an African Apostolic Indigenous Church for religious purposes.

I also present a detailed discussion of how women's agency is both affected and effected in light of the practice of *runyoka* within the context of the apostolic churches in Zimbabwe. Particular contributions of my study relate to the intersectionality among women's agency and the apostolic religion, patriarchy, and the practice of *runyoka*. These analyses are important as part of knowledge contribution, especially since it is known that agency is dependent on the

context it is applied. With such, apostolic church practices which effect the need agency among women range from embracing polygamous marriages, teenage girls being married to older men, failing to negotiate safer sex, accepting being denied the right to education, the failure to secure employment, accepting second-class membership in the church and accepting *runyoka*. With *runyoka* being a relatively novel practice in religious contexts (even though it is an old practice as per the African Traditional Religion), understanding it and the motivations for its appropriation is a current topical issue towards which the study contributes.

Apart from the above that I regard as key contributions of this study, it is also certain that the study provides data on various aspects on the largely-unrecorded Apostolic religious groups in Zimbabwe that other future studies can build on.

6.2 Gaps for Further Research

This important study has been constrained due to time and financial limitations. The researcher, therefore, contends that the inclusion of empirical research would have added much value to the study. For this reason, further studies on this subject need to include empirical research to determine how married women themselves perceive their agency within the apostolic churches in Zimbabwe, and the degree to which their membership in the congregations relates to their transformation. This would give them a voice on cultural and theological matters. It is also of importance for future studies to make use of more than one apostolic church so that the dataset is increased and there is higher representation of this large sector, which can enhance the validity and reliability of such findings. Within the context of this study, I focused on only one church, the Zambuko Apostolic Church. Hence, the scope of the study did not include other apostolic churches. Future studies can make use of such apostolic churches as the Johane Marange, Johane Mugodhi and the St. Elisha churches which command large followings and are amongst the ultra-conservative apostolic churches in Zimbabwe

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abara, W. (2013). A faith-based community Partnership to address HIV/AIDS in the Southern United States: Implementations and Challenges learned. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 54 (, 1); 12-133.
- Ackermann, D. (2004). *Seeing HIV and AIDS as a gendered pandemic*. Dept of Practical Theology Missiology. University of Stellenbosch.
- Ackermann, D. (2008). *Deep in Flesh, Women bodies and HIV and AIDS: A Feminist ethical perspective*, In *Women, Religion and HIV and AIDS: Responding to ethical and theological challenges*. Cluster Publications Pietermaritzburg.
- Agarwal, B. (2016). *Gender Challenges Vol 2: Property, Family and the State*. Oxford University Press. New Dehli.
- Aggarwal, S. (2016). Patriarchy and women's subordination. *Bhartiyam International Journal of Education & Research*, 5 (4).
- Akanbi, S.O. Beyers, J. (2017). The church as a catalyst for transformation in the society. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 73 (4).
- Aquina, M. (1969). Zionists in Rhodesia. *Journal of the Internal African Institute*, 39 (2):
- Bahemuka, J. M. (1995). *Social Changes and Women's Attitudes towards Marriage in East Africa*, 119-134. In Oduyoye, M. A. and Kanyoro, M (eds). *The Will to Arise: Women, Tradition and the Church in Africa*. New York: Orbis Books, New York.
- Balk, D. (1994). Individual and Community Aspects of Women's Status and Fertility in Rural Bangladesh, *Population Studies*. 48 (1) 21-45.
- Baumeister, F.R. Tengwe, J. (2002). Cultural suppression of Female Sexuality. *Review of General Psychology*, 2 (2): 166-203.
- Bhebehe, M. (2016). Religio-culture, fear and Zimbabwe's leadership perceptions. *Perichoresis*, 14 (1): 75-100.

- Bishau, D. (2010). *Reign with Him for a Thousand years (Rev 20:6) – A Socio-Hermeneutical exposition of Biblical and Contemporary Millenarian movements in Zimbabwe as Radical Responses to Deprivation*, University of Bamberg Press, Bamberg.
- Chalmers, B. (1996). Western and African conceptualization of health. *Psychological Health*, 12: 1-10.
- Chavhunduka, G.L. (2001). *Dialogue among civilisations: The African Religion in Zimbabwe Today*. Occasional Paper 1. Crossover Communication.
- Chireshe, E. Chireshe, R. Shumba, A. (2012). Witchcraft and social life in Zimbabwe: documenting the evidence. *Studies of Tribes and Tribals*, 10 (2): 163-172.
- Chirongoma, S, (2006). Women and Children's Rights in Zimbabwe: An analysis of Gender Inequalities and its impact on people's health with special emphasis on HIV/AIDS. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 126: 48-65.
- Chirongoma, S. (2013). *Navigating indigenous resources that can be utilised in constructing a Karana theology of health and well-being (Utano): an exploration of health agency in contemporary Zimbabwe*. Doctor of Philosophy thesis. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.]
- Chitando, E. (2004). The Good wife: A phenomenological re-reading of Proverbs 31: 10-31 in the context of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe. *Scriptural*, 86 (4).
- Chitando, E. (2007). A new man for a new era? Zimbabwean Pentecostalism, Masculinities and the HIV epidemic, *Missionalia*, 35 (3).
- Chitando, E., (2012). Redemptive Masculinities, HIV and Religion in Sphiwo Mahala's when a man cries. In *Redemptive Masculinities: Man, HIV and Religion*: 249-265.
- Chitando, E. Taringa, N. Kugler, J. Togarasei, L. Gunda, M.R. (2014). *Multiplying in the Spirit: African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwe*. *Bible in Africa Studies*, University of Bamberg Press.
- Clifford, A. M. (2001). The "Why" and "What" of Christian Feminist Theology, in *Introducing Feminist Theology*, 9-45. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.
- Clifford, M.A. (2002). *Introducing Feminist theology*. Maryknoll, New York.

- Commonwealth Secretariat. 2002. *Gender Mainstreaming in HIV/AIDS: Taking a Multisectoral Approach*. United Kingdom: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. U.K: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W and Messerschmidt, J. W. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept". *Gender and Society* 19(6): 829-859.
- Crush, J. and Williams, V. (2005). *Migration In Southern Africa*. A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration.
- Daneel, I. (1971) Old and New in Southern Shona Independent churches Vol 1: Background rise of the major movements. Mouton, Netherlands.
- DixonMuller, R. and Wasserheit, J.N. (1991). *The Culture of Silence: Reproductive Tract Infections Amongst Women in the Third World*. New York: International Women's Coalition.
- Dodo, O. Banda, R.G. Dodo, G. (2014) African initiated churches, pivotal in peace-building: a case of the Johane Masowe Chishanu. *Journal of Religion and Society*, 16.
- Dube, L. (1999). *African women spirituality: a study of women prophets in Zimbabwe*. University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Dube, N. Nkomo, T, S. and Khosa, P. (2017) Condom Usage Negotiation Among Customarily married womenin Katlehong Johannesburg. SAGE Open.
- Durkheim, E. (1997). *The Division of Labour in Society*. The Free Press, New York.
- Egero, B. et al. (2006). *Men have to take it seriously: HIV/AIDS and gender relations*. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Stockholm.
- Emedi, P-G. I. (2010). *The local church as an agent of social transformation in a poor community: A Practical and Methodical Approach*. University of Pretoria.
- Faull, E. (2012). Christian religion and well-being. *Scriptura*, 111 (3): 509-519.
- Gausset, Q. (2001). AIDS and Cultural Practices in Africa: The Case of the Tonga (Zambia). *Social Science and Medicine* 52: 509-518.

- Golla, A.M. Anju, M. Priya, N. Rekha, M. (2011). *Understanding and Measuring Women's Economic Empowerment*. International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW), Washington.
- Gregson S, Zhuwau T, Anderson RM, Chandiwana SK. (1999). Apostles and Zionists: The Influence of Religion on Demographic Change in Rural Zimbabwe *Population Studies*, 53(2):179–93 PMID: 11623883
- Gregson, S. Nyamukapa, C.A, Garnett G.P, Mason, P.R Zhuwau, T, Caral, M, Chandiwana, SK, Anderson R.M. (2002). *Sexual mixing patterns and sex-differentials in teenage exposure to HIV infection in rural Zimbabwe*. The Lancet.
- Gundersen, S. (2018). Will God make me rich? An investigation into the relationship between membership in charismatic churches, wealth and women's empowerment in Ghana. *Religions*, 9 (195).
- Ha, W. Gwavuya, S. Salama, P. (2018). Can religion kill? The association between membership of the Apostolic faith and child mortality in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Public Health in Africa*, 9: 707.
- Habiba, U. Ali, R. Ashfaq, A. (2016). From Patriarchy to Neopatriarchy: Experiences of Women from Pakistan. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 6 (3).
- Haddad, B. (2002). Gender, Violence and HIV and AIDS: A deadly silence in the church. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, Vol 114; 93-106.
- Haddad, B. (2009). Poverty, Gendered Cultural Sexual Practices and HIV: Ethical and Theological Implications. *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender and Theology in Africa* 15 (2): 5-22.
- Hagerman, K.M. (2010). Beyond Monogamy: Opportunities to further reduce risk of HIV infection among married Zimbabwean Women with only one life partner. *AIDS Behavior*, 14 :133-124.
- Hindin, M. (2000). Women's status and fertility related behaviour in Zimbabwe, *Population Research and Policy Review* 19 (3).255-282

- Hlatywayo, A. (2012). *From the Marriage Bed to the Graveyard: Towards a Bold Community Praxis in Reducing HIV infection amongst married women in Sub-Saharan Africa*. University of Kwazulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Hlatywayo, J. (2012). Dangerous Masculinities: An Analysis of the Misconception of “Real Manhood” and Its Impact on Vulnerabilities to HIV among the Ndau of Chipinge in Zimbabwe 113-127. *Redemptive Masculinities, Men, HIV and Religion*. Geneva. WCC.
- Hodzi, C.R. (2014). *Peadophilia not ‘Child Marriage’. A Critical Analysis of ‘Child Marriages’ in the Apostolic sects in Zimbabwe*. University of Zimbabwe.
- Holtzman, D and Macleroy, K.R. (2007). Fiction of Fidelity: The Moral Economy of HIV Risk. *AM J Public Health*. 97 (6) 971.
- Horton, R. (1960). A Definition of Religion and its Uses. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 90 (2) 201-226.
- Jenkins, C. (2012). *Women in Business: Their Own Worst Enemy*. Available Online at: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/cerian-jenkins/women-own-worst-enemy_b_1977418.html> [Accessed 20 November 2018]
- Jonson, E. A Rakoczy, S. (1997). *Who do You say that I Am?* Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, Agency Achievements: Reflections on the Measurements Of Women’s Empowerment, *Development and Change* 30(3). 435-464.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender and Society*. 2 (3) 274-290.
- Kanyoro, M. R. A. 2002. *Introducing feminist cultural hermeneutics*, London, UK: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Kasinamunda, S. (2016). *Religion and child marriages in the Jobane Marange Apostolic Sect: The case study of Chibota communal areas, 1917-2015*. Midlands State University. Gweru, Zimbabwe.

- Kasinamunda, S.G. (2015) *Religion and child marriages in the Jobane Marange Apostolic Sect: the case study of Chibota Communal areas (1917-2015)*. Midlands State University, Gweru, Zimbabwe.
- Kaunda, C.J. Phiri, I.A. (2016) *African-instituted churches, pneumatology and gender justice in the work of Gc Oosthuizen: an African feminist pneumatological perspective*. Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre.
- Kaunda, M. (2017). *Negotiated Feminism? A study of married Bemba women Appropriating the Imbusa Pre-marital curriculum at home and work place*. UKZN, Pietermaritzburg.
- Keyes, C. (2010). Flourishing, in *The Encyclopedia of Psychology*, 1-1
- Kibria, N. (1990). Power, Patriarchy and Gender Conflict in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community, *Gender and Society* 4 (1) 9-24.
- Kugler, J. Togarasei, L. Gunda, M.R. (2014). *Multiplying in the Spirit: African-initiated churches*
- Kurebwa, J. (2013). *Rural Women's Representation and Participation in Local Governance In The Masvingo And Mashonaland Central Provinces Of Zimbabwe*. Nelson Mandela University.
- Kutsira, J (2013). *A gendered Analysis of the Healing of Jobane Marange Apostolic Church in Glenview, Zimbabwe and their effects on Women During Pregnancy*. (A Master's Thesis Submitted to the University of Kwazulu Natal.
- Lefko-Everett, Kate 2007. 'Voices From the Margins: Migrant Women's Experiences in Southern Africa.' Cape Town: Southern African Research Centre.
- Lammers J, Stapel D and Galinsky A (2010) Power increases hypocrisy: Moralizing in reasoning, immorality in behavior, *Psychological Science* 21 (5), 737-744.
- Lerclerc-Madala, S. (2002). Youth, HIV/AIDS and the importance of sexual culture and Context. *Social Dynamics*. 28:20-41.
- Lesejane, D. (2005) *Through men, by men, for men: Christianity and the quest for gender equality*. Agenda Special Focus. Sage Publications, London.
- Mabhunhu, L. (2010). Revolting against the Biblical and traditional stereotypes of women? Women prophets in African initiated churches. In Lovemore Togarasei and Ezra Chitando (eds). *Faith in the city: the role and place of religion in Harare*. Swedish Science, Uppsala.

- Machingura, F. (2011) A Diet of Wives as the Lifestyle of the Vapostori Sects: The Polygamy Debate in the Face of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. *Africana*, 5 (2), 185-210.
- Machingura, F. (2014). Martyring People over Radical Faith Beliefs: A Critical look at the Johane Marange Apostolic Church's Perception of Education and Health (Family Planning Methods). In Chitando, Gunda & Kugler (eds) *Multiplying in the Spirit: African Initiated Churches in Zimbabwe*. University of Bamberg Press, Bamberg. Pp 175-198.
- Magesa, L. (2002). *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY.
- Magezi, V. (2016). A proposition for an integrated church and community intervention to adolescent and youth sexual reproductive health challenges. *HTS Theological Studies*, 72(2)1-9.
- Maguranyanga, B. (2011) *Apostolic Religion, Health, and Utilisation of Maternal and Child health services in Zimbabwe*. Harare, Unicef Consulting Group.
- Manyawu, A.T. (2016) Allegoricalised metaphorical narrative in the Apostolic African-instituted Church founding Text Genre in Zimbabwe. *Africology, The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 9 (4).
- Mapuranga, T.P. (2013) AICs as a gendered space in Harare, Zimbabwe: revisiting the role and place of women. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 39 (2).
- Mapuranga, T.P. (2013) *AICs as a genders space in Harare, Zimbabwe: revisiting the role and place of women*. Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Mapuranga, T.P. (2014). Toxic Identities? Mother and Womanhood in the face of HIV and AIDS, *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa*, 20 (1); 51-56.
- Marshal, M. (2009). Tackling Gender-based Attitude in African Churches to Reduce the Spread of HIV, *Journal of Gender and Development*, 17 (1).

- Marshall, M. and Taylor, N. (2006). "Tackling HIV and AIDS with Faith-based Communities: Learning from Attitudes on Gender Relations and Sexual Rights within Local Evangelical Churches in Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe and South Africa". *Gender and Development* 14(3): 363-374.
- Maseko, P. (2014) *The Role of Religion as a Driver of Gender Inequalities in Zimbabwe: A Case of Bindura Urban Christian Churches*. Bindura University of Science Education, Bindura, Zimbabwe.
- Maseno, L. Owojaiye, B.M. (2015). African Women and Revival: The Case of the East African Revival. *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 3 (3).
- Masanya, M. (2003). Trapped between Two "Canons": African-South African Christian Women, 113-127. In the HIV/AIDS Era in Phiri I.; et al. (eds). *African Women, HIV/AIDS and Faith Communities*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mason, B and Smith, L. (2002). *Maternal Body and Voice in Toni Morrison*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia.
- Mason, A (1981) *An extension of the Life Cycle model and Its Application to Population Growth and Aggregate Saving*, East west population Institute, Honolulu Ha
- Mason, K.O and Smith, H. (2003). *Women's Empowerment and Social context: Results from five Asian countries*. Gender and Development Group, Washington DC
- Masunungure, C. Mbwirire, J. (2016). Women's Participation in Resolving Church Conflicts. A Case of the Salvation Army, Bindura Citadel, Zimbabwe. *Greener Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (2).
- Mawere, M., (2011). *African Belief and Knowledge Systems: A Critical Perspective*, Langaa Research and Publishing, Mankon, Bamende.
- Mawere, M., (2014). *Culture, Indigenous Knowledge and Development in Africa: Reviving Interconnections for Sustainable Development*. Langaa RPCIG, Mankon, Bamenda.
- Mbanya, J.C. Motala, A.A. Sobngwi, E. Assah, F.K. Enoru, S.T. (2010). Diabetes in sub-Saharan Africa. *Lancet*, 375: 2254-66.

- Mbiti, J.S. (1998). *African theology in Initiation into Theology*. In Maimella, S and Konig, A (eds) Initiation into Theology: The Rich Variety of Theology and Hermeneutics. Pretoria, Van Schaik.
- Mbuwayesango, D. (2007). "Levirate Marriage and HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe: The Story of Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38)". *Journal of Constructive Theology* 13(2): 5-15.
- Menon, N. (2014) A Uniform Civil Code in India: State of the debate 2014. *Feminist studies* Vol 40 (2) pp 480-487.
- Mekgwe, P. (2010). Post Africa(n) feminism? *Third Text*, 24(2), 189-194. doi:10.1080/09528821003722116.
- Meyers, D.T. (2002). *Gender in the Mirror: Cultural Imagery and Women's Agency*. Oxford University Press.
- Mhungu, S. (2017). *Latest on Madzibaba Stephen (central locking)*. Available Online at: <<https://youtu.be/ZSqX7rxaM4Y>> [Accessed January 2019].
- Mlambo, T., (2015). Bonds Women of Culture: A gender critique of Bota reshupa and Kuhaza among the Ndau people of Chipinge, Zimbabwe, *Greener Journal of Social Sciences*, 5; 66-71.
- Mookgo, S.K. (2019). A Remarkable Woman in African Independent Churches: Examining Christina Nku's Leadership in St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 45 (1).
- Mpofu, E. Dune, T.N. Hallfors, D.D. Mapfumo, J. Mutepfa, M.M. January, J. (2011): Apostolic Faith Church Organization Contexts for Health and Wellbeing in Women and Children. *Ethnicity & Health*, 16 (6): 551-566.
- Mpofu E and Watkins D. (1997) Self-Concept and social Acceptance in Multiracial schools: A test of the insulation, Subjective Culture and Bicultural Competence hypotheses. *Cross cultural research*, 31 (4): 331-335.
- Mufunda, E. Albin, B. Hjelm, K. (2012). Differences in Health and Illness Beliefs in Zimbabwean Men and Women with Diabetes. *Open Nursing Journal*, (6), 117-125.

- Mugambe, L. 2006. "Rethinking Culture in the Face of HIV/AIDS in East Africa". *Agenda* 68: 73-78.
- Muhwava, W. (2004). "Condom Use within Marriage and Consensual Unions in the Era of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe". *African Population Studies* 19 (1): 119-141.
- Mukonyora, I. (2007). *Wandering a Gendered Wilderness: Suffering and Healing in an African-Initiated Church*. Peter Lang, New York.
- Munyaradzi, K, D. (2016). Praying until death: Apostolicism, Delays and Maternal Mortality in Zimbabwe. *PLoS ONE*, 11(8). e016170 Available Online at: <<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone0160170>> [Accessed January 2019].
- Mutangi, T. (2008). Religion, law and human rights in Zimbabwe. *African Human Rights Law Journal*.
- Muyambo, T. (2015). Bondswomen of Culture: A Gender Critique of Bota Reshupa and Kuhaza among the Ndau people of Chipinge, Zimbabwe. *Greener Journal of Social Sciences*, 5 (3).
- Muzvarwi, F. (2017). *The role of indigenous knowledge systems in upholding marriages in Zimbabwe. A case study of Zaka District (2005-2016)*. Dissertation. Midlands State University, Gweru.
- Mwamaloba, A. F. (2008) The Phenomenon of Widow Purification amongst the Nyakyusa as a Catalyst in the Spread of HIV in Kyela District: A Ministerial Response, 127-136. In Ward, E. and Leonard, G. (eds). *A Theology of HIV and AIDS on Africa's East Coast*. Sweden, Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Mission Research.
- Mwandayi, C., (2011). *Death and After Life Rituals in the Eyes of the Shona: Dialogue with the Shona Customs in the Quest for Authentic Inculturation*. University of Bamberg Press. Bamberg.
- Mwaura, P.N. (2005). Gender and power in African Christianity: African Instituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches. *African Christianity: An African Story*, 410-445.
- Mwaura, P.N. (2013). *Gender and power in African Christianity: African Insituted Churches and Pentecostal Churches*. University of Pretoria Library Services, Pretoria, SA.

- Ndlovu, K., (No date). *Translation as a Tool for Women Empowerment in Southern Africa with Special Reference to Zimbabwe*. University of South Africa, Johannesburg.
- Ngwaru, M. (2018). *A Pastoral Critique of "The Apostolic Maternal Empowerment and Newborn Intervention (AMENI) UNICEF (Zimbabwe) toolkit of 2015*. A Thesis Submitted for a Master of theology at the University of Kwazulu-Natal.
- Nnaemeka, O., (2004) Nego-Feminism: Theorising, Practicing and Pruning Africa's Way. *Development Cultures: New Environment, New Realities, New Strategies*, 29 (2): 357-385.
- Oduyoye, M.A. (2001). *Introducing African Women's Theology*. Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press.
- Oduyoye, M.A. & Kanyoro, R.A.M. (eds.), (1992) *The will to arise: Women, tradition, and the church in Africa*, Orbis Books, New York.
- Oduyoye, M.A. & Kanyoro R.A.M. (eds.), (2001) *Talitha Qumi: The proceedings of the convocation of African women theologians*, Daystar Press, Ibadan.
- Okure, T., (2000) 'First was life, not the book', in T. Okure (ed.), *To cast fire upon the Earth: Bible and mission collaborating in today's multicultural global context*, pp. 194-214, Cluster, Natal
- Omar, R. (1999). Does public policy need religion? *J. Cochrane*, 26-29.
- Otoo-Oyortey, N. Pobi, S. (2003) *Early Marriage and Poverty: Exploring Links for Policy and Programme Development*. The Forum on Marriage and Rights of Women and Girls.
- Pargament, K. (1997). *The Psychology of Religion and Coping: Theory, Research and Practice*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Parikh, S. A. (2007). "The Political Economy of Marriage and HIV: The ABC Approach, "Safe" Infidelity and Managing Moral Risk in Uganda". *American Journal of Public Health* 97: 198-208.
- Petty, N, J. (2012). Ready for a Paradigm Shift? Part 2, Introducing Qualitative Research methodologies and methods. *Manual therapy*, 17; 379-384.
- Phiri, I. Nadar, S. (2009). Going through the Fire with Eyes Open: African Women Perspectives on Indigenous Knowledge, Patriarchy and Sexuality. *Journal for the Study of Religion*. 22 (2); 5-22.

- Pillay, J. (2017). The Church as a Transformation and Change Agent. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 73 (3), 4352.
- Pobee, J.S. (1997). *Towards a Viable Theological Education: Ecumenical Imperative, Catalyst of Renewal*. WCC Publications
- PrakazPedia. (2017). *Baba Jobane Masowe: Biography. Reading the Bible, Prophecy on First Chimurenga*. Available Online at: <<https://youtu.be/1etSroqTbfc>> [Accessed January 2019].
- PrakazPedia. (2017). *Muchato wedu Jobanne Masowe eChisbannu*. Available Online at <<https://youtu.be/vEI4WaJ6JX4>> [Accessed January 2019].
- Qutoshi, S, B. (2018) Phenomenology: A Philosophy and Method of Inquiry. *Journal of Education and Educational Development*, Vol 5 (1) 215-222.
- Rajuili, M. B. 2004. "A Theology of the Beast: A Critical Examination of the Pastoral and Missiological Implications of Ilobolo in the contemporary South African Church- An Evangelical Perspective". Unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of Kwazulu Natal.
- Rakoczy, S (2004) Religion and violence: the suffering of women, *Agenda*, 18:61, 29-35.
- Rakoczy, S. R. (2004). *In Her Name: Women Doing Theology*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Rakgoasi, S, D. Odimegwu, C. (2013). Women Get Infected but men die. Narratives on Men, Masculinities and HIV/AIDS in Botswana. *International Journal of Men's Health*, 12 (21); 166-182.
- Rehman, F. (2009). "Violence against women turning from bad to worse", Available Online at <<http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-englishonline/>> [Accessed April 20, 2019].
- Rosenthal, M. (2012). *Human Sexuality: From Cell to Society*. Cengage Learning.
- Rumun, A.J. (2014). Influence of religious beliefs on healthcare practice. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 2 (4).
- Samari, G. (2017). Women's agency and Fertility: Recent evidence from Egypt, *Population Research and Policy Review*, 36 (4) 561-582,

- Saunders, M. Lewis, M. Thornhill, A. (2011). *Research Methods for Business Students. Fourth Edition*. Pearson Education Limited, Essex.
- Scott, S, J. Mercer, M, A. (1994). Understanding Cultural Obstacles to HIV/AIDS prevention in Africa. *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 6 (1); 81-89.
- Seifert, L.S. (2002). Toward a Psychology of Religion, Spirituality, Meaning-Search, and Aging: Past Research and a Practical Application. *Journal of Adult Development*, 9 (1): 61-70.
- Sheumaker, H. Wadja, S, T. (2008). *Material Culture in America: Understanding everyday life*. Santa Babra, California.
- Shope, J.H. (2006). “Lobola is here to stay”: rural black women and the contradictory meanings of lobolo in post-apartheid South Africa. *Agenda*, 68: 64–72.
- Shisanya, C. A. 2006. “Unsexing the Sexualized: Implications of “Celibate” Quaker Widows on HIV and AIDS transmission in Nairobi Kenya”. *Journal of Constructive Theology* 12(2): 45-64
- Sibanda, F. Maposa, R.S. (2013). Beasts of burden? Women in HIV and AIDS contexts in the United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe. In Chitando, E and Chirongoma, S. (Eds). *Justice not silence: churches facing sexual and gender-based violence*. Sun Press, Stellenbosch.
- Sibanda, M. (2011). Married too soon: child marriage in Zimbabwe. *The Research and Advocacy Unit Journal*, 12.
- Simmons, W.P. (2000) Zionism, Place and the Other: Towards a Levinasian International Relations. *Philosophy in the Contemporary World* .7 (1) 21-25
- Skovdal, M.; et al. (2011). “Masculinity as a Barrier to Men’s Use of HIV Services in Zimbabwe”. *Globalization and Health* 7(13): 1-14. Skovdal,
- Skovdal, M. (2011). “When Masculinity Interferes with Women’s Treatment of HIV Infection: A Qualitative Study about Adherence to Antiretroviral Therapy in Zimbabwe”. *Journal of the International AIDS Society* 14:29-35.
- Soko, T. (2012). Karanga men, Culture and HIV in Zimbabwe. In: Chitando, E, Chirongoma, S, (eds). *Redemptive Masculinities: Men, HIV and Religion*: WCC 91-112.

- Sultana, A. (2010). Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis. *The Arts Faculty Journal*, July 2010-June 2011.
- Sundker, S. and Steed, C. (2000) *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge
- Tamale, S. (2011). Researching and Theorizing Sexualities in Africa. In: Sylvia Tamale (eds) *African Sexualities: A Reader*, Pambazuka Press, Capetown.
- Tarugarira, G. and Mazambabni, I. (2014) Accumulating Biological Capital Through the Commodification of woman: A Historical appreciation of the commercialization of lobola/rooraof Zimbabwe 1920-2010. *Repositioning The Humanities: Journal of Contemporary Research*: Midlands State University.
- Testerman, J.K. (1997). *Spirituality Vs Religion: Implications for Healthcare*. 20th Annual Faith and Learning Seminar Held at Loma Linda, California. June 15 - 27, 1997.
- Thobejane, T.D and Takayindisa, F. (2014). An Exploration of Polygamous Marriages: A Worldview, *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. 5 (27) 1058-1066.
- Thomas, N, J. Harden, A. (, 2005). *Methods for the thematic synthesis of qualitative research in systematic reviews*. (EPPI-) Centre, Social Science Research Unit, London.
- Tolan, F. (2005). Feminist Utopias and Questions of Liberty: Magret Atwood's *The Handmaids Tale* as Critique of the Second Wave of Feminism. *Women's Cultural View*, 16 (1) 18-32
- United Nations Children' Fund 2015. Available Online at: <https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/AMENI_MODEL_Brown_Bag_CHILDREN_ROOM_UNICEF_26_August_2015.pdf> [Accessed 22 November 2018].
- Uzodike, U., O. Isike, C. (2012). Towards a Theoretical and Cultural Analysis of Dangerous Masculinities in Contemporary Africa. Can we reinvent African Patriarchies to Curb HIV and AIDS? In: Chitando, E, Chirongoma, S, (eds) *Redemptive Masculinities: Men, HIV and Religion*: WCC 91-112.
- Van Klinken, A.S. (2011). Male headship as male agency: an alternative understanding of the patriarchal African Pentecostal discourse on masculinity. *Religion and Gender*, 1 (1); 104-124.

- Van Manen, M. (2014). *Phenomenology of Practice, Meaning-giving Methods in Phenomenological Research and Writing*. Routledge, London.
- Van Wyk, M.M. (2017). Exploring the role of the church as a reformation agency in enhancing a socially transformative agenda in South Africa. *Theological Studies*, 73 (3).
- Van Wyk, M.M. (2017). Exploring the Role of the Church as a Reformation Agency in Enhancing a Socially Transformative Agenda in South Africa. *HTS Theologiese Studies*, 73 (3).
- Vengeyi, E. (2013). Gender-based Violence in the Johane Marange Apostolic Church: A Critique. In Ezra Chitando and Sophia Chirongoma (eds). *Justice not Silence: Churches Facing Sexual and Gender-based Violence*. EFSA, Stellenbosch.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Basil Blackwel Inc, Cambridge.
- Whitehead, S. M. and Barrett, F. J. 2001. The Sociology of Masculinity, 1-26. In Whitehead, S. M. and Barrett, F. J. (eds). *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Woolf, S.E. and Maisto S.A. (2008). Gender Differences in Condom Use Behavior? The Role of Power and Partner-type, *Sex Roles* 58 (9-10), 689-701.
- Zvoushe, I. (2012). *The determinants of HIV and AIDS Among Reproductive Age Groups in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study Between 1999 and 2005*. Zimbabwe Demographic Health Surveys. Dissertation. University of Zimbabwe.

20 September 2018

Mr Calvin Justice Mapangisana (217080856)
School of Religion, Philosophy & Classics
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mr Mapangisana,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1605/018M

Project title: Examining women's agency with respect to the appropriation of *Runyoka* in Johane Masowe Zambuko Apostolic Church

Full Approval – No Risk / Exempt Application

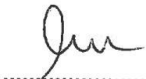
In response to your application received on 08 August 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



.....
Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Dr Kennedy Owino
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Denis
cc School Administrator: Ms Nhloso Hlophe

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)/Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building






Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

