

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES**

FOR GOD AND MAN: A STUDY OF THE CLERGY-WIFE

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
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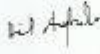
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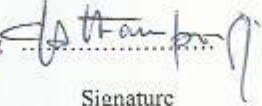
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original and independent work produced under supervision. This thesis is the result of my independent research conducted at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. All authors, creative materials and resources that have been quoted have been acknowledged fully and that, neither in half nor its entirety has this thesis been published in any form or submitted to another University for the award of a degree.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Prof. AAA, Galax, Adjei, Adjetey, and Tei, for being my *Gingams*.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis captures the significant position of one of the most important and prominent women in the church- the Clergy-wife (CW). What this study set out to do was to interrogate the context-specific position of the CW in Ghana by exploring the roles, challenges, and privileges of the CW. I sought to find answers to questions on the roles that CWs played in church and the challenges associated with the playing of these roles. I was further interested in the privileges and powers which the CW had and enjoyed as a result of her position. The thesis used a mixed-methods approach by employing a survey, in-depth interviews and observations to collect data to answer the study problem. I adapted various concepts such as greedy institutions, the two-person career, the calling of the clergyman and femocracy as conceptual frameworks. These were useful in understanding the ways in which CWs engage in their husbands work and the consequent effects of these involvements. The findings indicate that the roles CWs played most in the church were the leadership of groups, counselling, and welcoming and serving visitors. Other roles found were visitations, singing, preaching and cleaning. While these roles were the most played in all denominations, there were some variations within denominations. Some challenges were found to be associated with the playing of these roles while it was also found that other challenges emanated by virtue of their positions as CWs. The study further found that being a CW did not only entail roles and challenges. They also enjoyed some privileges and derived power from their positions. The privileges enjoyed were the special treatments received from church members while joys were those intrinsic fulfillment derived from their positions as CWs. On the issue of power, the thesis found that CWs primary source of power was through their husbands. However, other means could be used by CWs to access more power or consolidate the power they already possess. The use of power was found to be a complex terrain with dynamics involving silencing, tensions and open conflicts. The work concludes that the position of CWs is different from that of other women because of their unique involvement in the husband's work.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction of the Study

HELP WANTED: Pastor's wife. Must sing, play music, lead youth groups, raise seraphic children, entertain church notables, minister to other wives, have ability to recite Bible backward and choreograph Christmas pageant. Must keep pastor sated, peaceful and out of trouble. Difficult colleagues, demanding customers, erratic hours. Pay: \$0. ¹

This thesis aims at interrogating the position of the clergy-wife in relation to her roles. Challenges, privileges, as well as the power dynamics inherent in her position. I argue in this thesis that the clergy-wife's (CW henceforth) position is riddled with role expectations that lead to various challenges. I advance the argument by indicating that while it may seem demanding, the position comes with some privileges and the special place the CW occupies in the church can be a site for the production and use of power.

Women's contribution to the spread, growth, and development of Christianity in Ghana is well captured in the literature (Adasi, 2016, 2012; Darko, 2015; Gifford, 1994). They are known to have either contributed numerically, financially and in other significant aspects to the expansion of Christianity, especially in what has come to be known as the Charismatic and Pentecostal Movements (Oduyoye, 1995). A cursory survey of churches in Ghana today will reveal a biased population towards women, an indication that women continue to be an important backbone to the

¹ (<http://www.bobcornwall.com/2007/04/job-description-pastors-wife.html>)

development and survival of the church (PHC, 2010). This work captures the position of one of the most significant and prominent women in the church; the CW.

For the purposes of this study, CW will be used to refer to any woman who is legally married to a man who has been ordained according to his denominational regulations and recognized as such. CWs may be referred to in the literature as Pastor's wives, Ministers wives, and others according to denomination. I have however chosen CW in order to encapsulate all denominations that would be used in the study.

There is a sense in which the CW is clearly a product of her husband's position; even the language of description leaves no questions unanswered (Oduyoye, 1995). Terhune proclaimed that in "no vocation does a man's domestic relations so seriously affect his success" as in clergy-work. (Cited in Boyd, 1981:10). What Terhune meant was that the kind of woman who occupies the manse as the CW has a direct effect on the clergy-work. This is because the CW is expected to play certain roles and take on certain commitments if her husband's work as a clergyman is to be successful. This is reiterated by Blackwood who notes that the CW is "...a full-time partner in the most important work on earth and as largely responsible for her husband's success or failure" (Blackwood, 1951:9).

Finch's work on CWs opens up with an instructive quotation from the *Times* of 1973:

Of all the better halves, surely the wife of the cleric, at all levels from the clergy to the archbishop, is the most put-upon and influential working partner. Her share is likely to include public speaking, using her home as a public meeting house, teaching in a Sunday school, sitting up with the sick, training a choir, baptising a baby, to mention but a few of her likely tasks (1980:851).

The statement above leaves no room for further interpretations as it clearly shows that the woman who becomes the wife of the clergyman should expect a life full of tasks to undertake in order to assist her husband's work. While the author concedes that this picture of an overburdened, unpaid wife could be from a Victorian era, she also notes that this picture is quite alive today because of the high propensity for CWs to conform and play along with the script due to ideological and structural conditions (Finch, 1980). Brunette-Hill (1991) also notes that although there seem to be changes in the experiences of the CW, age-old issues such roles played and challenges faced by the CW still persist.

The position of the CW is a peculiar case because of the relationship between her and her husband's work. The CW wife falls under the category of women who are expected to play active roles in their husband's work in order for him to become successful although there is no formal agreement between herself and her husband's employer (Sweet, 1983). Whether by design or accident, the CW is thrust into the very centre of her husband's occupation. While the same might be true for the clergy husband, at present the data and literature are tilted towards women as a consequence of the fact that the church was late into admitting women priests into its fold (Brunette-Hill, 1991).

While there are no prescriptive guidelines to assist the CW on how she should behave and the roles expected of her, CWs are expected to suppress their individuality, interest, and choices to that of their families and the churches (Koshy, 2005). Indeed, the summation of the CWs role in most literature is to help her husband's ministry to grow by developing agreeable qualities (Rebuli, 2008). In a final summation of the literature, an archetype emerges, the conforming, unsalaried overburdened CW, as the open anecdotal advertisement indicates.

It is common in the Ghanaian dispensation to hear a CW being addressed with one of such titles: *Mummy, Mommy, Maa, First Lady*, all titles that refer to one's mother or leader. She is perceived as the *primus inter pares* of the women in the church, the leader and the mother of the church. In a book written by Faith Oyedepo (wife of a clergy), she notes that the position of the CW is a 'privileged and enviable one' (2008:1). This she furthers to mean that they have been called to be a helpmeet to men who have a higher calling than other men (Oyedepo, 2008). By extension, therefore, the CW has a higher calling than other wives.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

There is a striking difference between the global north and south in the historical antecedent of the development of the CW position. Finch (1980), notes that in Europe the CW was a symbolic representation of the Reformation and was thus looked upon with suspicion. Brunette Hill intimates that "the pastor's wife was a figure of both ridicule and disdain" (1991:2).

Indeed, marriage by the priest was one of the greatest signs of rebellion against the Catholic Church. As a final breakaway step with the Catholic Church, Martin Luther and his fellow priests took wives to show their absolute break with the church (Benoit, 2010). These new wives (some of whom had been previously nuns) with Luther's wife Kate (Kathy Von Bora) as a prototype, were to do anything in their power to make their husbands work successful in order not to give the Catholic church and the society cause to mock the reformation and what it stood for. It was and still is incumbent on the CW to justify her legitimacy and justification "in terms of the value (to the minister himself) of the married state" (Finch, 1980:854). This justification included her values and contributions to her husband's work, by playing certain roles and living up to some expectations thereby becoming the unpaid clergy. In its entirety, this picture does not ring true for

the case of Ghana because of the historical differences in the spread of Christianity on the African continent. Women who historically became wives of clergymen in Ghana were mission educated women, the first of their kinds and highly respected in society (Allman, 1994). This was because their husbands were some of the few educated Ghanaians who had direct access to Europeans, the English language, goods and services and all the trappings of westernization (Meischer, 2005). These women were married into a new society of marital spaces that held on to strong Biblical concept of “one flesh”. It should also be noted that by the time the Ghanaian woman became a CW, the position had long been established in the West. The Ghanaian CW, therefore, did not have to bear the brunt of proving her worth or justify her need in a parsonage like her Westerner counterpart has had to do. Instead, they were considered a part and parcel of the enterprise from the onset, having married clergymen. Consequently, they held and continue to hold a special place in church and society. One belabors the point that the dynamics of the Ghanaian CW, although not extraordinarily different from her western colleagues, is bound to exhibit different dynamics.

Furthermore, Christianity in Ghana has taken a turn of its own and has developed and metamorphosed in ways completely different from that of the global north (Jenkins, 2007). In most cases, new forms have sprung up and old ones have been modified and indigenised to suit the Ghanaian context. The growth of African versions of Pentecostals and Charismatics has resulted in different belief systems and practices in Ghana (Sackey, 2006). It is such modifications and adaptations that make the CWs situation in Ghana peculiar and in some cases different from that of the West. Furthermore, clergymen hold special positions in the Ghanaian context and can be some of the most powerful and influential persons, with all the trappings of the traditional “big men syndrome” (Aubery, 2007). The close association drawn between the clergyman’s work and his wife means that certain roles may be expected from her and also any power the man holds is

likely to affect the woman. Thus, in analysing the CW's position in the literature, there is a clear gap in ways in which their roles and station can be a space that does not only make her just a "helpmeet". It can become a vehicle through which she can enjoy certain privileges and powers that other women and even men do not enjoy in church.

Although the fragmentary evidence is clear that the CW's position is an important one, there is also a lack of substantive literature on the context-specific nature of the CWs' work in Ghana, a country whose Christian population stands at a 71. 2% (Ghana Statistical Survey, 2010). While there are papers, theses, and book chapters that address the CW's situation, one is yet to find a single work that brings together a discussion and analysis of the CW's from different denominations in one study by interrogating their roles, challenges, privileges and power relations involved in such a position.

This study fills this gap by bringing together the experiences of the CW with the aim of interrogating the roles CWs play in church and the challenges they face as well as the privileges they enjoy as a result of their position. It further interrogates the ways in which the CW can access power, how this power manifests and some of the dynamics involved in the use of this power.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broader objective of the work is to investigate the CW and her socio-political positioning within the church.

The specific objectives of this work are:

1. To investigate the specific roles and challenges of the CW.
2. To understand the privileges which the CW enjoys

3. To discover the ways in which the CW could access power, the ways in which this power manifests and the dynamics in the use of this power

From the foregoing, the research will seek answers to these broad questions:

- What are the roles and expectations of the CW?
- What are the possible challenges and privileges of the CW position?
- What are the power dynamics inherent in this position?

1.4. A Brief Discussion of the Conceptual Framework

In her study of the CWs, Bare, (1998) has noted that three important factors affect the life of a CW and thus make her unique from others: (1) the calling of the pastor husband, (2) the ministry as a greedy institution and (3) the status of the ministry as a two-person career (Bare, 1998). An exploration of these factors indicates that the life of the CW revolves around the church and its activities.

The calling of the man is in connection with his work as a clergyman. The man is mostly the only person who experiences a spiritual encounter which is described as a calling. The clergyman then goes through training which is meant to prepare him for his work in the future. The calling also mostly means that his primary responsibility on earth is to serve God and the congregation, which pushes the wife into a second class citizen position. This breeds loneliness in the life of the CW. However, her need for attention breeds an inevitable sense of guilt; one developed from her fear of competing with God over her husband's attention and time (Bare, 1998).

A greedy institution is described as one that takes up the total and exclusive attention as an individual (Coser, 1974). The greedy nature of both her family and the church is another factor that pulls at the CW. Organised as a nuclear family, the man is the father, the wife is the mother,

and the congregation is the children. However, the CW may also have her nuclear family to take to attend. Just like in most nuclear families, the mother is expected to keep the family intact by supporting the husband and caring for the children. If the husband or the children fail, she is held responsible and yet she gets no form of support from any avenue. The CW is also expected to have the interest and welfare of congregants at heart as the mother of the church. A combination of the demands of these two institutions could be challenging for the CW.

Finally, as noted earlier, the CW falls into the category of spouses who are expected to take up responsibilities with the goal of helping their spouse's career to succeed, what is termed as the two-person career (Papaneka, 1974, Taylor and Hartley, 1975). This is a situation where only one spouse is employed but the other is expected to play certain active and direct roles in order to make the employed spouse's occupation successful. The CW position has been recognized as a prototype of this situation. While a doctor, lawyer or commercial driver's wife is not required to be directly involved in her husband's work, in fact, it is advised they stay out for issues such as conflict of interest and a lack of experience, the CW is expected to be at the centre of affairs, holding the fort and doing the underground and backstage arrangements necessary for a successful performance. She is however not recognized for her contribution nor is she remunerated for her time and work. There is the unmentioned assumption that his job is her life (Brunnette-Hill, 1991). According to Bare, these three factors come together to define the CW position and make her life entirely unique from other wives. The woman who marries a clergyman is expected to undertake certain roles and live up to certain expectations as well as face the challenges posed by the nature of clergy work as a two-person career and a greedy institution.

Although this framework is helpful in understanding how the CW work can be affected by who she is married to, it does not fully explain and capture the essence of all CWs position in Ghana.

This is because the different types of church denominations in Ghana could lead to some differences in the position of the CW.

Due to the fact that the work is also interested in investigating the privileges the CW enjoys and the power that may accrue from her position, I use the concept of Femocracy as used by Mama (1995) this concept interrogates the power of women who access power through their husbands. As a result of her close connection and involvement in her husband's work, the CW may also derive some powers via the same route.

An adaptation of Bare's framework, together with Mama's concept does provide a clear picture of the role of the CW. It showed that the roles which CWs play in church, the challenges they face and the privileges they enjoy are as a direct result of the calling of the husband, the two career nature of the work and the church as a greedy institution. It further afforded me the ability to explore the power of CWs as a direct consequence of their marriage to their husbands.

1.5. A Brief Discussion of the Methodology

The research was designed using a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Scholars (Creswell, 2007 and Barbie, 2013) have argued that using a mixed-method design facilitates a nuanced interrogation of the question and subject of interest. While the quantitative method allows for understanding how widespread a problem is, the qualitative approach seeks to cover the depth (Creswell, 2012). The study used both primary and secondary materials in gathering data for the research. The quantitative aspect of the work was undertaken through the use of a survey. In all, a total of 134 respondents were reached and emerging patterns guided the development of more relevant and detailed questions for the in-depth interviews. The qualitative aspect was done through the use of a focused group discussion involving church members from various denominations as well as in-depth interviews with 33 CWs and 10 key informants.

Finally, the work employed observation in order to understand the dynamics which might not be obtained through a survey, focus group discussion or interviews. Observations involved attending women's meetings, church services and other functions where CWs were invited or are the ones organising such events. Thus, field notes and documented observations served as a supplement to other data which had been collected. The significance of employing such a method cannot be overstated. I also made use of manuals and books written as guides for CWs. These were books mostly written by CW who wished to share their experience with other CWs. The data collected were analysed in two stages. The survey was analysed with the help of SPSS data analysis tool. The Focus group discussion, interviews, and field notes were then transcribed and grouped into themes according to the objectives of the work to argument the survey results.

1.6. Significance of the Study

It is clear that gender cannot be left out of any religious analyses, especially in Ghana. It has also become evident that the proliferation of churches and its significance in the lives of Ghanaians cannot be underestimated. The 2010 Ghana Population and Housing Census placed the Christian population at 71.2% with women being more than the men out of this percentage. Thus, women's participation and roles in the church cannot be overemphasized. Indeed, as Soothill noted, for some women, the churches serve as "important physical spaces in which they found comfort, security and a sense of hope...the church was, quite literally, their second home" (2007:142). CWs become the centre of women's organisations, especially in Charismatic and Pentecostal Movements. They serve as role models for both younger and older women in the church, serving as spiritual mentors, counselors, and fashion icons. The power they wield on women, especially younger women, is enormous. This places them in a powerful agentic role, making them critical agents of socialization, especially in situations where they are essentialised in terms of the message they carry out and teach both men and women. The fact that this is a field which has not been

extensively explored means the study will be a great addition to this field. It will further our understanding of the nature of the two-person career, the greedy nature of the church as an institution and how democracy operates in a religious setting. This will also serve as a starting point for scholars who may want to do further studies in this field as well as kindle interest for further studies.

Furthermore, the position of the CW could be a potentially empowering and disempowering for her as a person and others whom she influences. This is especially critical when we consider that the central respondents under study are CWs who also happen to be one of the groups of people who are considered gatekeepers for “right” gendered behaviour in Ghanaian societies. It is my projected hope that the study will theoretically help to unravel how women, but especially CWs, organise their seemingly ambivalent positions and spaces into conventional patterns. This will also serve as an eye-opener on marriage as both a social and religious organizing structure and how both could be empowering platforms or otherwise to women. Additionally, as noted by Mama (1995) the power of women may go unchecked and unaccounted for, especially where such power is derived from the husband and considered as working towards the welfare of the husband. This requires that attention is given to such to these women, especially in the light of the recent cry in the country for the government to make laws that clamp down on activities and powers of pastors and by extension their wives in the country (Ghanaweb, 2019).

1.7. Definition of Terms

Denomination: A sub-group within a religion with similar practices, beliefs, and traditions.

Clergyman: A man who has been ordained according to the rules of his denomination and recognized as such by their denomination.

Clergy-wife (CW): A woman who is legally married to a man who is a clergyman

Assistant clergy: A clergy who acts as an assistant to the head clergy or stands in when the head clergy is absent. An assistant clergy is lower in terms of ranking to the head clergy. In Protestant and Pentecostal churches, Assistant clergies are sent to understudy a head clergy after seminary training or Bible School. In Charismatic churches, assistant pastors could also be trainee pastors who are being trained by the head clergy.

1.8. Organisation of the Study

In chapter one, I introduce the study and problem under investigation. I provide the background to the study by showing how significant the CW position in relation to her husband's work. I also discuss the statement of problem, objectives, as well as the significance of the study. The chapter also took a brief look at the conceptual framework and methodology employed for this study. This chapter also outlines the organization of the whole research and finally concludes the chapter.

Chapter two of the work serves as the context chapter of the thesis. It takes a look at the position of women in both pre and post-colonial Ghana. It looks at issues such as women's position in society in the African as against the West, women's spaces within marriage and family and the changing phase of marriage. It also takes a look at women's traditional authority, women's participation in Christianity.

Chapter three reviews the body of work available on the CW. First, I discuss the historical antecedent of the CW position in both the West and in Ghana. The chapter then discusses the different body of work on the CW both in the west and in Ghana with the consequent implication that there is a marked difference in the CW in these two different contexts. This chapter also discusses the roles and challenges of the CW, with a section paying attention to the significant

position of the clergyman. Different compositions of the conceptual framework used in the study are discussed thoroughly in this chapter.

Chapter four takes a look at the methodological approaches employed in collecting the data for the study. I discuss both the quantitative as well as the qualitative means of data collection that were in gathering data for this study. The chapter also pays attention to issues such as the ways in which the data were analyzed, some the ethical issues as well as the challenges that well encountered in the study. I also discuss some of the epistemological issues of the study.

Chapter five takes an extensive discussion of the roles, challenges that the CW experiences. I also take a look at the privileges and joys which the CW enjoy and derive for their position. This chapter used both the quantitative and qualitative data for the analysis.

Chapter six pays attention to the power dynamics present in the CW position. This chapter uses mostly data form Interviews with CWs and key informants with some support data from Focus group discussion and the survey. Specifically, the chapter looks at CW's access to power, the ways in which these powers manifest and the dynamics involved in the use of power by CWs.

Finally, chapter seven summarizes and concludes the whole thesis. It summarizes of all the issues that have been raised in various chapters of the work. It provides recommendations and implications for further studies.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study and problem under investigation. It has been indicated that the CW position might be one burdened with roles and expectations, privileges and well as a site for the production and use of immense power. It has also discussed the objectives, problem

statement, theoretical framework as well as the significance of the study. This chapter also outlines the organization of the whole research and finally summaries the chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Ghanaian Women: The Cultural and Religious Context

2.1 Introduction

In the sections that follow, I discuss the cultural and religious context and women's position in relation to men, especially in marriage and in power structures. The first section generally looks at the idea of power and the ways in which men and women are socialized to use power and maneuver their daily lives. This is then followed by women's position and place in society in pre and post colonial Ghana, with emphasis on marriage and motherhood. The religious landscape of Ghana, with particular emphasis on Christianity, is then discussed. I take a look at the historical context of the growth of Christianity, the different dimensions of this growth, and the particular role of women in the growth and sustenance of Christianity. Finally, I conclude on the issue of how the twin institutions of Christianity and colonialism have played major roles in diminishing and weakening, women's position in the Ghanaian society.

2.2. Gender and Power Relations in Ghana

Gender continues to be an important marker in assessing men and women's lives in various societies, especially in Ghana (Adomako Ampofo et al. 2004). This is because men and women's roles, privileges and challenges encountered in their bid to maneuver daily life are a direct consequence of their social categorization as men and women. Again, because gender is culturally ascribed and socially inculcated (Adomako Ampofo, 2002; Cusack, 1999), individuals, both men, and women learn very early in life what is expected of them and what they are entitled to in life and ways considered proper gender behaviour. This learning process is acquired through the socialization process of children, by instilling the norms, values, belief systems and general cultural practices of the people. Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2009) reveal that the socialization of boys and girls into men and women is an important site for the formation of

gendered identities. While the family is bestowed the responsibility of a primary socialization agent, there is no doubt that other institutions such as religion and education serve as equally powerful agents of socialization (Badasu, 2009). Inherent in socialization is the allocation of important resources such as power. The presence, use, and manifestation of power differs from society to society, however its acquisition and distribution have universal attributes.

It is generally agreed that the presence of power makes one do what one would otherwise not do. Thus, A has power if A is able to get B to do what B would otherwise not do or what A wants (Dhal; Danziger, 1998). A's power over B can be legitimized through three main routes: force (Coercive power), Exchange (Economic power) or mutuality (Integrative power). The threat of physical force or the actual use of it leads to A's power over B. In the second, A's access to certain resources and threat of denial of those resources to B leads to a modification in B's behaviour, hence A's power. In the third, Integrative power, B's feeling of moral and social obligation, affection and loyalty to A in some ways gives A power over B. In some instances, A will yield to B so that their collective power will give A and B an advantage over C. In such a scenario, the benefits accruing to B will be worth B's loss of power to A (Danziger, 1998).

It is common place throughout history on women in Ghana, and even in this present study to find that women experience the Exchange and Integrative power more in their various dealings, especially with men and their husbands. For instance, a woman will be found to co-operate by providing extra money for child welfare and household upkeep because of affection and loyalty towards her husband (Abu, 1983). In other instances, they may submit to their husbands because of fear that men may pull their financial support from them and their children (Clarke, 1999).

Foucault's revolutionary work on power, on the other hand, is premised on the fact that individuals are moulded and "refined" overtime to behave in certain "docile" ways which lead them to automatically obey authority. Although such individuals might think they decide out of their own free-will, this is actually the work of a knowledge system that tells us what is and what is not (Brodie, 2005). The fundamental thesis of his argument is that knowledge production is power production and that the producers of knowledge are powerful and recipients of this knowledge subservient to the producers. He continues that power is embedded in all forms of our social institutions, disciplining us into order so much so that before we act, take decisions and make choices, we have been "coerced" into acting according to a written script. Using his famous analogy of the panopticon where the prisoner eventually disciplines himself into acting right even when not being observed. One is quick to apply Foucault to our understanding of the importance of socialization. As gendered beings, whose ideas and ideals have been acquired through years of training, observation, and practice, men and women are prone to choose scripts which they have imbibed over the course of their socialization process. Indeed, it has been noted that socialization becomes the site where power and male privilege is produced (Adomako Ampofo and Boateng, 2009).

Foucault is not without critics, the most basic of which is the point that his conceptualization leaves out human agency. Indeed, while women are a product of their socialization and would have thus been expected to act according to scripts of being obedient and subservient to men, it will be noted below that the power within the marital relationship was and still remains a complex web of choices, conflicts, negotiations and co-operations among Ghanaian women and their husbands. This shows that these women may not necessarily act because of their "script" but as a result of the intricate situational case.

However, Foucault's work is also significant in our understanding of how power operates between men and women in society. Occupying a place of authority has meant men would have more power since they have been in charge of creating the knowledge of society. Also, especially in religion, since it is one of the focus areas of this work, Foucault's argument is useful in our understanding of why the clergy and anyone associated with them, such as their wives are deemed powerful and deserving of reverence. The general consensus that they hold claim to divine knowledge is enough to guarantee them a place on the power ladder. Furthermore, the Clergy do not just lay claim to any power, but a traditional form of power that has its source in the divine.

The sources of power are many among which include; one's lineage, vast wealth, an overwhelming election win, an autocratic or repressive regime, a claim to the divine call, a gift of eloquence or charisma and so on (Magstad and Schotten, 1996). For women, especially in certain societies and in some circumstances, a marriage into a wealthy and powerful family was bound to be a source of power. The history of most western societies has shown that a woman could be powerful and considered royal if she married a king, prince, royal or a nobleman. Empirical work on first ladies of presidents in Ghana and Nigeria indicate that a woman could use her husband as a route to power and develop further power that could go unchecked and unaccounted for, what some authors' term as femocracy, (Aubrey, 2001; Mama, 1995). This is new to the Ghanaian case as will be shown below. This is because marriage did not necessarily translate into power. Granted, a woman could improve her social standing or access some resources through her husband, however, mostly her power derived mainly through her lineage, her reproductive abilities, and her own resourcefulness and economic enterprise (Oppong, 1987).

2.2.1 Family Relations and Women's Place in Society

Women, just like anyone in the society belonged to any of the under-listed; their mother's family, known as matrilineal inheritance, their father's, the patrilineal inheritance and both, bilateral inheritance (Nukunya, 2003; Nukunya, 1969, Fortes, 1965). This is also in consonance with whom one can inherit from and what type of goods a woman could have access to if any at all. It has been documented that women who inherit in matrilineal lines, normally practiced among the Akan fare better in terms of inheritance and access to resources such as land than those in patrilineal lines (Duncan, 2010). Generally, however, women had access to family property such land and while those from the matrilineal group could directly inherit from the family common land, those from the patrilineal group could gain access through their husbands and sons. This puts such women in precarious situations since a spinster, widowed or sonless women could by themselves not have access to the use of family resources. A woman had the support of each side of her family, although the one she belonged to had the strongest claim to her. Even though she might be married, a woman was expected to dispense some responsibilities towards her natal family and in turn, she was also assured of family support in times of need (Overa, 1993). For instance, a woman who was constantly maltreated by her husband was always assured of the support of her brothers or another male 'brothers' in her family in disciplining her husband back to his senses. Indeed, Sackey (2006) has noted that divorce was not the prerogative of only males and a woman, especially in an Akan society could always return to her family if the marriage failed. This made marital bonds more fragile than familial relations, especially among the Akan. The family thus provided women with the network of social support they needed and also afforded them the opportunity to fall on the support of kin and kith as well as other mothers in the society in bringing up and socializing their children.

2.2.2 The Political, Social and Economic Positioning of Women in Pre-colonial Ghana

Ghanaian societies were organised into various socio-economic and political spaces and women had spaces allocated to them to participate in the day to day administration of their society. Women could hold positions in their own right as individuals and they had the right to participate in the activities of the society like any other free-born male. They could join associations deemed fit for women without the express permission of their husbands and some female cults were so secretive that it was a taboo for non-initiates or men to know about the activities of these cults. Politically, women could occupy positions; go to war and take part in almost other activities just like men. One of the most prominent political positions, especially among the Akan was that of the queen mother. It was she who selected the next king and she could initiate the process that destool a king. She was a core member of the core council of the king's court and had her own court (Amoah, 2011; Manuh, 1988). She was the custodian of the culture, mores, and history of the society and this role was especially significant since it was her knowledge in history and lineages that helped in the smooth transition and enstoolment of rightful heirs. As the mother of the king and the "mother" of the whole society, her court was a refuge for those running from the king's court and her wisdom was sought in difficult matters as one of her titles "*abrewa*" (Akan word for old woman) signified the embodiment of wisdom (Arhin 1983; 1985). The queen mother was thus a powerful entity and her power did not flow from her marital affinity or association to any man (Farrar, 1997). Rather, the source of her power was through descent and this was acquired through the female line and was parallel to that of the king. Indeed, almost every form of office or power acquired in Akan land was by descent and through the female bloodline. Generally, menopausal women could engage more in decision making and ritual process or hold the office since their biological makeup at this time and their age made it more appropriate. Their age translated into

wisdom while their biological state made them 'spiritual' desirable due to a lack of the fear of the menstrual blood. While the institution of queen-ship was not as established in other parts of pre-colonial Ghana as was among the Akan, women in other groups also played significant political roles. Among the Ga for instance, although the line of descent was patrilineal, women were recognized as central to the political organization. Women sat on the council of elders and partook in important decisions that affected the people. Women on the council were recognized to be of the same status as men, especially as they aged and their words and views equal weight as that of the men (Westwood, 1974). Among the Dagaaba of northern Ghana, while women did not hold a specific political position, the oldest wife (*yii dampona*) of every lineage played the important role of accompanying the lineage head everywhere in went and was therefore preview to decision making. When kingship was finally established among the Frafra and Mamprusi, the wife of the king played a central role in the enskinment of a new king. They were responsible for the king's regalia (Odame, 2014). Women were thus very central to the political organization in their societies through the performance of various roles.

Further, women went to war and women were known to harbour weapons in their *atofo*-the improver (Aidoo, 1985). However, those who remained at home had the power to sing songs known as *mmomome*, sneer songs directed at men afraid of the war front. They could also make songs that jeered at men who run from the war front. The express aim of such songs was to drive such men into committing suicide (Allan et. al, 2005; Arhin, 1983). Such roles of women sometimes provide some of the evidence of the pervasiveness of female power. It was women who urged men to war in all known Ghanaian cultures and also had the power to mock weaklings to death!

The western concept of a fragile, male dependent and domesticated woman who relied solely on male benefactors was indeed alien to the Ghanaian woman. Women engaged in various economic ventures with or without their husbands and enjoyed some forms of economic individualism not known to Western women. As farmers, women could sell the produce from their farms, collect seeds and fruits from their husbands or communal land for sale. Women in the coastal regions engaged in the marketing of the catch their husbands made from fishing. Indeed, women participated in long-distance trade and even in recent times women are still at the helm of economic activities and are actively involved in multinational and transnational trading (Darkwah, 2003; 2002). Women's economic activities were very significant in their identities as women. A hard-working woman was valued and well respected and a lazy woman was abhorred and ridiculed. Contributions from economic activities were mostly used to supplement the provision of the family or augment the "chop money" provided by the husband (Adomako Ampofo, 2005; Abu, 1983). Of course, such resources were also invested back into the businesses or could sometimes be given as a loan to the husband. A woman's economic contribution or even her access to and control of income had a corresponding effect on the power she had (Boserup, 1970). A woman who had her own sources of income was not a dependent and therefore had a say not just in the welfare of her children, but also in the marital relationship and in her own kin group (Overa, 1993). While such a woman was an asset to both her family and husband, she could also be perceived as a threat, especially by the husband (Abu, 1983).

2.2.3 Women, Marriage and Motherhood

Marriage was and still continues to be an important institution among Ghanaians. It could be at once empowering and disempowering to women in every Ghanaian society (Adomako Ampofo, 2005). Because marriage is seen as one of the most important unions in society, a lot of importance is attached to it and married women are accorded more respect than spinsters (Soothill, 2012).

Indeed, one of the markers for consideration of any office or one's maturity was one's marital status. Marriage was the sanctioned means through which men and women could produce and populate both their lineages and society. Vallenga (1983), notes that among the Akan for instance, there could be numerous types of marriages; those between free borns, free-born and slave, royals, royal and non-royal, citizen and stranger and so on. While there are numerous rites performed by different groups in Ghana, the very basic rule was that some form of gifts, mostly symbolic for most ethnic groups, were exchanged between families, normally moving from the man's to the woman's family (Assimeng, 1999; Bortei-Doku Aryeetey and Kuenyehia, 1998). This signified a form of compensation for the lost labour and services of the woman and to give a communal legitimacy to the union. There were different residential arrangement associated with marriage. There were those who practised virilocal, duolocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, matrilocal, neolocal and in some instances a household consisted of different hearth-holds and the essential or core unit of organisation constituted of all those who ate from the same hearth-hold (Ekejuiba, 1995). Many benefits accrued to women who practiced the duolocal living arrangement. Such women had the independence to undertake their own economic activities and had the freedom to live with their own family. This also provided women the network of support they needed for childcare so that they could engage in their personal dealings (Abu, 1983). Those who practiced the patrilocal residential arrangement also had the support of husbands financial support and in the discipline of children although they did not enjoy as much freedom of movement as those in duolocal arrangements. Women who had co-wives had also had more room to operate since spousal duties were shared among wives.

However, marriage was one of the most ambivalent social unions. This is as a result of the loose bonds of the marital relationship caused mostly by lineage and kin affiliations and the potential of

marital rivals with its consequent result of insecurity and mistrust (Takyi, 2007; Clark, 1999; Oppong, 1974). The tensions resulting from these feelings mostly led to individualism in marriage and wives and husbands were not perceived as “one body and soul” upon marriage. Indeed, in very few cases where two young people could be “love birds”, marriage was generally considered a matter of “familial alliance than of individual choice” (Ware, 1983:23; Mikell, 1997).

Generally, while spousal co-operation was practiced, the husband and wife also kept independent economic purses and could conduct other related social and economic activities unrelated to their spouse (Abu, 1983). In the day to day maintenance of the household, the man was expected to provide the “chop money” or the maintenance money and in a farming community the meat and salt for food. The wife is then expected to provide everything else. While the wife’s contribution is mostly reduced to the level of “supplement”, some authors have indicated that these contributions by women indeed formed the highest proportion of the two (Clarke, 1994). Wives and husbands could work as partners as in case of the Winneba fisher folks described by Hagan (1983). Men engaged in fishing and relied on their wives to do the selling, management, and keeping of the returns. Wives were given a certain percentage as payment for their role and retained the rest as safe keeping for their husbands. A wife who mismanaged or was unable to make a proper account to her husband risked being divorced (Hagan, 1983). Among farmers, wives cooperated in making farms with their husbands and were allocated plots where they could grow condiments for sale, as a form of payment for their labour.

In situations where wives have contributed to the production of cash crops such as cocoa, she was entitled not only to the food crops that were grown on the farm, the husband makes or assists her to make her own cocoa farm (Duncan, 2010; Okali, 1983). This served as compensation for her woman’s labour and also as a form of insurance upon the death of a husband. This applies mostly

in matrilineal societies where a man's properties pass to his sister's children after his death and a woman and her children could be disinherited in such circumstances (Korang –Okrah and Haight, 2015; Awusabo Asare, 1990). However, among patrilineal groups, properties passed to male children, although female children could also inherit but were not entitled to as much as male heirs (Nukunya, 1969). This also meant that if the man had no sons, the properties passed to his brothers or other male family members. This could spell trouble for a woman who did not have sons or was not on good terms with her late husband's brothers. Furthermore, if there were co-wives and other children, women were not assured of inheriting as much as they had invested.

This made marriage a very precarious enterprise for women and therefore led to a lot of marital bargainings, negotiations, and co-operations between wives and husbands. Women would co-operate with husbands to provide for the family and the especially the children while making provisions for themselves as personal insurance in instances of a husband's death or divorce.

Thus, wives and husbands co-operated as partners to their own personal ends and as Arhin, Abu and Okoli have indicated, a woman who feels that her interests are not of immediate consequence to her husband is likely to cut her losses and divorce (Abu, 1983; Arhin, 1983).

Indeed, the power pendulum could swing in favour of men and women at different points in the marital process. There were separate economic purses and a woman was not required to account her financial status or declared her profits to her husband, unless she had been expressly sent by her husband to sell certain goods. Further, whereas a woman could demand financial support, especially for children, a man could not. The fear of the husband acquiring other wives or engaging in extra-marital affairs, especially in younger marriages meant that husbands had more power in the marriage at this time. However, older wives who did not have the responsibility of childcare

and had older children could rely more on the support of children (Oppong, 1987). Moreover, the age of such women meant they would have made some financial accumulation and their free time also translated in their ability to engage in more economic ventures. In such scenarios, husbands found that the power turf had been divided between them and their wives or had shifted towards the women. Women were thus not powerless in the face of grinding inequality, especially in marriage.

A wife in the child-birthing period of marriage or one with younger children found herself submitting to her husband for fear that anything contrary could lead to a husband pulling his financial and general support from her and the children (Adomako Ampofo, 2000). While the status of a woman's husband' had some effect on her own social standing, of greater significance was her birthing ability in the marriage. In other words, women were powerful as mothers. A woman in a matrilineal society was responsible for populating her matrilineage as the descent is reckoned through her and her offspring. Clark for instance notes that, "Motherhood is central to female gender ideals for the Asante, as in many cultural systems" (Clark, 2000:2), while it has been noted elsewhere that "Motherhood is so critical in most traditional societies in Africa that there is no worse misfortune for a woman than being childless" (Akujobi, 2011:3). In almost all societies in Ghana, motherhood was and continues to be considered very germane to a woman's existence. A woman's importance and power derives from the children she is able to have and especially in Patrilineal societies, a woman who had sons was powerful and secured since she could have access to resources through them. She was assured in most cases of the reverence and labour of future daughters-in-law and the support of her children even in old age. Furthermore, the bond created between mothers and their children extends throughout life and this means that mothers tend to have power in the life of their children (Rhiannon, 2013). Mothers are known to influence crucial

decisions such as choice of marriage partner, the number of children their children have and in some cases have general control over the course their children's life take throughout their life span. Indeed, the idea of motherhood and its associated responsibilities and power is captured in the institution of the Akan queen mother. The queen mother is a macro representation of a mother and acts as the mother of the nation. Thus, she is expected to nurture her children, attend to their needs, and reprimands erring children. Her court serves as the last resort to offenders. Her motherhood position also provided her immense powers as the one who could select the new king (Boaten 1, 1992; Arhin, 1985).

Thus, women's position in society was not a static state but rather a process of constant movement and engagement in society and a continuous process of complex socio-cultural setting.

2.3. The Post-Colonial Context and Women's Position

It has been documented that women's power and access to resources in relation to men underwent a drastic change because of the twin institution of culture and religion and these changes continue to remain detrimental to their positioning even in modern Ghana (Gadzekpo, 1999). While Ghanaian women did not live in a utopia and the gendered nature of society created male privilege, women were not necessarily helpless victims of a patriarchal society.

For instance, the marital arrangements discussed above indeed offended the moral sensibilities of Europeans and Christians who came to Africa. They had immigrated from a culture where marriage reduced individuals to half of each other and the marital couple was required to work together, establish their own nuclear family and acquire properties for themselves and their offspring (Shadle, 2006; Oyewumi, 2003; Aidoo, 1985). This idea was to be instituted into the Ghanaian society through the church and women's independence and power in marriage was gradually eroded. First of all, marriage was not considered "complete" especially for a Christian

until it had been blessed by the church or the objects for the marriage had been inspected by the elders of the church (Obeng, 1996; Vallenga, 1983). This took away some part of the family's role as the negotiator and contactor of all marital affairs. Moreover, the wife was expected to be domesticated, staying at home, taking care of children, and husband, and the household in general. This created the concept now known as "house-wife", the woman who had no form of employment, stayed at home to undertake household chores and become economically dependent on her husband.

Additionally, the nucleated nature of the family meant that a wife no longer had the help of kin group in organizing her life, could not fall on their total support in times of trouble and thus relied solely on her husband (Adomako Ampofo and Prah, 2009). This invariably ruled out interference from family members and a woman in an abuse likely to suffer without the knowledge and support of family. Wives now had the same financial purse with their husbands. This practice that could backfire badly in the face of some women, as such women did not have the same independent use of their own resources (Vallenga, 1983). However, the drive to totally take over and revise the cultural practices surrounding marriage has not always been successful as the uproar against the marriage ordinance of 1884 showed. The inconsistencies of the marital practice introduced and imbibed indicate the failure of the received practiced. For instance, while polygamy is condemned and monogamy hailed as the ultimate, there is evidence that in real practice, men who claim to practice monogamy have a litany of mistresses and girlfriends, sometimes known to the wife (Assimeng, 1993). The demonization of arranged marriages and the celebration of love and individual selection of marital partner as the true way to marital bliss have not always proven to be true. The reasons for such failures are not far-fetched.

Moreover, although the nuclear family is hailed as the ideal and most Ghanaians seem to move towards that family arrangement, the extended family system continues to play a significant role in the lives of individuals. Indeed, important rites of passages such as marriage, childbirth and funerals cannot be successfully organized or deemed legitimate without the presence of the extended family. Adomako Ampofo, for instance, discovered that while spouses are the ones involved in taking reproductive decisions, she cautions that researchers pay attention to the role of the extended family in such private matters. This is because the extended family continues to play an influential role in the lives of individuals, even in the case of such private matters (Adomako Ampofo, 2000).

Furthermore, especially in the new Christian movement, the theology on marriage and marital life and the Christian home are rather ambiguous. While on the one hand the home and marriage are projected as egalitarian, other messages teach women to be subordinate and submissive in playing their wifely duties since men are the head of the household. Such messages present conflicting sometimes ambivalent roles for both men and women (Adomako Ampofo, 2012). This is a matter of concern as it has been noted that the church, like other modern institutions, has gradually usurped the socializing role of the family.

In all other various aspects of their lives, colonialism and encounters with western Christian religion wiped out most of women's powers in the traditional society. In the political space, the colonial powers refused to recognize female power as complementary to male authority. Indeed, the fact that such could occur and that women could hold power was absurd to the colonial authority (Sackey, 2006). Religions, in the form of Christianity, also succeeded through their education to silence women in religious spaces, curtail their personal religious experience while using their labour and resource to build and grow Christianity. Women were taught through the

Pauline injunction to remain silent, submit totally and wholly to their husbands (Sackey, 2006). Such submission also included forgoing economic ventures that had initially marked the wife as economically independent from her husband (Oppong, 1985; Mikell, 1997). When education was introduced, men received the kinds of education that prepared them for work in civil service and offices whereas women were educated to be wives to these men. In all aspects of life, economic, political and social, men are more advantaged than women (Manuh, 2009). The position and participation of women's role in Christianity which was also introduced by westerners is no different from the picture that has so far been discussed.

2.4 The Religious Context

In the sections that follow below, the religious worldview of the Africa and Ghana is first discussed. This is then followed by the introduction of Christianity into Ghana. The next section will be an exposition of the women's participation in Christianity in Ghana

2.4.1. The African Religious Worldview

In Africa, there are two world views-the first is spiritual inhabited by God, the supreme being, the other divinities, ancestor and other spirits, while the physical is inhabited by man and all the elements present (Sackey, 2012). The physical and the spiritual are not two separate entities, for they are in constant interaction and very much dependent on each other. Religion is of paramount importance in the life of the African and religion to the African is an everyday practice, in fact, religion is simply a part of the life of the African. Opoku has rightly noted that, "religion, therefore, becomes the root of the African culture and it is the determining principle of the African life. It is no exaggeration, therefore to say that in traditional Africa, religion is life and life, religion" (1978:1). In Africa, religion is a holistic affair and numerous forms of worship that have controversially come to be known as African Traditional Religion shares some characteristics that cut across the continent. There is the intense belief in the God, the supreme being as the centre of

all spiritual encounters and a host of spirits, both malevolent and benevolent ones. There is also the belief in divinities (mostly known as the messages of the will of God), ancestral veneration and strong insistence on moral codes (Akrong, 2012). The central-ness of religion in the life of the people has been given as one of the reasons why Islam and Christianity could easily infiltrate the religious world of the African. Christianity which is the preoccupation of the next section was a religion first practiced by the “Whiteman” in the castle but gradually permeated the Ghanaian societies with the consequent effect that it has more or less taken over every fibre of the Ghanaian society

2.4.2 Introduction and Growth of Christianity in Ghana

Bediako (2000) triumphantly notes that:

Christianity has become a non-Western religion; which means, not that Western Christianity has become irrelevant, but rather that Christianity may now be seen for what it truly is, a universal religion and that what has taken place in Africa has been the significant part of this process (2000:3).

Indeed, Christianity has become so engrained in every fiber of Ghanaian life that it would be difficult to realise that Christianity was not always a part of Ghanaian religious life and that it once was a foreign religion, introduced by Western missionaries.

By the middle of the 1800s, mission work was underway in Ghana (Beeko, 2004). Owoahene states that

in 1828, the Basel missions arrived, followed by the Wesleyan Methodist in 1835; then the Bremen in 1847; the Lyons Fathers arrived in 1880; in 1898, the African Methodist

Episcopal Zion; and only in 1904 did the society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts return (Owoahene, 1998:87)

The core characteristics of the mission churches were the need to bring 'light' to a dark continent through the word of God. However, constant ill health led to the death of the first batch of missionaries who arrived on the coast of Ghana (Knispel and Kwakye, 2006). It was realized that the solution to this problem then was to educate Ghanaians to serve as propagators of the gospel. This was achieved through education and the Basel mission was a pioneer in this pursuit. As early as 1751, the chaplain Thomas Thompson sent four African students to be educated in England. The aim of this education was to develop a corps body of educated Ghanaian Christians elite (Men) who could assist with the propagation of the gospel. This was exemplified in the person of Philip Quaquo who worked as a schoolmaster and pastor at Cape Coast (Clarke, 1986).

The education provided by the missions proved extremely useful in gaining the critical mass required to take over the administration of the church when the missionaries were no more. For instance, when the Germans lost the Second World War and had to turn over all their colonies, the Basel mission left the administration in the hands of the competent Ghanaians, who were able to self-govern the church with some assistance from the United Free Church of Scotland. The mission in Ghana, as early as 1926 became known as the Presbyterian Church of Gold Coast, becoming fully independent by 1950.

As a result of its association with missionaries and colonialist, the church was and continues in some ways to be associated with colonialism. The church has however sustained animosity and its activities have become an integral part of the Ghanaian life. This is because the church holds both

spiritual and socio-political importance Ghanaian society. Over the years, the church seem to take absolute control of the spiritual life and needs of the people.

The church has been known to take the lead in the provision of social services such as education. Larbi cites Burrect as having noted that “the mission schools alone bore the burden of educational work during the greater part of the nineteenth century (Burrect, cited in Larbi, 199:18). The church took the lead in building schools and providing formal education. The Basel mission for example established the first college in 1848 at Akropong. This remained the only training college in the country until 1909. While the education initially provided has been described by some authors as geared towards “enslavement of the mind, not independence” (Addo, 1999:128), it in no doubt laid the foundation for education in Ghana and it is this education which produced the future independent fighters.

The church is also known for its contribution to health delivery in the country. Indeed, orthodox medicine, which was introduced by the missionaries proved effective in treating killer diseases such as Malaria. As far back as 1885, Dr Rodulf Fisch held an Out-Patient clinic in Aburi. Other notable health posts included a 1922 60-bed hospital at Agogo.

The church continues to lead in the provision of the spiritual as well as the social services such as health in the country. The spiritual role of the church is evident in the different kinds of religious movements that have sprung up since the original Protestant churches were introduced. In terms of education and health, the church continues to be a leader and some churches have gone as far as to establish tertiary institutions and renowned health centres.

2.4.3. Protestant (Mission) Churches

The churches that were brought from Europe and that have their roots in missionary work have come to be known in Ghana as the Mission Churches. These include the Catholic Church, Anglican Church, the Methodist church, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Baptist convention of Ghana. However, for the purposes of this study, I turn my attention to the Protestant churches within the mainline churches, mainly the Presbyterian, Anglican, and Methodist Church of Ghana. I use these churches because they have similar practices in terms of church administration, with consequent effects on the involvement of the CW.

Protestant churches are similar in outlook to the Christianity which was introduced by the missionaries. Cashen, for instance, notes that “the theology that the missionaries brought in the eighteenth century, which most western denominations no longer hold to, is the dominant theology found in Ghanaian congregations” (Cashen, 2010:22). Protestant churches shy away from the inclusion of African belief systems and practices in their worship. While there is evidence of the introduction of some practices such as singing and drumming into these churches, they remain closer to “traditional Christian” practices in comparison with African Independent churches. Protestant churches in Ghana do not have an individual as the originator and the churches have established rules and guidelines of operations of the churches. There are governing bodies that determine the activities and finances and the running of the churches. However, the administration of the churches is decentralized from the national bodies, through the district and dioceses to the individual churches or societies. Even within the individual churches, there are officers such as Presbyters, Wardens, Leaders, Stewards and other employed staffers who run the day to day administration of the church. There is therefore what Adasi describe as the “belief in democratic participation by both the laity and the ordained in church governance” (Adasi, 2016:15). This limits the powers of the clergy and thus prevents the clergymen or leaders from running the church

on their own whims and caprices. This also means that CWs in these denominations work within the structures of the church and are therefore restricted in their actions. Adasi, for instance, notes that when women occupied a prominent place in mission work it was as wives of missionaries. They generally “did not play any direct leadership role in the early life the church” (2016:11). This does not seem to have changed much since CWs in Protestant churches, although perceived to occupy a place of importance in the church are not formally recognized by church machinery in the direct day to day administration of the church. Women can, however, rise to the highest level of priesthood, at least in the three Protestant churches used for this study.

2.4.4 African Initiated Churches (AICs)

However, the later part of the 1800s was to experience a fracture that would forever change the face of Christianity in Ghana. African Initiated Churches, also known in some literature as African Instituted Churches or African Independent Churches was the phenomenal development that took place in the mission churches in the latter part of the 1880s. These churches changed the history of Christianity in Africa in general and Ghana in particular. All these fractures, divisions and surge of different Christian churches and denominations in Ghana have not occurred in a vacuum. They have happened in a complex socio-cultural, economic and political atmosphere spanning from the 1930s till now. The rise of Ethiopian or Zionist movement has been attributed to the political stirrings that occurred after the Second World War. These were the days of the Pan African excitements when most Africans had started questioning the legitimacy of the Western as colonial masters and religious leader (Encyclopedia of Religion, 2006). Others have also noted that the missionary education and development of indigenous languages provided the African with the medium through which they could express themselves and their need to worship God in their own ways and on their own terms (Asamoah Gyadu, 2018). The influenza pandemic of 1918-1919 has been seen as one of the foremost factors for the rise of African Independent Churches (Clarke,

2006). The missions that had presented an ever powerful and all knowledgeable God to the African did not seem to have a solution to the influenza pandemic. The rise of prophets such as Harris and Watson, who were purported to have healing powers, therefore filled this gap. On the other hand, the rise and proliferation of Pentecostalism has been credited to the external Pentecostal revivalism, and the that of Chrismatism to the harsh economic conditions of the 1980s, and the work of Para religious organisations such as the Scripture Union (SU) that became the training grounds for future Pastors.

In the classification of AICs, I work with Sackey's four classifications a) The Separatist, Secessionist, schematics or Ethiopian Churches b) independent or Spiritual Churches, c) Pentecostal Churches d) Charismatic Churches.

2.4.4.1 The Separatist, Secessionist, Schematics or Ethiopian Churches

These were the churches that have been described as having separated “based broadly on political grounds, protesting against discrimination in leadership position, among other things” (Sackey, 2001:43). Exemplified by prophets such as Garrick Braid Sokari, Turner described them as “an independent prophet movement within an All-African and virtually independent church... (Turner, 1967:1) who “used religion as a protest against European colonial rule and as a means to pursue the policy of African self-expression and freedom from missionary control” (Clarke, 2006:7). Garrick who started the movement in 1912 was arrested by the British colonial administration under the pretext of being a political agitator for preaching against the consumption of alcohol which was an economic commodity. The real reason for this arrest, of course, was the fact that the Anglican Church could not control the popularity of Garrick. The people were quick to see through the real reason behind the arrest and thus finally left the church to “form themselves into the Independent Christ Army” (Clarke, 2006:66).

2.4.4.2. Spiritual Churches in Ghana

Known by different local names, they are known especially in Ghana as *Sunsumsore* (spiritual) churches (Sackey, 2001:43). These types of churches have been known as authentic African expression of Christianity because of their tendency to appropriate African traditional worldviews. In West Africa, Wade Harris has mostly been associated and attributed with the spread of the faith. After receiving the call to preach while in prison in Liberia, he travelled along the coast of West Africa preaching repentance and burning idols, while healing the sick and afflicted. Harris's ministry was known to be Bible-believing in nature. His travels landed him in Nzema land in Ghana, where he met Madam Grace Tani, a traditional priestess who renounced her faith and travelled with Harris to Ivory Coast as Madam Harris. Madam Tani returned as a prophetess and established the Church of the Twelve Apostles. Another popular example of such churches was the Musama Disco Christo Church, formed by Joseph William Egyanka Appiah who broke away from the Methodist church after his refusal to put an end to his activities as a prophet (Clarke, 1986). Some of the major characteristics of these churches are: its multi-ethnic nature, an emphasis on the role of the holy spirit, the prolific use of the cross and the holy water and anointing oil, ritual baths and specific dress code (long white dress with a red belt or vice versa with a cape in some denominations), and an emphasis on prophets and faith healing. They are also known for exorcism especially of evil spirits, particularly witchcraft. A distinct hallmark of most AICs is their vibrant mode of worship that incorporates African music, dancing, clapping, and traditional musical instruments. These churches do not prohibit the practice of polygamy. However, one of the most out-standing features of these churches was their ability to blend African or Ghanaian elements with Christianity (Encyclopedia of Religion, 2006; Sackey, 2001). It should, however, be noted that Harris himself never started a congregation and advised those he converted to join the mission churches.

2.4.4.3 Pentecostal Churches in Ghana.

I make a distinction between Pentecostalism and Charismatics in this work because of some difference in practices and beliefs as will be discussed below.

Universally, the rise of Pentecostalism has been attributed to a bible school conducted by Charles Fox Parham, a holiness teacher and a former Methodist pastor in the United States (Jarrison, 2015), through his exhortation on students to seek the holy spirit and a revival of the spirit through prayer, studying of the Bible and fasting. One of his students, Agnes Ozman, received the Holy Spirit and thus spoke in tongues. The Azusa street preachings, accompanied by exuberant revivals in Los Angeles firmly established Pentecostalism as a force to be reckoned with in modern Christianity. Thus, classical Pentecostals as they have come to be known to have their roots in Western revivalism (Sackey, 2001). However, in Ghana, the rise of Pentecostalism has in some quarters been attributed to Prophet Peter Anim and his Faith Tabernacle Church. By 1930, Anim had firmly established his movement in Asamankese and it was through him that the three of the most prominent classical Pentecostals were birth. These were the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the Apostolic Church, Faith Tabernacle Church, Assemblies of God. The central characteristic of all these Pentecostals is the emphasis placed on the descent of the Holy Spirit, manifested through the speaking of tongues with its numerous gifts and followed by signs and wonders such as healing and release from demonic attacks (Jarrison, 2015; Omenyo, 2011; Larbi, 2001; Sackey, 2001). They are also characterized by exuberant worship, and the use of local languages and songs (Freeman, 2012). From personal observations, it is safe to note that one of the most distinct features of classical Pentecostalism is that although they were initiated by individuals, they have evolved and developed complex organizational structure and administrative bodies such that the organisations do not at any point in time revolve around an individual as it mostly tends to be the case in Charismatic churches. It should be noted that while Pentecostalism

has been blamed for its paternalistic attitude towards women, it has also provided the space for women to exhibit their spiritual gifts. The wives of the clergymen in this denomination have been described as they are mostly in charge of the women's organisation. While they have the room to operate and use their spiritual gifts for the total growth of the church, the rule that prevents women from climbing to the highest office of elder or pastor is closed to them. In some denominations such as the church of Pentecost for instance, the CW is not expected to work but assist her husband in doing clergy-work and is the automatic leader of the woman's group in the church. In this thesis, I limit my selection of Pentecostals to the classical Pentecostal. These are the Apostolic church, Pentecostal church of Ghana and Assemblies of God.

2.4.4.4 Charismatic Churches in Ghana

The genesis of Charismatics, also known as Neo-Pentecostal, is steeped in the role modeling of leaders after American personalities such as Morris Cerrulo, Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, T.L.Osborn, Billy Graham and in Africa the main inspiration has been Idahosa who himself had an American training (Gifford, 1994). According to Asamoah-Gyadu some characteristics that make these Charismatic easily recognizable are magnificent buildings, with some christened:

cathedrals; mega-size congregations; youthful nature of the membership; an overwhelming presence in the mass media and popular media, charismatic and high-profile leaders; a growing number of academic studies of the phenomenon; influence on the worship style of the historic mission churches; and a theology of dominion, empowerment and fruitfulness...with the gospel of contemporary Pentecostalism is very much a message of upward mobility and redemptive uplift (2015:16).

There is also the relaxed fashion sense of members and the need to increase congregational attendance through an aggressive style of soul-winning strategy adopted not meant to win just non-Christians but Christians of especially the traditional mission churches who are deemed 'unspiritual'. It is interesting to note that the Charismatic movement is attractive to the youth due to their spiritual promise of upward mobility through the spirit. This is reminiscent of the early days when Christianity was attractive to young individuals who were looking for a way for upward mobility. Due to their numerous and persistent teachings and blessing of wealth and material well-being, these churches are sometimes termed the "prosperity churches" (Jarrison, 2015). Sunday, as well as other services days are a display day for flashy cars, expensive clothes and accessories, a justifiable manifestation of the gospel of wealth (McCauley, 2012). Jarrison rightly notes that these are large, multinational institutions with huge edifices as worship places, TV ministries, transport businesses, schools and colleges, universities, clinics and hospitals with the consequent effect that "some neo-Pentecostal churches or religious networks function in the same as the new global industries" (Jarrison, 2015:8). Let me add here that there is the current practice of selling items ranging from books, hand bards, oils, waters, various blessed fruits, handkerchiefs, T-shirts and so on. Apart from these, the major charismatic churches have Bible schools and numerous branches all over the world, hence the titles, "international", "worldwide", "world-outreach". Indeed, Sackey (2001) has noted that the numerous Bible schools are one of the leading causes of the proliferation of Charismatic churches since trained and ordained pastors are encouraged to set out and begin their own congregations. Unlike classical Pentecostals, the movement thrives on the individual personalities of their founders who style up both in appearance, speech, and activities and take numerous international visits to either minister as invited personalities or visit their congregations abroad (Gifford, 1998). Due to the fact that Charismatic churches are formed

especially by individual men, the wives of these men play a very central role in the formation of the church. The wives are thus seen and accorded respect as the originators of these churches and are as powerful as their husbands (Soothill, 2007). Some CWs of renowned Charismatic churches are known to be leaders of large numbers of associations and women's groups. These CWs, just like their husbands travel around the world ministering to their various branches. Also, they can be invited by different churches to preach or generally administer to the church. This makes the position and participation of CWs in Charismatic churches peculiar than that of CWs in Pentecostal and Protestant churches (Soothill, 2012).

The history of Christianity and its growth in Ghana has not occurred with the active participation and work of women and will be discussed in the next section

2.4.5. Women and Christianity in Ghana

According to Oduyoye (1995), women turn out more as clients than as service providers in religion. It has been established that indeed women's second class role in the church, especially in Ghana, was a result of Christianity's paternalistic tendencies that was imported from the West. However, scholars (Clark, 1974; Gifford, 1994) take it further to name Pentecostalism's patriarchal attitude as having further narrowed women's voice in Christianity in Ghana. The historical contributions of women prove that women are indeed a force to be reckoned with in Christianity.

In AICs, women played paramount roles not just in numerical and monetary terms but in the spiritual life of the church. Women, since the beginnings of the church, continue to hold positions as prophetesses and founders. There is however an ambiguity in the ways in which women are treated by the church. For while they can hold strong spiritual roles, the churches strong attachment to some traditional beliefs and customs such as the banishment of menstruating women from engaging in religious activities is a very strong practice in AICs (Sackey, 2006). Also, a practice

such as polygamy, which does not generally accrue to the benefit of women is not a forbidden practice in AICs. In Pentecostal, the roles that women can play are very limited in terms of leadership. Among classical Pentecostals, women can still not hold the highest office of priesthood in the church despite their numerical strength. However, in some Charismatic churches women, in some cases, are ordained as clergy, although it can be argued that they are not a critical mass in the leadership positions of the church. However, this does not detract from the fact that women have been major contributors to the advancement, spread and sustainability of Christianity in Ghana.

In the very beginning of missionary activity, women were very active in making mission work easy and attracted some of the most important converts. Some of the missionary women who were also the wives of missionaries were extremely influential in the propagation of the gospel. Some women such as Mrs. Anna Wolter Riis, Mrs. Rosa Ramseyer who was arrested by the Asante's together with her husband and baby and held for four and half years in captivity are worth mentioning. There is also Catherine Malgrave, the first woman teacher who started a woman's class that eventually blossomed into a woman's fellowship and started a prayer group for missionary wives. There is also the mention of Rosina Widmann who was the first person to set up a kindergarten in 1855 in Akropong Akuapem. Among other remarkable feats, she is credited with having written one of the most popular Twi hymns, *Mmofra mommra mmeyi Yesu Aye* (You who are God's Children, come and praise the Lord Jesus).

In the case of indigenous women, Sundkler rightly notes that:

with church hierarchies of catechists and teachers, pastors and bishops, African women might be thought of as having little chance of being more than faithful,

passive, attendees in at Christian services. Happily, however, the opposite was in fact the case. West African women used their tradition of trade and business to reaffirm and expand their Christian faith (2004:192).

West African women's entrepreneurial skills meant that they travelled far and wide and carried their faith along with them. This provided a way for them to win converts as well as provide immense financial support for the church. For instance, the story is told of Mrs. Obo's contribution to the development of the Church of Pentecost. Mrs. Obo is reported to have given out her jewelry to be sold to finance the penniless Church. She also organised the women for Bible studies and was at the forefront of evangelising and teaching women all over Ghana. Indeed, Mckeown, the founder of the church, was so impressed that he is quoted to have said: "I don't know what the women in St. Paul's time were doing wrong" (Leonard, 1989 cited in Sackey, 2005:63). Madam Ama Otwe who became known as the "living Encyclopedia" (Adasi, 2016) assisted Rev Christaller in understanding the Akuapem customs, hence his orthography and translation of the Twi language. Then there is also Magdalene Nyakoa and Rebecca Adole who married and greatly assisted their catechist mates in missionary work. Adasi 's thesis on challenges of ordained women in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG) has a litany of both western and indigenous women's contribution to the growth and development of the PCG (Adasi, 2012).

There are two phenomenal women who are very central to the spread of Christianity as it is known in Ghana today. These are Madam Grace Thani and Madam Hannah Barnes. Grace Thani was originally a traditional priestess who got converted by Prophet Harris. After spending some time with him in Ivory Coast, she came back to Ghana and started the first African Independent Church known as the Twelve Apostles Church. She is known to have healed the sick, prophesy and generally take responsibilities for the spiritual well-being of her converts. Indeed, it might be safe

to argue the retention of some traditional elements of worship in African Independent Churches could be traced to Madam Thani who had been a traditional priestess before her conversion into Christianity. Madam Hannah Barnes, on the other hand, was the spiritual partner of Prophet Agyanka Appiah, the originator of the Musama Disco Christo Church (The Lord's Army church). She was known as the mother and Makiti (Queen mother) of the church while prophet Egyanka was the king. This practice by Agyanka Appiah and Madam Barnes is a practice that parallels with the Akan traditional system of Kingship. Hannah Barnes who was seen as the mother also had spiritual gifts and was able to heal, prophesy and attend to the spiritual needs and concerns of worshippers. The role played by these two women in Christianity at this era in history was phenomenal and the fact that their denominations have survived till date is a testimony to their immense contribution to the spread of Christianity. Madam Thani and Barnes, like originators of most AICs, won thousands of converts. They were able to easily win more people into Christianity in a short while than the mission churches had struggled to do for years (Larbi, 2001; Sackey, 2006; Clarke, 1986).

Unfortunately, neither the service of women in mission churches nor the spiritual and call of woman has resulted in a drastic change of women's position in the church. Some feminist scholars such as Oyeronke Oyewumi (2005) have strongly argued that it was the introduction of institution such as Christianity that eroded the power of women. Such arguments are not without cause if we look at the history of Christianity in Ghana.

In the newly introduced religion (Christianity), the man was first created and the woman was made out of his ribs and was to remain silent in church. This was dutifully obeyed and while their labour and financial contributions, as well as their spiritual revivalism, are welcomed, they are not allowed to hold positions and where they do they held subordinate ones such as deaconesses,

(Sackey, 2006). Indeed, women who had started their own congregations such as Grace Thani and other recent ones such as Rev Mary Owusu of the *I Am that I Am Church* have had to stand their ground and fight off male usurpers who have intended to seize the leadership of the church from these women. Sackey's reasons offered to this decision by male usurpers can all be traced back to Christianity and colonialism. It is noted that these male usurpers were able to take such bold decisions with the justification that Protestant churches have always had male leaders with the further argument that these women leaders are uneducated. Further reasons are the disorder of women, illustrated by the menstrual blood, and the Pauline injunction for women to keep silent. The author further notes that the push for male leadership is a characteristic of the African malady of "dewomanization" present in most African societies. This is a situation where men dislodged women from their position whenever a foreign order dislodged men from their traditional position (Sackey, 2006:68). Indeed, a closer examination of three of the reasons offered above for why men wanted to take position from the woman can be traced to Christianity. Furthermore the contention that Pentecostalism and Charismatic could have been a source of liberation for women was not realised since it further pushed women out of the realms of power and their theology could be disempowering to women (Soothill, 2012). Thus, while women have and continue to be great contributors to the growth and sustenance of Christianity, their rewards and recognition have not always been commensurate with their invested efforts.

2.5. Summary and Conclusion

The chapter has been a general introduction of the society in Ghana in both pre and post-colonial eras and the religious development in Ghana, with an emphasis of the roles that women play in this development. The first part discussed the general issue of power and gender relations. The second

part looked at the social, economic and political roles that women played and engaged in prior to colonialism. It also discussed the complex issue of women's position and power in marriage.

The religious context of Ghana was also discussed with particular attention to the growth and tenets of the various denominations and with an interest in the contributions of women to the growth of these denominations.

CHAPTER 3

The CW: A Review of the Literature

3.1. Introduction

The history around the position of the clergy wife (CW) is a relatively recent development when compared to that of the development and growth of Christianity. The position which was a byproduct of the Reformation became a clear indication of Martin Luther and his colleagues' break from the Universal (Catholic Church). It was, however, an "established" position by the time Christianity was introduced to Africa. In this chapter, I trace the historical formation of the CW from the reformation to recent years.

The chapter first takes a historical look at the formation of the Western CW. It will then turn its attention to the ways in which Christian and colonial education modeled African and Ghanaian girls and how the CW position was created in the process. It then departs from these "past" histories to take a look at the CW after its establishment in both the Western and Ghanaian context. This is followed by a section that examines the roles and challenges of the CW position. The next section discusses the clergyman and his calling while final part of the work presents the theoretical framework used for the study. The chapter finally end with a summary and conclusion of the ideas presented in the chapter.

3.2. The Clergy-wife: The Past

From the seventeen century onwards, the Universal (Catholic Church) experienced changes which came to be known as the Reformation. Martin Luther and his fellow priests, who were dissatisfied with the way the church was run, rebelled by breaking away from the church. Celibacy was one of the main tenets of the church that Luther attacked. He argued that celibacy was unnatural, as no creation in nature practiced it. He, therefore, assisted priests and nuns who wanted to escape

celibacy by arranging marriage ceremonies. He aided some twelve Nuns to escape and the last of these Nuns (Kathy Von Bora), became his wife. Luther's marriage marked the legitimization of a married clergy "and led to a different involvement of women in the church as wives, daughters, and members of the extended family" (Kirkwood, 1993:24).

The position of the new CW was an ambiguous one. She was married to a man called to serve the society but she herself was held in high suspicion. She was also seen as an enemy to the church and one of the enticement that had lured celibate priests into marriage and away from the Universal church. Her roles were not clearly laid out like that of her husband's but she was expected to fill "...the traditional roles as providers of the conjugal comfort and as homemakers..." (Kirkwood, 1993:25), and also had the added responsibility of assisting her husband to be a successful clergyman. The position of the CW was therefore an ambivalent one for while she was hated by sections of the society, the other section expected her to play significant roles to make her husband's work successful. It was expected of the CW to go on transfers, partake in her husband's ministry and in most cases she was actively encouraged to abandon her dreams and aspirations to fully support the husband (Koshy, 2005).

Another reason for the ambiguous positioning of the CW was because it was a "new" invention, no one was exactly sure of the course it was to take. The position of the CW, therefore, became grounds for contested ideas and expectations with the consequent result that the CW herself was never sure what was expected of her and if she was ever doing the right thing (Denton, 1961). Whatever the case may be, the CW was to be a paragon of virtue and an example of the Christian wife just as her husband was an example of a Christian husband. Kirkwood, for instance, intimates that "it was believed that the wives would serve as models of the female behaviour, and their husbands demonstrate the merits and virtues of the monogamous family" (1993:26). This meant

that only women who exhibited certain characteristics and attributes were to be married or selected as wives of a clergyman. Thus, wives were not only... “married to the job’ but they were often married for the job; when a young missionary wife died her widower would seek a replacement, very often from within the wider family circle of missionary family” (Kirkwood, 1993:27). Such women were expected to be helpful, long-suffering, homely, well versed in the Word of God and above all be a “willing participant” in sowing seed alongside the husband (Schweitzer, 2000). She was however expected to never overshadow her husband. It was this model of a wife that would accompany the missionary husband to Africa for the purpose of propagating the gospel.

3.3. The Making of Women: Missionary Education and Ghanaian Girls

The express aim of missionary education was to produce a corps of natives who could read and write and would in the near future carry the message of the good news to their own people (Adasi, 2012). Due to the Western ideology that the gospel was to be spread by males, missionary education targeted only African males. The education provided gave the students a “sense of privilege of belonging to an educated elite minority” who could read and write and had access to western products and lifestyle (Meischer, 2005:121). In the end, the missionaries produced a group of educated young men who came to be called *Akrakyefo* (the educated ones) These young men came to occupy positions such as clerks, teachers, catechists and clergymen. Kimble notes that;

The main openings for mission trained Africans lay naturally in the mission field.

The brightest boys were trained as, teachers, interpreters, catechists or local preachers and some of them proceeded to ordination (1963:62)

This new educated man needed a corresponding new educated woman, hence the need to make a “new woman”. Sundkler and Steed note that “a new venture by the missionaries was a school for

girls, taught by an African schoolmistress...now girls could also become *sukul-fo* (people of the school)", (2004:203).

Right from the start, there was a gendered difference in the kind of education that boys and girls received. In the words of Meischer (2005):

... the educational arrangement was gendered, for while the young girls were initiated into the arts of domesticity such as needlework, boys received more academic training and learned crafts, such as carpentry, masonry, considered appropriate for a man (2005:120).

The decree of the educational tenet was to reorient converts' ideology and original understanding of gender and their roles. Meischer reveals that;

they (Presbyterian) outlined the gendered behaviour of male and female converts, their relations towards children, their work, etc, as well as their behaviour towards authority was to be altered to suit the new Christian being ...(103).

Bowie succinctly sums up the end of the missionary education that was generally provided for African girls.

Girls in mission schools were usually prepared to be good wives and mothers on a European model, and their education was largely domestic- cooking, cleaning, sewing, laundry work, hygiene and so on, as well as farming (Bowie, 13, 1993)

This kind of education provided for young girls run through almost all African societies that had the missionary-colonial encounter. The significance of educating and training women had a

disturbingly common feature, the idea of creating a better woman, wife, and mother, what Allman (1994) calls “imperial maternity”.

Those who were produced in these schools were to be the future wives of clerks, catechists, teachers, and priests. Wherever Western missionaries went, girls’ schools and institutions were set up to train girls to be perfect Christian women and wives. For, instance, in Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) a report is made of the accomplished missionary Catherine Langham in the Mashonaland Quarterly Journal of 1915. Kirkwood reveals that:

After nearly thirty years working under the auspices of the SPG at a variety of mission schools throughout Southern Rhodesia, she recognised a specific need for school where African women could be prepared for marriage with men from the emerging social elite who had received a Western-style education and who were working as professional men, teachers, priests and government clerks (1993:36)

In South Africa, Eastern Cape;

..., the Anglican missions set up a school to train both boys and girls but with different curriculum. For while the boys and girls received similar education, the boys and girls at St. Matthews were divided into three categories depending on their educational courses: pupil-teachers, apprentices, and those students attending the elementary school. The male apprentices learned skills such as tin-smiting and carpentry, while the female apprentices studied techniques of laundry, housework, and cookery (Labode, 1993:132).

Labode rightly concludes that this education had different agenda for both boys and girls and that;

boys were taken into a home (home schools) to learn how to live in a civilized manner and prepare for their future, public roles in society. This training was not an end in itself, and the end of education for boys was to produce leaders. The girls were supposed to learn how to provide suitable homes for such leaders (1993:131).

Thus, these vocational and Girls Training centres that were set up were meant for the purposes of producing the perfect, suitable Christian/western wife. The story was no different in Ghana, then Gold Coast. Adasi notes that the wife of missionaries “concentrated on teaching girls and women in the basic European education of reading and writing, in female roles of housewifery and cookery, needle-work” (2005:25). Francis Botchway also writes that:

... the Abokobi Girls’ Institutes produced well educated and trained young women as prospective wives of local Ministers, Teacher-Catechists, Evangelists and other men in the congregations. Church agents and responsible families rushed to the Abokobi institute to choose life partners. Thus, from its introduction in 1860 up to 1905 when it fizzled out, the Abokobi Girls’ Institute produced ‘competent resourceful, industrious wives and mothers for church and country (Botchway, 2015:3).

In a letter dated 29th January 1949, the general manager of the Catholic Vocational school in Cape Coast, Gold Coast, writes about the existence of a vocational school since 1940, noting that this school “grew out of a domestic science course for girls preparing for marriage.” Some of the courses that were deemed necessary for the young girls to study here were Housecraft, Needlework, and Laundry. Domestic science was taught in grades and a grade I student was expected among other things to know the art of cleaning, laundry, and cookery while grade II students were expected to be knowledgeable in topics such as the ideal home, the family’s food

and family wash (which included Baby's clothes, bath, sleep, routine and diet). At an advanced level, level IV, the studies were targeted at two different expectations;

i. the young wage earner

ii. The wife and mother

A girl who falls in (i) above was most likely to be employed in a European home as a help or nanny or as a teacher in another school meant for training girls. Such a young woman was expected to take subjects such as choice of career, (answering an advert for employment, dressing for interviews, etc) budgeting according to earnings, accommodation and personal hygiene and appearance. The young lady who fell in the (ii) category and was preparing for marriage was also to take courses such as preparation for marriage and preparation for motherhood. A course in preparation for marriage had topics such as Native marriage; Christian marriage and its sanctity, dangers of expensive weddings, foods suitable for weddings. In Preparation for Motherhood, a student was expected to study topics such as pre-natal care, diets, and clothes for baby, diet for baby, etc. It is very interesting to note that even in those days, these young educated women were advised to be frugal with their wedding expenses, a piece of advice that features prominently in today's wedding counseling session.

It is noteworthy that the main aim of these courses;

should be to train useful independent citizens and good homemakers...Girls should learn how to be thrifty in matters of dress, but at the same time they should be encouraged to take pride in a neat and attractive appearance, and the work they do should not only help

them to become good wives and mothers but perhaps might also enable them to earn money by doing simple dressmaking, needlework, and embroidery².

Thus, while the “brightest boys” were selected as the clergymen, the best girls were selected as the wives for these boys.

3.3.1 The Best Girl for the Position

It is such information about young girls education as described previously, that provides a glimpse into the historical formation and coming into being of the CW in Ghana. While she was trained with other young girls, the future CW was to be an exceptional girl. Mostly, the candidate to be a catechist or evangelist’s wife was referred and recommended by the resident priest or Christian community. For such a recommendation to occur, the young woman in question was to be someone who apart from having received a missionary education and training should possess exceptional qualities with a good and Christian family background being a plus. Character traits such as calmness, a desire for God’s work, a receptive attitude and respect for all were cherished and expected in the girl selected to be the wife of a clergyman. She was also expected to have good culinary and home management skills. It will be realized that these traits continue to be expected character traits in the wife of a clergyman. It was therefore seen as a privilege for any young girl or woman to be selected as the wife for priest or catechist³.

Thus, as discussed above, these women became some of the most privileged in their society, treated with respect and reverence. This privileged position also came with certain expectations as

² Information take from Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), Accra, Ghana. From the document titled: Catholic Vocation Schools in Cape Coast, Gold Cost, 1949.

³ Information provided by an 80 year Prebyterian at Abokobi, a suburb of Accra and one of the ealiest Prebyterian missionary settlement and educational centre for girls.

a result of the kind of woman they were expected to be, having had missionary school training and being specially selected to be the CW. There is evidence to such claims.

Miescher's work on masculinities among the Kwahu, Ghana, reveals that in the selection of wife for a clergyman, the prospective bride was expected to have certain qualifications. The story is told of one Rev. E.K.O Asante whose mother had helped him to select the appropriate wife. She was deemed the suitable bride because;

Felicia Anima Ntim had proper Presbyterian qualifications: herself raised in a teacher's household, she had recently graduated from the Agogo Girl's School which sought "to educate girls as Christian wives and mothers," as was purported in their school prospectus (Miescher, 2005:90).

Ulrike Sill (2010) also records the life of Sophia Afia Nyam from the Akuapem royal lineage who after obtaining a mission education and training became a teacher and the selected wife for Theophil Opoku who was one of the first Ghanaian pastors.

When the second wife of the Afro-British missionary Thomas Birch Freeman died, it was recommended that he takes an African, a Ghanaian woman as a wife. The young woman who was recommended as the wife was a missionary trained princess from Anomabu known as Rebecca Insaideo Morgan. She was also the sister of the late Gbese Mantse Okaija⁴ 1. It is recorded that Rebecca had successfully completed her apprenticeship under the feet of her cousin mistress (Mrs. Sarah Fosua Parker) who was also Western and Christian trained and was thus versed in the art of European and Christian homemaking. According to archival records Rebecca;

⁴ The information on Mrs Freeman, nee Rebecca Insaideo was taken from Public Records and Archives Administration Department

attended the School formed by Mrs. Wrigley in September 1836 and there she had a good training in English and Sewing in addition to the good tuition she had already had from Mrs. Sarah Parker in domestic Science and nursing, and thereafter she became very helpful to the missionaries.

When the then Governor Winniett became ill, she nursed him into good health with her European knowledge of nursing. Eight years later, on the death of the second wife of the great missionary Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, Rebecca was recommended as a suitable wife. She was considered an appropriate choice because:

amongst the Female Members of the Mission, and who would understand the language and who would be able to take care of him, and the choice fell on her, Rebecca Insaidoo, who was of a good disposition, amiable, willing, and ready to help always, and who had a good knowledge of attending to and nursing a European.

Their marriage which occurred in 1849 produced five children, among who was the famed Rev Thomas Birch Freeman Jr. Mrs Freeman is said to have;

...lived with him as a godly Matron, good housewife and ever ready help the Mission and the Missionaries; a very good mother, until her husband Rev Thomas Birch Freeman was called to his rest on 10th day of August 1890.

Mrs. Freeman was also noted to have held the position of a Class Leader of the Wesleyan Methodist Society Mission until her death in 1910. In this story, we get a first hint of the leadership role of the Ghanaian CW.

3.4. The Clergy-Wife: Roles, Expectations, and Challenges

The history surrounding the CW meant that when the position was finally and firmly established, she was expected to perform extraordinary tasks to justify her position.

Clearly, while the Western CW has gone through an arduous journey to establish herself, the narrative is indeed different in the Ghanaian case. It is due to such difference that non-western feminist scholars such as Oyewumi (1999) and Mohanty (1988) have argued that woman's problems cannot be universalized but rather contextualized in order to understand the nuanced and different positioning of women in varied settings. In this section, I turn my attention to the various studies about the CW in both the Western and African contexts, and then lay specific emphasis on the Ghanaian case.

3.4.1 The Non-Ghanaian Case (Western and other African context)

What this subsection discusses is the different studies which have been done on the CW in other parts of the world

A section of Laila Bare's work on CWs takes a look at the different phases of the CW at different epochs (Bare, 1998). The time frames for this categorization are 1940-1960; 1960-1980 and 1980-1999. The author called the first epoch was the age of conformity because the CW was expected to keep her home, take care of her husband and "set an example both at church and at home" (1998:68). In effect, the CW in this time fulfilled the expectation of being the perfect wife in supporting her husband to run the most effective ministry. The second epoch, known as the age of restlessness and searching describes a period where CWs were called on not to totally discard their duties as wives and mothers but emphasizes the "personal goals and purpose" of the CW. The last epoch termed the age of conservatism with individuality is the point of the liberation of the CW as

a “person on her own right” (1998:88). This period is known to have been greatly influenced by the women’s movement when women pushed for more space and say in all aspects of life. The very significant historical movements such as the civil rights movement and more importantly, the women’s movement had a great impact on the changes the position experienced in later years. Indeed, Amstrong makes mention of Susan Dowell, a CW, who became so involved in the Women’s Movement of the 1970s that she became recognized as an advocate for the ordination of women (Amstrong, 2013). Like women in this era, CWs sought individuality, personal growth, independence and personal recognition in their own right as humans. There is the primary consensus that CWs are called first to their husband and children and then to church if they can (Hillebrand, 2011). Thus, in this era, the two-career ministerial couple emerges and more CWs sought life and work outside the Manse. It is, however, important to note that, CW do not reject their primary roles or identities as mothers and wives, but rather seek to work as individuals, and become more involved in activities that did not only limit them to the house or the church, through their marriage to their husbands.

Bare’s work indeed summarizes the life of the CW from its inception in the protestant church to modern days. While there seems to have been changes in the “life” of the CW, the expectations from the CW, their roles and challenges over the years appear to have remained the same. The CW’s mere marital affinity to the clergyman delineates her from the “ordinary woman pool”.

Platt and Moss (1976), define a role as that which

consists of one or more recurrent or patterned activities (performance) that involves corresponding expectations on the part of others who are related to a person in the performance of the role. The expected behavior relates to the position of the role and not

to the person in it, clergy wife, not "Carol Dix"... while "expectations are an essential part of the role concept and are described as role pressures" (Smith, 1972, quoted in Platt and Moss, 1976:193).

In a survey conducted by Pavalko and Elder Jr (1993) among wives in the US to ascertain their levels of participation in their husband's work, CWs scored a 100% involvement level. Among all the wives as well, CWs indicated that apart from wifely loyalty towards husbands' success in his work, they felt a moral obligation to assist and be involved in their husband's work. The clergy work is one that requires the involvement of the entire family and although there have been some changes, it is clear that CWs are still expected to be actively engaged in their husbands' work and play roles to ensure their success.

It is inescapable that almost all CWs everywhere, according to the literature have some complaints; the excessive role play and expectations and the fact that they have to do this without prior learning. Boyd, for instance, notes that:

by the end of the nineteenth century, the demands seemed to be more than assumed, in plain terms, the women functioned as assistants to the pastors, they were expected to counsel, aid in activities, call on parishioners and, then minister to their husbands" (Boyd, 1981:7).

The roles of CWs include but are not limited to supporting her husband's ministry, ability to love all manner of people, sacrificing personal privacy, dressing well, having a cheerful disposition, gracious tolerance, spiritual maturity, the ability to lead some groups, visiting members, raising the perfect children, keeping the cleanest house, sing in church, provide counseling and so on (Brunette-Hill, 1991; Roberts, 2004; Koshy, 2005; Longwe, 2012). Of course, the importance

placed on a particular role is based on denomination and context. Most of the roles played were directly related to the activities of the church. These roles are expected not because of any other factor but the mere fact that the woman is the wife of a clergyman. However, Baker and Scot (1992) indicated that CWs who were employed outside the home determined the roles they played based on personal commitment and not based on expectations.

The prevalence of these expectations and roles played lead to challenges for all CWs around the globe, both Western and non-Western. Some of these challenges have been outlined not the least of which is: undue pressure to be perfect leading to physical and spiritual exhaustion, unjustified criticisms, lack of time with spouse, lack of privacy, financial constraints, and so on. CWs continuously express stress associated with the roles they played and the challenges it posed (Nandasaba, 2011; Morris and Blanton, 1994; Roberts, 2004). Sonia Koshy (2005) indicates that CWs are barraged with a myriad of roles and advises them to develop both spiritual and physical mechanisms to handle such issues in order to avoid a break-down.

In South Africa, Rebuli, argues that a comparison between the Bible and CWs understanding of what their roles should be indicated a marked inconsistency and lack of uniformity between the two (Rebuli, 2008). The argument the author makes is that inconsistencies exist in the role expectation for the CW because the CW position is not Biblical and thus there is no precise or express definition of what her roles should be (Rebuli and Smith, 2010). The authors, therefore, advise that the CW should work first as a wife and second as a believer, like any believer woman. Longwe's work on Malawian's CWs also indicates that the CW has a dialogical self because of the numerous angles from which they construct their identities and the numerous roles they play. It is also one of the works that touch on the personal experiences of the CW not with the church but in her marriage. The study reveals that CWs experienced numerous instances of domestic

abuse, but are unable to discuss their issues because of the purported virtue of the CW. The need to protect the image of the clergyman and the high tendency for CWs to conform to society's ideals of the CW could be challenging for the CW.

However, not all CWs, wherever they are located, are willing to fully participate in their husband's work or live up to the expectation of being the CW. A CW, exasperated with being identified as the wife of the clergy once retorted: *"I am always annoyed when introduced as such (CW); I am a teacher, if I must have a label at all"* (Amstrong, 2013:1002).

3.4.2 The Ghanaian Case

In Ghana, the CW (of the Protestant Church initially) could be considered a privileged woman who undertook to hosting visitors, teaching women, and children and performing other responsibilities such as visitations of church members. The position also came with some expectations. A CW was expected to be well –behaved, hard-working, train good children and generally assist with church matters, including teaching the women and children. Roles and ways in which a CW was expected to behave were largely learnt from Western missionary women whose educational intentions had been to mould Ghanaian girls into Christian wives. The story is told of Mrs. Freeman, a Ghanaian woman, who after her marriage to the white priest, Rev. Freeman, became the leader of the Wesleyan Methodist Society Mission until her death in 1910.

These patterns of behaviour and roles will continue to be expected of the Ghanaian CW, even in recent times, although as will be immediately illustrated, the rise of African Initiated churches, especially Pentecostalism and Charismatics will add a new twist to the position of the CW in Ghana.

Writing on the place of CW in the African Independent Church, (Church of the Lord),

Turner notes that:

An attempt to regulate and develop the special position of a minister's wife is already under way. Various conferences have examined her responsibilities and have gradually defined her position, duties, and privileges. She should dress in a special way, be honoured with a special seat in church, and be called 'Spiritual Mother' or 'Church Mother' no matter how young she may be- she should never be called 'Auntie' as in Ghana! She must learn to take delivery of babies, and where spiritually competent she should be allowed to conduct evening prayers, Friday clinics, and to preach. It has also been agreed that 'if they have the zeal', wives will be trained to become prophetesses (Turner, 1967:47).

In this statement, the roles expected of the CW, as well as her privileges, are outlined. Indeed, while they play more roles than outlined here and enjoy other privileges as well, it is the first time in any literature where some roles and privileges of the CW have been outlined. Due to the fact that some of the injunctions of the above statement still stand, it can be tentatively suggested that this moment defined the position of the CW in Ghana. This is especially so since other independent churches that sprung up later practiced what is written in this statement. This defeats the author's skepticism on whether women will take up this opportunity of becoming "professional partners" with their husbands. He was of the view that while some CWs will just not take up this opportunity, others still will be inhibited by their domestic responsibilities such as childbirth.

Perhaps, of greater significance is the conjunction given in the 1961 meeting of African Independent Churches. This injunction stated that if both spouses were trained ministers, then the senior of the

two, be it the wife or the husband, should say the benediction during worship (Turner, 1967:48). What Turner is describing is indeed completely different from the western situation presented so far. First of all, this injunction given above is from an African Independent Church, which as has already discussed in chapter 2 was brewed in Africa, Ghana and which in some cases had women as its originator. In the above statement, unlike the western scenario, the CW is called upon to act not just as a helper but a “professional partner” if she is willing. She could even perform rituals reserved for the most senior clergy! It should be noted that the directive actually contains the word “honour”, “willing” and “trained” to assist her husband. This defined the new position of the CW, especially in subsequent Pentecostal and Charismatic settings. This will then help us to later understand the different ways in which CWs involve themselves and participate in their husbands’ ministry. Indeed, Brigid Sackey also notes a growing phenomenon of CWs getting ordained as pastors and taking charge in their husband’s absence, especially in Charismatic denominations (Sackey, 2006).

This overt call for participation seems to have been adhered to, as it has been noted elsewhere that the CW is a “nodal powerpoint for mobilizing and deploying female evangelical power” (Kalu 2008: 153), especially in Pentecostalism. This ‘centre spot’ position occupied by the CW is exemplified by the story of Francesca Williams.

Francesca was married to the Arch-Bishop Duncan Williams, the founder of the Christian Action Faith Ministries, the foremost and one of the biggest charismatic church in Ghana. Their marriage went through two divorces; a reunion after the first divorce and a final separation after the second. Their story was a national sensation since both she and her husband had been role models to numerous clergy families and millions of congregants and Ghanaians in general. Although she had been ordained in 1984 as a priest in her own right, she was confined to the traditionally prescribed

role of the Minister's wife, helping with the Sunday school while quietly taking up her caterer job of baking at home and generally being a good wife:

Even though I was ordained, I became a pastor mainly over the women. I took up some teaching in the church, and I took up some teaching in the church and I taught here and there, in the Sunday class and in the Bible school" (Sackey, 2006:168).

Francesca Williams was to confess later that those were the miserable moments of her life. This misery was in part as a result of loneliness which she felt because her Minister husband had time for the work of God and for everyone else but her and the fact that her ministerial abilities were not put into full use. When she reconciled with her husband after a first divorce, she immediately formed the Pastors' Wives and Women in Ministry Association (PAWAM). The core mandate of the association was to *"create a nationwide networking of Christian women that would bring them under one umbrella to achieve certain goals."* These goals included:

- To meet on the second Saturday of every month to study scripture and pray for one another
- To share Holy Communion with one another
- To provide support to members by being physically present at the homecoming of other members and on important occasions.

The other striking feature of this association was that it was not an offshoot of the main church. It was considered as an independent body which at the height of its power had a membership of two hundred pastors' wives and women pastors. The organisation could however not survive a second divorce between the pastor and his wife. While the main church did not dissolve as a result of the divorce, Francesca Williams Pastors' Wives and Women in Ministry Association (PAWAM) was dead by the time the final divorce rites had been performed. Indeed, one of the many accusations levelled against her was that she had grown disrespectful and had started a rival association.

Soothill (2012; 2007), affirms the significance of Francesca Williams and her organisation by indicating that she had become extremely powerful, the “*Big woman*” around whom the organisation revolved and the “*Small girls*” (congregants) worshipped (2007:164). As a participant noted to Soothill; “For some reason, she has not been able to keep the fire blazing in her absence. For some strange reason, when she is not here the fellowship is not as if she were here” (Soothill, 2012:89). Indeed, she was seen by congregants as being as powerful, spiritually, as her husband and items she touched carried with them the divine power to bring about solutions to their problems.

The part of Francesca Dubcan-Williams story that is significant for this work is the central roles which CWs can play in Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations. Kalu has noted that the CWs can be “nodal powerpoint for mobilizing and deploying female evangelical power” (Kalu 2008: 153 cited Soothill, 2007), especially in Pentecostalism. This is especially the case where they are in charge of the various women’s group in the denomination or are the originators of the group as is the case of Francesca noted above. Considering the fact that women form the largest part of the Christian denomination in almost every church, it stands to reason that the person who controls such numbers will be a significant person in the church (Adasi, 2016). Furthermore, in Charismatic dispensations, CWs are some of the most significant people in the church. This is because almost all Charismatic denominations are started by just an individual who becomes known as the founder. The wives of these men are deemed as co-founders if they were married to the husband before they started the church (Soothill, 2012; Sackey, 2006). Indeed, it is commonplace to walk the city of Accra and see billboards of men of clergymen and their wives as founders. This provides the room for some CW to operate unlike in Protestant denominations that have historically laid

down rules and regulations on the position of the clergyman, with the consequent effect to the ways in which the wife can be involved in the church.

I now turn my attention to the man through whom the wife in question is tied to; the clergyman. I undertake a short discussion of how they attain the importance, both in church and in society. The point of this section is to indicate the special position of the clergyman, with consequence for the wife.

3.5 The Clergyman

Clergymen hold very esteemed and crucial positions in our societies and at very personal and intimate points in the lives of individuals. One author notes that “Men and women of the clergy occupy a unique position. Whether ministers, priests, or rabbis, they have authority and respect in the community”(Laursen, *et.al, n.d*). This is because they are deemed to be God’s representatives on earth and the link between God and man. They play crucial roles at very key points in our lives, from baptism when one is born, to the officiating of our marriages to saying the last words at our burials; clergy-men travel the life journey with people. Kenneth Haugk writes that among other things, the clergyman is:

often the first person who is contacted when a crisis occurs, and when not approached, he still has that option of initiating relationships with persons whom he feels might benefit from some type of intervention (Haugk: n.d:23)

They serve as our lifeline to the divine from birth till death. In an age of personal access and relationship with God and the explosion of so-called divine encounters, the clergy is deemed the right person to lead Christians, a very significant part of our spiritual and mundane aspects of Christian lives (Taylor *et al*, 2000). This singular prominence of the clergy requires that they are

protected from the ordinary and live beyond reproach. This is achieved through special rituals and training provided for them in order to qualify as clergy. These requirements differ from denomination to denomination but it is universally acknowledged that a credible clergyman should have undergone training either in a seminary, a recognized Bible school or must have sat under the feet of an established clergy (the Godfather). After satisfying all requirements, certain rituals are conducted to indicate that a clergy is no longer an ordinary man. This is mostly termed the “Ordination”, and entails required rituals or robing a gown and priestly collar as well as bearing ecclesiastical staffs and caps representing the great clergy office. In some cases, the clergy is anointed with oil among other complicated rituals, depending on the denomination. These rituals set them apart as the right men to lead people to salvation. This is of course until they commit grave crimes that detract and humanize them, thus demoting them from the divine. Before then, however, they are held in high esteem. The clergy-man is almost an absolute monarch whose source of power is divine and to disobey him is to disobey God (Brodie, 2005). Again, they lay claim to traditional authority, one that holds and requires the unconditional devotion and reverence from adherents, like a parent demands from a child. It is no wonder that the church has been compared to the family with the clergyman acting as the father, the CW as the mother and congregants as children. Sometimes, like any form of control, these powers have been challenged.

Clergymen have always held special and powerful position in the Ghanaian society. The history of the Ghanaian clergy is similar but older than that of the Ghanaian CW. They were some of the few Ghanians who were given western education by missionaries for the sole purpose of assisting in spreading the good news (Adasi, 2012). They were known as Akrakyefo (learned ones) and were highly regarded in the society. Apart from the religious roles they played, they also served as teachers, thus being responsible for providing both religious and secular education. Clergymen are

very central in propaging beliefs, norms and practices and especially in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, clergymen are deemed extremely powerful, particularly where the churches belong to them. Sometimes, the theology of such clergymen have been discussed to be problematic, specifically those regarding gendered issues such as definition of womanhood, domestic violence and women's roles in marriages and society (Adomako Ampofo and Okyerefo, 2014). They have been seen as the "big men" whose powers sometimes permeate and transcend political ranks in the country (Soothill, 2012). The rhetorics and theologies of such clergymen are also perpetuated by their wives, whose activities and teaching are expected to reflect that of their husband's and generally build up to his success and that of the church. Clergymen are the centre of power and final decisions mostly rests with them. This is especially so where they are deemed to possess spiritual gifts that gives them the power to control others such as congreganats. In Charismatic churches, the power of the clergy is derived from the very charismatic nature of the leader, which manifests in the speeches and conduct of such leaders, and heightened by their perceived possession of spiritual powers. On the other hand, congregants, through the disciplining nature of religious socialization have become "docile bodies" in their acceptance of the power of the clergy (Balan, 2004). This is further compounded by the general consensus that the clergy holds the ability to decode some ethereal divine message not available to ordinary men, hence his power (Larkin, 2011).

It is in the light of the elevated place of the clergyman in society that leads Sweet to note that the woman who marries the clergyman will have "the honor of being married to one of the most spiritual, educated and prominent people in town and thereby conceded a high social position herself" (Sweet, 1983: 21). Thus, the CW is expected to be in a position totally different from other women.

The next section will look at the different concepts that make up the conceptual framework in order to better understand the socio-political positioning of the CW in the church and the ways in which her position as a wife is different from other women.

3.6. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework looks at concept such Greedy institutions, two person career and Femocracy and how these work together to define and affect the position of the CW in the context of this study.

3.6.1. Greedy Institutions

A greedy institution is described by Coser (1974) as one which “seeks exclusive and undivided loyalty and attempt to reduce claims of competing roles and status positions on those they wish to encompass within their boundaries. Their demands on the person are omnivorous” (Cited in Bare, 1998:15). The calling of the clergyman, the nuclear family and the church have been seen as classical examples of greedy institutions.

3.6.1.1 The Calling

The decision by an individual to give themselves wholly to a divine task or work is mostly described as a calling (Niswander, 1982). Mostly, this includes personal spiritual experience that leads an individual to study under the feet of a teacher or go through seminary training to be accepted as a clergyman. The calling of a person means that they place God and God’s work first, their family second and others follow. However, the available literature on CWs indicate that CWs complain that the order of priority of the clergyman is God and God’s work first, others second and the clergy-family follows (Bare, 1998). This leads CWs to compete for time and attention not just for themselves, but the children as well. Various studies have consistently shown that one of the challenges CWs face is the lack of time with their husbands (Longwe, 2012; Rebuli, 2008; Blanton, 1992; Brunette-Hill, 1991). The very nature of the calling means that the husband is

everything to everyone else and nothing to his wife. The church has thus been aptly described as a “seductive mistress which demands all the man’s interest, time, and emotional involvement” (Douglas, cited in Bare, 1998:13). As a wife indicated in a study conducted by Roberts, “the only way to survive was to shut out my emotions (Roberts, 2004:18). CWs soon realise that they have to share their husband with others and that they do not stand a winning chance in the rivalry game since the co-rival was God, the man who had initiated the calling. CWs are thus forced to experience their bitterness alone. Additionally, CWs’ desire to spend more time with their husbands can lead to guilt because of the feeling that they are being selfish by preventing the man from fulfilling his call. Yet, another challenge associated with the calling is the financial remunerations. The idea of the “calling” precludes clergy-work from being seen as an occupation and thus does not carry with it high remuneration. Indeed, the idea of the clergy amassing worth through their work was one of the key factors for the reformations (Denton:1961). However, the clergy family finds that they are expected to welcome and serve visitors as well as provide for some needy members of the church. This places a financial strain on the clergy-family which has to deal with managing a decent life on a low salary. Indeed, some recent studies have noted that the poor economic status of the clergy family has pushed many CWs to seek employment outside the home (Baker and Scott, 2002; Taylor and Hartley, 1975)

The most frustrating aspect of the calling of the clergyman on the CWs is the expectations and roles they have to undertake in the church (Longwe, 2012; Boyd, 1981). The CWs are expected to understand the calling which the husband received as an individual and assist him to work towards the achievement and total realization of the calling. If the man fails at his calling, the wife is equally culpable for this failure. Thus, both the man and the spouse are fully consumed and sucked into the calling due to its greedy nature.

3.6.1.2 The family (The nuclear family and the Church)

The second greedy institution that pulls at the CW is her “family”-both nuclear and the church. While the family expects other members to make commitment to its total well-being, the women, that is, as mothers and wives are expected to devote most of the lives and energies to the family. They are not only responsible for birthing but they are also in charge of childcare and maintenance, domestic cleaning, cooking, care work, especially in times when family members such as children and husband fall sick. Indeed, it has been noted that the nuclear family is the source of oppression for women (Engels, 1942). While there have been some changes in the roles a woman is expected to play at home, the family continues to make huge demands on the personal times and energies of the wife. For the CW, this is especially pronounced as she finds that the demands of the church on the husband sometimes create parental vacuum and CWs are forced to fill the role of both parents (Benoit, 2010). The CW is however expected to raise the perfect children and if any of them go astray, the CW is held responsible. Bare (1998) discussed three ways in which clergy-work can be a greedy institution. The first is the time strain the clergy-family experience. The clergyman is never on break and he may be called upon at any time by church members who need his services. However, unlike other greedy professions where there is a designated workspace, in the clergy-work, the home becomes as extension and church members may come in at will. Receiving constant visitors creates a toll on the time of the CW as well since she is expected to serve visitors. The second has to do with constant transfers involved in the clergy-work. While it is an expected part of their work, the location of transfers could be disruptive to all members of the clergy-family. The third way through which clergy-work can be a greedy institution is constraints imposed on the clergy-family to live exemplary lives. This has greater consequences on the wife who is not just expected to be exemplary herself but to raise her children to be as such

(Nandasaba, 2011). Furthermore, the CW who is deemed as a mother for the church is expected to be genuinely interested in the welfare of her children, in the form of sometimes hundreds or even thousands of congregants.

3.6.2. The Two-Person Career

The originator of the two-person career model, Papanek, described it as a situation where only the husband is employed and paid but the wife is expected to undertake certain commitments, on unpaid basis, in order for the man's work to be successful; that is, paying one for the price of two (Bare, 1998:18; Keohane, 1984). Papanek further notes that: "the induction of the wife into the husband's work orbit may take the form of adding new types of work to her activities as a housekeeper or mother, or as someone with a career of her own" (Papanek, 1973:856). In this case, therefore, a wife who decides not to involve herself risks jeopardizing her husband's career. Papanek cited careers such as armed forces, colleges, and universities, large private foundations, Foreign Service representatives and the government officials as examples of the two-person career, while naming the corporate executive and his wife as the best "best-known-two-career pattern" (cited in Bare, 1998:18). She further noted status maintenance, intellectual assistance, and public performance as some of the contribution which the wife in a two-person career must undertake to assist her husband's career. However, Taylor and Hartley's (1975) study of CWs noted that clergy-work was a rather classic prototype of the two-person career. According to Knight Johnson, "vocational ministry (clergy-work) is much more than a husband or wife's occupation- it is a lifestyle where spouses, in particular, are deeply embedded in the ongoing operations of the church... reaching beyond church activities and also provide indirect support, resulting in greater space for the pastor to fulfill the demands of the church" (Knight Johnson, 2012: 26-27). This is why CWs play roles directly in church, for the smooth running of church service. However, CWs are expected not only to perform roles at their husbands' place of employment but they are also

expected to execute certain responsibilities at home since their husbands' place of work could extend to the house (Palvako *et al*, 1993). CWs find that they have to make adjustments to their domestic arrangement and their work schedule if they are employed in order to fully participate in church activities (Knight Johnson, 2012). Another dimension to the two-person career role which is very relevant for the CW's position is social desirability. Social desirability in the wife of the CW has been defined as the "perceived need of the spouse to always be seen positively by the congregation and community" (Pettitt, 1998:4, cited in Roberts 2004:37) cause CWs to conform and do as expected of them. Both church and CWs have internalized and operated with the belief that the success of the husband's ministry is dependent on the wife and as such wives are expected to appear likable and serviceable, as a mother and as a role model to all (Nadasaba, 2011). The calling of the husband thus leads CWs to engage fully in their husbands' career and thus fall squarely into the category of occupations that are labelled as the two-person career. It is also through the CW's total integration to her husband's work that she is likely to derive power and become a femocrat.

3.6.3. Femocracy

Amina Mama (1995) defines Femocracy as a:

power structure which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, but is unable to do so because it is dominated by a small clique of women whose authority derives from their being married to powerful men, rather than from any actions or ideas of their own (Mama, 1995:42).

Femocracy is best exemplified by roles played by wives of presidents (First Ladies), hence the alternative title *The First Lady Syndrome*. Unlike women's traditional authority which is derived from descent (Manuh, 1988; Arhin; 1983 Okonji, 1981) the power of the First lady is derived from her husband. Such power, seeking to protect its interest, in the long run, undermines women's power and their advancement by perpetuating the patriarchal status quo (Mama, 1995:41).

Organisations, funding and leadership roles are tightly controlled by these women. They become powerful but shut out the power door to other women, a paradox of using power to dismantle and block others' access to power (Magadla, 2013). Lesejane notes that women's historical exclusion from leadership roles in the church meant that when women become leaders in the church it is by "virtue of their being married to the pastor" (Lesejane, 2005:78). This statement by Lesejane is very instructive in that it projects the argument being made that the CW may be powerful because of whom she is married to. The power of some CWs, who are also addressed in some denominations as "first ladies", mimics the power structure of the presidents' wives (Soothill, 2007). Thus, there are clear parallels between the wives of presidents and wives of clergymen. Mrs. Babangida (former first lady of Nigeria) and Francisca Williams (Former wife of Duncan Williams, founder of Action Chapel in Ghana) represent archetypes of women in these two positions, political and religious respectively. Mama (1995) described Chief Dr. Mrs. Babangida as having "hijacked the machineries of government by surrounding herself with equally powerful governors' wives". With the help of resources from the state, she created an "empire" of powerful women and a train of so-called projects and organisations which revolved around her. In the same vein, Soothill notes that Mama Francisca Williams was the life of the women's fellowship of Action Chapel, and that:

she is so central to the life of the group that not only would the fellowship probably cease to function without her involvement, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the worship of God and the worship of Francisca herself (2007:156).

Clearly, Mrs. Babangida and Lady Williams became forces to be reckoned with not as a result of any achievement on their parts, but by virtue of their husbands. The power was a direct result; an

offshoot of their husbands' powers, and in both cases, the powers of these women went unaccounted for.

It is worth noting that very central to femocracy is the idea of motherhood. Both the state and the church mimics the structure of the family and in both instances, the wife of either the president or the pastor is recognized as the mother of the state or the church respectfully. While CWs are expected to serve as mothers of the church, it is not uncommon for first ladies to also be described as mothers of the nation. Indeed, Mama notes that Mrs. Babangida stressed that the first roles of women were the traditional ones of wifehood and motherhood (Mama, 1999:52). While this view is questionable and may not be helpful to every woman, it can be deduced from her statement that she considers herself as one of the mothers, albeit the over-all mother of the nation. Claims to motherhood provide these women the oversight power of their children in the nation and the church, as citizens and the congregants respectively.

Clearly, the calling of the man, the two -person career nature of clergy-work and the church as a greedy institution come together to define the CW position and make her life entirely unique from other wives. The woman who marries a clergyman is expected to undertake certain roles and live up to certain expectations as well as face the challenges posed by the nature of clergy work as a two-person career and a greedy institution. While these factors are helpful in our understanding of the position of the CW, especially in the western context, it does not capture the full essence of the CW in Ghana.

The development of African Independent churches such as Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations add certain dynamics totally absent in the western scenario. Martin's has argued that christianity, especially Pentecostalism and by extension Charismatic provides women with a

“sisterhood of shared experience” (cited in Soothill, 2007:136). This assumed sisterhood which mostly manifests itself in the form of women’s groups and organisations have CWs as the leaders. The CW as the leader of these groups, coupled with the fact that she is married to the most powerful man in the church, confers some powers on her. In most cases, their powers run parallel to that of their husbands and are considered second in command in the hierarchy of the church. To further understand how this power operates therefore, the study employed Femocracy, as a concept to analyse this aspect of the CWs’ lives.

Thus, a combination of Bare’s framework and Mama’s concept provide the full range of perspectives to interrogate the position of the CWs in ways which have hitherto been overlooked. The CW wife is pulled at all levels of her existence as a result of the greedy nature her husband’s calling and her “family”: her nuclear family and the church. The calling of her husband means she has limited time with and from him and yet, she is expected to single handedly manage the affairs of her nuclear family and the “bigger” family; the church. Furthermore, the two-person nature of the clergy-work requires the CW to make some investments in the same work she is competing for attention from the man. As a result of the two-person nature of clergy-work, the CW is obligated to perform certain roles and be fully involved in her husband’s work without any form of remuneration. In such a scenario, it is expected that the CW will encounter certain challenges which will emanate from direct involvement in her husband’s work. However, in the context of this study, I make the argument that the CW can also draw power (what I term as conferred or sphere of influence) from her husband because of her marital affiliation to and total emersion in, her husband’s work. Thus, the CW to some extent mimics a Femocrat because her marriage to the clergyman serves as the route for her to draw her initial (as more powers can be created or power

consolidated by the CW through other means as discussed in the work) source of power, especially in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches.

Fig. 1 explains the connections between Bare’s Framework and Mama’s concept. While CW is affected by her husband’s work due to her total emmersion and participation in the work, with its consequent effects as a result of the work’s greedy nature, she also derives power via the same route.

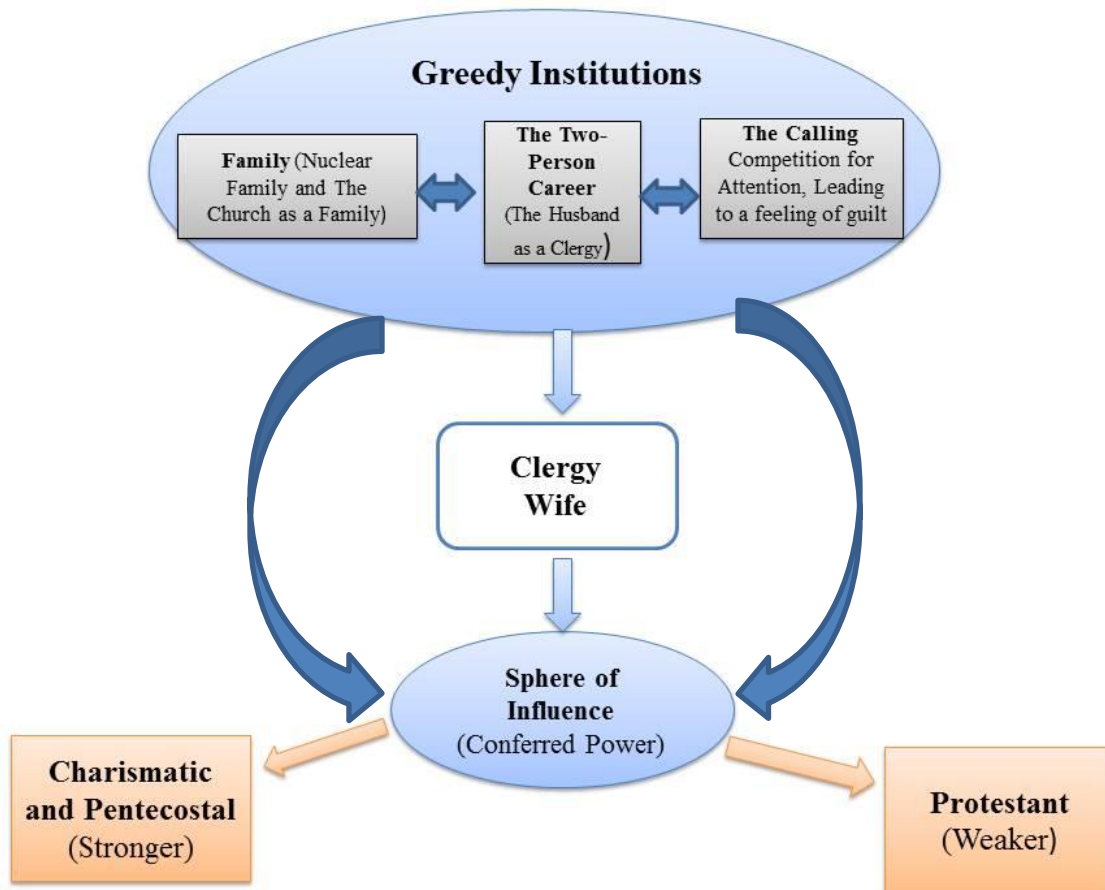


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework (Adapted from Bare, 1998 and Mama, 1995)

3.7 Summary and Conclusion.

This chapter has shown that the rise and establishment of the CW position have been different for the Western and the Ghanaian wife. This chapter has shown that the Ghanaian CW was initially the product of Christian preoccupation to create a Christian Ghanaian woman. This means that when they also became CWs, their position became similar to that of the Western CW. However, some differences were observed as while the Western CW had travelled through ambivalence, the Ghanaian CW, from the onset has held a place of respect and privilege in society.

Further, in this chapter, I discussed the roles the CW play and challenges that the CW faced. Due to their marriage to the clergyman, CWs are expected to undertake certain roles and live up to some expectations and this came with some challenges. It also noted again that in the Ghanaian case, CWs, especially in African Initiated churches are called on not to just take up roles in the church, but to work as spiritual partners and even equals with their husbands.

The last part of this chapter looked at the concepts that form the conceptual framework of this thesis. The chapter finally ends with a summary and conclusion of the issues discussed in the chapter.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods and approaches used in collecting data for the study

4.2. Epistemological Considerations of the Study

In Cornwall and Sardenberg (2014), the authors argue that the idea of a feminists' methodology is debatable but are of the conviction that how a method is employed could either render it feminist or otherwise. As a critique of traditional positivist methods, feminists, based on certain epistemological approaches consciously use certain methods, both qualitatively and quantitatively with lenses that yield the appropriate results and reveal women's voices and their socio-cultural, political and economic positions in their society. In this section, I take a look at the epistemological approaches in collecting data for the study.

Guerrero (1999) and Thompson (1992) (both cited in Patton, 2002), have indicated that a feminist perspective can include:

- A sense of connectedness and equality between researcher and researched
- Explicitly acknowledging and valuing "women's ways of knowing" including integrating reason, emotion intuition, experience, and analytical thought
- Participatory process that supports consciousness-raising and researcher reflexivity; and
- Going beyond knowledge generation, beyond "knowledge for its sake" to engage in using knowledge for change, especially "knowledge about women that will contribute to women's liberation and emancipation"

While I cannot claim that the work would have any conscious raising effect or contribute to the emancipation and liberation of women, there were some experiences encountered on the field and employed in this research that are worth discussing.

One of the most influential feminists' epistemologies that is important for this work is standpoint. Feminist standpoint is anchored on claims which indicate that the construction of knowledge is affected by the prevailing culture of practice. It argues that knowledge is socially situated and constructed. This creation, it is claimed is anchored on power relations, for knowledge as we know and accept is constructed by a few people deemed "knowledgeable". Feminists insist that women's perspectives are also worth studying and that women can also be knowers. While this does not essentialise the perspectives of women, it argues that, like any underprivileged group, women have historically acquired knowledge and that the world could and should be studied from the viewpoint of women.

This work privileged the lives of women as clergy wives, the roles and responsibilities, the challenges as well as the power dynamic inherent in this position. In privileging the experiences and knowledge of women, the representation of the voices of respondents will be copiously represented in the work. They were the knowers in this research, sharing their lives and making a subjective meaning of their experiences. While this does not preclude the analysis of data received from other respondents, the representation of the voices of female respondents in their own words is strongly encouraged as a feminist tool in understanding women's lives.

Another important epistemological approach is the recognition of power hierarchies. According to Millan and Kanter, the positivists approach "deal with variables rather than persons, and this may be associated with an unpleasant exaggerated masculine style of control and manipulation"

(1987:35). Traditional Positivists' methods of collecting data, although it provides width to problems can detach research participants. One cause of this assumed detachment from respondents is because researchers, who were traditionally male perceived themselves to be "better" than their respondents. This immediately establishes a power hierarchy. Feminists caution researchers to be conscious of such power hierarchies in their bid to gather data (Nazneen et al, 2014).

The breaking down of such power hierarchies could sometimes be achieved through the striking of a relationship with the respondents and participants. While striking relations might not always be easy, especially so it does not seem pretentious, there are guidelines to going about such difficulties. This could be done through visits to participants before and after research, getting them to understand the aim and essence of the research, the need for their participation and respect for the views they share. It also involves the readiness and willingness of the researcher to be ready to open up her life to the research participants. There should also be a genuine willingness on the part of the researcher to answer personal questions truthfully and the researcher must also be prepared to in some cases be involved in the personal lives of the respondents by sometimes offering help and directing respondents to avenues for assistance where required. This is extremely important to feminists' methods because it is at the very centre of feminist rhetoric. Feminism itself is considered a political movement which seeks to unpack and disrupt power relationship in societies, especially between men and women. It is therefore unethical, according to the feminists thought, to assume a position of power when researching on women or any marginalized group. Such a position may distort the quality of information.

However, breaking down hierarchies and building relationship with respondents is not without its limitations and consequences. Hammersley (1992), for instance, has argued that a form of owner

hierarchy cannot be avoided in research. The argument continues that indeed, in some cases a sort of control needs to be exerted in certain kinds of research in order to acquire true data. There is also the contention that striking a relationship with respondents always leads to authentic data collection. The idea of striking friendship in order to access women's lives comes with certain 'dangers' (Doucet-Mauthner, 2006) and borders on concerns and that if caution is not taken, participants might interpret this as condescending.

I found that building rapport with my participants was very helpful in putting them at ease and generating useful responses and was very helpful in our creation of the knowledge together. I achieved this by first getting to know respondents, taking visits and making regular calls to remind them of the study before a date was fixed for the interview proper. Such rapport was created that some participants invited me to activities such as cooking sessions and teaching sessions. I learnt new skills through some participants and in most cases being with the participants and observing them operate provided very useful data. I later realized that in 3 situations where interviews had not been a prior arrangement, because I chanced upon them or it was a first time meeting, such interviews were quite formal and respondents were reserved and quite vague about personal information.

In this study situation, establishing a relationship with participants involved answering questions about my own personal life, my Christian beliefs, and educational pursuits and future plans. Participants could sometimes engage me on issues such as doctrinal differences, especially if they were Charismatic or Pentecostal, knowing that I am Protestant. I was quizzed on the significance of my dreadlocks and the reasoning behind my ardent pursuit of a Ph.D. In one stance, a participant refused to further the interview when she found out I had a three month old baby and I was still at her house at 7 pm. Although I had assured her that the baby was in good hands in the person of

my mother, she still insisted we reschedule our meeting. This woman later met me at the university campus for us to finish the interview.

I also had the opportunity to assist some respondents to fill forms for their wards and others still visited on the University campus months after an interview for assistance in selecting a course for their own further educational pursuits. In all instances, I was more than willing to help since these women had opened their lives to me. This created the space for me to be an active participant in their narrations and experiences of their lives as CWs, altering and enriching their perspectives and allowing me to take a position for and with them.

However, being on friendly terms was not equated to being a friend or part of the inner circles and I was simultaneously treated as an insider and an outsider. As a female, wife, and mother, it was easier for respondents to relate to me on that level of connection. Respondents quite frequently used phrases such as “you know how marriage is”, “as you know it is not easy to be a mother and do other things”, “I am sure you can relate to what I am talking about”. But this was as far as I could go with the insider privilege. There was a constant occurrence for participants to use phrases such as: “do you understand?”, “I am not sure if you get what I am trying to say” when making a point about their peculiar challenges as CWs. One respondent went as far to indicate that “these are spiritual matters that you academics discount so I doubt if you will understand.” Although they acknowledged that I was a wife, I was not a wife of a clergyman and for such respondents; I could therefore not understand the intricacies of such an affinity. I was refused participation of a clergy-wife excursion at the last minute because according to the president “some members were not so happy about an outsider joining us”.

Another aspect of the power hierarchy that unraveled was the fact that I was the highly educated one in all the cases. Some participants were conscious of this and kept asking me if the answers they were selecting were right. This called for me to be reflexive of my position in such scenarios and assured them that there was no right or wrong answer so long as to the best of their knowledge, they were providing the truth. I also indicated to them that they were the “knowers” of what it meant to be a CW and that their knowledge and contributions were more privileged than mine. In some instances, however, I had to explain the options and the meanings behind the frame of some questions.

A critique of the power hierarchy that exists between researchers and the researched is the fact that the issue of power relations and hierarchies has an asymmetric approach. It has mostly been taken for granted that the researcher is always in a powerful position without an acknowledgment of the fact that sometimes the reverse is true. There is no recognition of the fact that researchers might not always be accomplished, well known and older researchers who might not be in a position of power. Indeed, enough has so far not been given to the power hierarchy that involves a young woman student or junior academic who has to interview or gather data from older and more powerful and established women (Nazneen and Sultan, 2014). What is the power dynamics involved in such a research relationship and how does the reverse of power affect the collection of data and most importantly how should such power relations be handled? In the case of this research, I was a younger woman who was interviewing powerful women and had to be conscious that such power dynamics did not intimidate me from asking the right kind of questions. It was difficult to strike ‘friendship’ relationships with some more reserved older women at the initial stages of the work. I felt uneasy asking older women about their marriages and personal lives. Indeed, while there was enthusiasm on the part of some respondents, going to the extent of

snowballing me into other participants, there were sometimes open hostility and unwillingness to cooperate even when participants had agreed to do interviews or fill a questionnaire.

While a kind of relationship could be established with my respondents, it was in some cases an older sister-younger sister relationship with power dynamics being tilted towards respondents or being a horizontal one. Ultimately, however, I was able to negotiate meaningfully in order to acquire information. This research is not my first time engaging with high profiled participants. In my Mphil thesis, I interviewed high profile musicians and industry stakeholders about their lives and work and this experience proved very handy in this research. This also inspires one towards resilience, innovative and creative outlook on alternative research strategies in order to make contributions to perspectives on researching sensitive topics. This meant steering the conversation back on course or framing unanswered questions in different ways. It sometimes also involved scanning through the filled questionnaire and inquiring for further elucidation on choices. In very unfriendly scenarios, I made a mental note of a participant's body language while selecting an option in order that I knew exactly what and where to probe. For instance, if a participant made a face while answering a question on challenges faced, I knew that this was an area to pay attention to, for extensive discussion in the interview session.

To control for Hawthorne effect, my constant visit helped me create rapport with most of my participants. Interviews were also carried out after more than one visit to participants in their homes or church. Furthermore, constant observations of the participants were very helpful in understanding especially the power dynamics involved in the CW position.

In sum, this research proved to be an interesting ground to experience some of the feminist methodologies and epistemologies that had been studied in the lecture hall. It was also useful in

assisting me to frame my conceptualization and analyses of the field data. Again, I see this work as a result of knowledge created together with my participants. This is because, in my questions, some participants began putting words to their experiences in ways which they had not initially conceptualized. They were then also able to articulate and explain some intricacies, especially of power dynamics and challenges in ways only CW could experience. Through this, we were sometimes able to make meaning together and form the initial stages; my questioning and probing were enhanced after some CW had drawn my attention to some issues I would have otherwise missed.

4.3. Methodology

4.3.1 Research Design

The over-arching methodological approach to this research was the mixed methods approach. Scholars (Creswell, 2007 and Barbie, 2013) have argued that using a mixed-method design facilitates a nuanced interrogation of the question and subject of interest. While the quantitative method allows for understanding of how widespread a problem is, the qualitative approach seeks to cover the depth of a problem (Creswell, 2012). The data collection method for the quantitative approach was a survey that provided a broad base picture of the widespread issue of CW roles expectation and challenges. This helped to capture the breadth of the problem and makes for caution generalization of data safe. This was supplemented with qualitative data collection methods such as focus group discussion, in-depth interview and direct observations. These methods were to supplement the quantitative method and had the advantage of providing an in-depth understanding of the problem under investigation. The qualitative methods also provided the added advantage of the opportunity to explore, ask for further clarifications as well as capture the nuanced expressions and body language of respondents that might have been missed in a survey.

4.3.2 Study Area

While the population of the study is CWs, the study area was restricted to Accra. The justification for the selection of Accra as the study area is because Accra is cosmopolitan as well as metropolitan. This means that Accra presents itself as a world where all categories of CWs are likely to be located while other locations in the country are most likely to present un-proportioned representations of one ethnic group with such similar socio-cultural characteristics that it would fail to provide any dynamics. Moreover, almost all types and kinds of churches can be located in Accra. Those churches that sprung up from outside Accra, in places such as Kumasi, Bolgatanga, Takoradi, to mention a few regional capitals, have branches in Accra whereas the reverse is not necessarily true. As metropolitan and cosmopolitan at the same time, Accra serves as a melting pot of ideas and a centre of resistance of traditional ideas and ideals. This makes Accra the most ideal place to select samples. It was also selected because it was convenient for the researcher.

4.3.3 Research Participants and Sampling Methods

4.3.3.1 Participants

Two categories of people are used for his study. These are CWs and Key Informants (various church members).

4.3.3.2 Clergy-wives (CW)

The main target group for this study was CWs. A survey and in-depth interviews were used to draw out answers and knowledge from this group of respondents. In all, a total of 134 women were included in the study. The survey was administered to all 134 but a total of 33 were selected for in-depth interviews. The 33 participants for the interview were selected from denominations (based on quota allocation), educational, as well as socio-economic backgrounds. It should also be noted that since some participants requested for anonymity and therefore filled the questionnaire on-line, a follow-up was impossible, even when their peculiar cases required a follow-up.

4.3.3.4 Key- Informants

Focus group and in-depth interviews were used to elicit data from key informants. A focus group discussion was held to understand what church members expected from the CW and what the CW should expect from them. These included Pastors, deacons, deaconesses, youth leaders, women's group leaders, men's group leaders, and church administrators and so on. Key Informants were drawn from diverse socio-demographic characteristics. Then there were some members of the group who were specifically contacted for interviews.

4.4 Methods

4.4.1 Focus Group Discussions

The Focus Group Discussions served as an important part of the tools employed since the other methods were built on this. The themes that were explored at the focus group discussions played significant roles in the framing of the questionnaires for the survey since it narrowed down the issues to be explored and thus produced a focused questionnaire.

Members for the focus group discussion were drawn from a convenience sample of church members, however, peculiar attention was paid to their different demographics before they were invited for the discussion. Members were selected to represent youth groups, women's groups, men's groups, pastoral groups in the church to hold a discussion on what the church believed the roles and responsibilities of the CWs to be. The main issues explored were roles CW's played in church, their challenges, and privileges CW received from the church. This group also served as an interesting place to tease out ideas on power dynamics between the CWs and church members. An already prepared open ended guide was used as a road map to guide the discussion and this proved efficient as it helped to explore follow up questions and significant issues which were pertinent to the focus of the study. The focus group discussion yielded a large body of material

and issues to further explore, especially during my interview with the CWs. Participants freely and willingly shared their experiences and that of others they had known or had heard.

Below is a table presentation of the demographics of both Focus Group Discussions.

Table 1: Composition of FGD with Church Members in various positions in Church

Name	Age	Denomination	Sex	Status in church
Reina	40	Charismatic	Female	Women’s Organiser
Fuka	33	Charismatic	Male	Member, Men’s Fellowship
Ben	31	Charismatic	Male	Clergyman
Maame	25	Protestant	Female	Youth leader
Eunice	43	Protestant	Female	Women’s organizer
Mark	53	Pentecostal	Male	Clergyman
May	44	Pentecostal	Female	Chorister
Addo	51	Pentecostal	Male	Church Elder

Source: Fieldwork, 2019 (N=8)

4.4.2 Survey

The target population for the study was all CWs available within the selected study area. First of all, a survey was conducted to get a deeper understanding of the issues that run through their lives and positions. A total of one hundred and thirty-four (134) respondents were reached through the use of the survey and with the assistance of one research assistant. Respondents for the survey were purposively selected based on convenience, availability, and willingness of the respondents to participate in the study. This was because some respondents reached were unwilling to fill the questionnaire, even after I had assured them that the questionnaires would be coded with different names and could not be traced to them. The research assistant was provided training and had piloted the questioners for the researcher to examine. Emerging patterns from the questionnaire served as a guide in the development of a more detailed and relevant question guide for the in-depth interviews. The survey was administered in two modes, direct administration and indirect. The direct administration involved a one and one interaction with respondents, assisted by the researcher or research assistant while the indirect administration was done via emails. Three

questionnaires were filled via the internet. Questionnaires were forwarded to respondents who by one constraint or other could not be physically present to fill in the questionnaire. Others also filled it this way in order to remain anonymous. The survey was a sixty-five item questionnaire that explored issues under themes such as biographical data, ministerial data, and residential arrangement as well as roles, challenges, and the privileges of the CW.

4.4.3 In-depth Interviews

Two different kinds of interviews were conducted in this study. The first one was with CWs and the second was with Key Informants. The interviews happened concurrently as a result of the fact that interviews were based on willingness and availability. This meant that if there was no interview scheduled with a CW but a KI was available, I conducted the interview. I conducted all the interviews myself.

The selection was based solely on convenience and quota methods and constituted the third stage of data collection. These non-random methods helped with getting access to available and willing participants and selection of elements based on the identification of specific characteristics to increase representativeness.

I differentiated between the Charismatics and Pentecostals because of some doctrinal and belief differences I found. In the case of Protestant denominations, I realised that they exhibited similar characteristics and practices, hierarchies and old structural rigidities that determined the roles and responsibilities of every member, especially those in leadership positions in the church. This, of course, did not mean that all Protestant CW were the same but that they exhibited common and similar characteristics that did not detract from the findings if for instance CW A from Protestant was interviewed instead of CW B. For CWs in Protestants, the main criteria for selection for participation were convenience, availability, and willingness of the respondents. But there were

instances of snowballing where an interviewed CW in one congregation could recommend and make prior arrangement for a meeting with a CW. However, in order to get a clearer understanding, respondents ranged from Bishops wives to Reverend's wives. I interviewed CWs specifically from Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican churches. These Protestant denominations tend to have a lot in common and thus share similar characteristics. I applied the same process to Pentecostal churches and interviewed CWs from the classical Pentecostal church, that is The Church of Pentecost, Christ Apostolic Church and Assemblies of God Ghana.

I apportioned a larger number of respondents to the Charismatic denomination because of the proliferation of these denominations and the fact that they tend to have mega denominations in Accra. The myriad of Charismatic churches in the Accra called for the use of certain characteristics to determine inclusion and exclusion criteria for selection. The criteria that qualified for selection included the following.

4.4.3.1 Size of Congregation

The size of the congregation was important in helping me categorise the CWs to be selected for the interview. The work, therefore, selected participants by grouping churches into small/teething (1-100), medium (101-500) and large (501 and above). Five (5) CWs were selected for the medium and large groups and three (3) for the small group. The reason for this number allocation was the expectation that a CW will most likely recall how it used to be when they had a smaller congregation. Hence, information regarding this stage in their position was indirectly obtained. The same cannot be said for the medium stage since that stage may be considered a volatile stage in church formation. Some churches are likely to hover around this region in the lifetime of the church with a marginal increment or a decrease in number. Thus, there is the likelihood of a CW who would perpetually be in this region. Again, some churches cap the number of people that can

worship in a single congregation while some pastors, in their lifetime of pastoral service, might be transferred into churches whose populations lie between these ranges.

4.4.3.2 Visibility

Visibility was defined by how popular a church was and the number of branches it possesses. Popularity was easily judged by peoples' ability to readily mention in an off hand manner five churches in an ascending order. Visibility as a criterion was significant because it also fed into the sphere of power for both the clergy and his wife. However, for churches in the smaller category, I specifically selected 'invisible' churches or congregations because of the presupposition that such churches will have different dynamics. Five (5) each of Protestant, Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations were located within prime areas, based on the socio economic. Three (3) mega Charismatic church were purposefully selected because of their visibility and the readiness of the CW to partake in the study. While these were not necessarily located in prime areas, their members could be described as youthful and, highly educated and middle class. The three (3) churches were each selected in mixed socio economic locations. Finally, in low income communities, two (2) churches were selected for each denominations

While these were the two main defining criteria for the selection process, the convenience sampling method was used in selecting respondents even in these two categories. Given that the work was undertaken within a certain time frame with limited resources, I was bound to work with convenience, and the sample that was readily available and willing, and fell within the criteria were selected.

The inclusion criteria for the interview were women who had all these characteristics:

- A Christian woman above 18 who is legally married to a clergyman

- Husband has been ordained according to denominational requirements and recognized as such by the denomination
- Living together and in the Accra Metropolitan area
- Should be a woman married to the head clergy-man of the selected congregation.

Table 2: Profile of interviewed CWs

Pseudonym	Denomination	Age	Educational status	Size of congregation
Selsum	Protestant	68	Polytechnic	Large
Selsis	Protestant	42	Tertiary	Large
Gifty	Protestant	34	Tertiary	Medium
Fanny	Protestant	35	Vocational	Small
Sandy	Protestant	33	SHS	Medium
Sewaa	Protestant	51	Tertiary	Large
Millicent	Protestant	49	Vocational	Large
Gayi	Protestant	32	Tertiary	Medium
Adelaide	Protestant	45	Polytechnic	Medium
Esi	Protestant	28	Tertiary	Small
Tilly	Pentecostal	29	SHS	Small
Adjo	Pentecostal	44	SHS	Medium
Happy	Pentecostal	58	Vocational	Large
Amanda	Pentecostal	60	Vocational	Large
Comfort	Pentecostal	35	Tertiary	Large
Cecelia	Pentecostal	33	SHS	Medium
Judith	Pentecostal	38	Tertiary	Small
Aba	Pentecostal	43	Polytechnic	Large
Sisi	Pentecostal	28	Tertiary	Medium
Boafoa	Pentecostal	51	Polytechnic	Medium
Martha	Charismatics	45	Tertiary	Large
Jam	Charismatics	47	Tertiary	Medium
Hert	Charismatics	38	Tertiary	Large
Joycelyn	Charismatics	30	SHS	Small
Tricia	Charismatics	48	SHS	Large
Eunice	Charismatics	44	Polytechnic	Medium
Sally	Charismatics	40	Vocational	Medium
Seki	Charismatics	31	SHS	Small
Louise	Charismatics	36	SHS	Medium
Sarah	Charismatics	33	Polytechnic	Large
Mina	Charismatics	35	Polytechnic	Large

Jane	Charismatics	26	Vocational	Small
Doris	Charismatics	27	Tertiary	Medium

Small (1-100); Medium (101-500); Large (501-above) Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2019 (N=33).

Key informants such as clergymen, leaders of various church groups (youth groups, women's and men's organisations) were also interviewed. These were also purposively and conveniently selected. In all, a total of twelve (12) people were interviewed with the aim of ascertaining and getting more insights on issues of and power dynamics in the church. I was particularly interested in interviewing CWs assistants, associate pastors and their wives and other church staffers.

Table 3: Profile of Key Informants Interviewed

Name	Age	Sex	Denomination	Status in Church
Adoley	76	Female	Protestant	Presbyter
Godwin	42	Male	Protestant	Clergyman
Nii	29	Male	Protestant	Youth leader
Rose	22	Female	Protestant	Clergy-child
Naa	38	Female	Charismatic	Treasurer
James	43	Male	Charismatic	Church Administrator
Akwesi	56	Male	Charismatic	Clergyman
Eben	30	Male	Charismatic	Clergyman
Vivi	38	Female	Charismatic	Clergy-wife's Assistant
Wards	35	Male	Pentecostal	Organist
Lydia	41	Female	Pentecostal	Sunday School Suprintendent
Jimmy	54	Male	Pentecostal	Member, Men's Fellowship

Sources: Fieldwork, 2019 (N=12)

4.4.4 Observation

Finally, the work employed a lot of observation in order to understand the dynamics which might not have been obtained through the surveys and interviews. Observation involved attending women's meetings, trainings, church services and other functions where CWs were invited or were the ones organising such events. I attended some of these programmes and they provided a wealth of data for the study. At these meeting, I observed the power relations and dynamics between the CWs (who are the subject of study) and other women such as other CWs, church workers, and

leaders of various church groups. Copious field notes were taken at such programmes and these observations were also helpful in identifying some key informants. The significance of employing such a method cannot be overstated. The sensitivity of the role these women occupy sometimes prevented the full relay of information. Due to issues of denominational competition and protection, CWs are very discreet about the kind of information they divulge. Constant visitations and participation led to familiarisation, thereby conferring the insider privilege on me and opening up ways of accessing data that would not have been made readily available to the researcher (Collins, 1986). Again, in my investigation into how power unfolded in the participants' understudy, I noted that while others denied being powerful or using power, my observations on how they treated those around them and other issues proved otherwise. Such observations guided me on how to frame my questions to obtain answers. Interviews were sometimes simultaneously conducted together with observation and I could thus easily ask useful questions. Mostly, if interviews occurred on a Sunday, I made it a point to attend church service and observe the operations of the participant and how they were treated by members. This then informed some of the issues to probe and inquire about in the interview.

4.5 Archival, Manuals and Audiovisual Materials

Archival materials were also used as a source of data in understanding the historical circumstances surrounding the making of the CW. Finally, other media sources such as films, newspaper articles as well as secondary materials such as articles, dissertations, and books on the subject were consulted for further elucidation of the problem.

4.6 Analysis

Data analysis was in three phases. The first part of the data to be collected was the one from the Focus group discussions. These were transcribed under themes such as expectations, roles played and power dynamics between CW and church members. This data enriched the survey which was

the second part of the data to be collected. A total of 134 questionnaires were filled by respondents. I coded and entered the questionnaires into SPSS. Frequencies were run for all the variables. I then run multiple responses for all the multiple response questions with a further cross-tabulation done for some variables that were of consequences for the study. This means that in the analysis of the multiple response questions, I refer to the percentage by cases, especially in dealing with the multiple responses. This is because respondents are required to select more than an item in a multiple response questions unless otherwise stated. Hence, in such cases, the total percentage of cases was more than a hundred percent. The third stage was a transcription of interviews with themes teased under the following categories: roles, roles actually played in church, challenges faced, privileges, engagement in decision making and administration and ability to be in control. The results of all the data acquired through the different methods were then brought together under the themes mentioned above. This helped me to organize the work in a coherent manner and piece ideas and themes from different data together. Bringing the data together also provided a broader view of the issue together in ways originally not anticipated. In situations where the survey and interview told different stories, a referral to some focus group answers as well as my own observations and literature helped to understand the inconsistencies. In the analysis, I found that my observations and field notes proved exceedingly useful in understanding the data, especially on issues such as denominational power structure and doctrines, which were not necessarily part of my interview focus but proved very crucial in the issues of power.

4.7 Challenges Encountered in the Data Collection

One of the major challenges encountered in the work was access to participants, which was quite unanticipated at the onset of the study. The initial apprehension had been un-corporating respondents. However, the reverse played true in the actual data collection process. The problem was rather getting access to participants. The lack of access stemmed from the fact that access to

some of them is closely guarded by a litany of staffers. Sometimes, letters never got to the CW and several visits to meet them were never reported to them. This resulted in rather frustrating episodes in the data collection process since I sometimes had to make a series of visits before I could get access to the participants. It was after meeting them for the first that I could then make arrangement for an interview. But such interviews were not always assured as a participant could postpone a scheduled interview. This was understandable considering the abnormal, intrusive and interfering nature of research that requires participants' time and commitment. In one of such instances, I had to attend two evening services and two Sunday services at the quest of the participant who was extremely busy and unable to have time for the interview. Eventually, when she agreed, her new suggestion was a 10 minutes interview. I thought this would be an unfruitful interview and indicated my concerns to the participant. It was therefore agreed that I sit quietly in a corner in her office and observe for that Sunday afternoon. A later date was then set for the interview. While the later interview session was unremarkable, the hour and a half observation proved priceless for the information gathered as I had the opportunity to observe her deal differently with different categories of people: first-time visitors, courting couples, women leaders and ushers.

In addition, while some CWs approached were amenable to filling the questionnaire, they were rather reticent in participating in an interview session. This attitude was understandable because of the fear of exposing their closely guarded lives to the public. Also, modern gadgets breed suspicion and participants did not want to endanger their lives and reputations by having them recorded. Moreover, the recent spate of secret recordings, coupled with the leaking of private messages and voice recording have put people on edge and made others apprehensive about being put on record through a recording.

For those who acquiesced to an interview session, eight (8) respondents refused to be recorded. This meant recording salient points by writing. This without a doubt was very exhausting, not to mention time-consuming as participants sometimes had to pause for me to take notes. This however created an interesting scenario where some respondents will later 'walk me out' to escort me and then start the conversation all over again as if to make up for all the time lost and the refusal to have the interview recorded. Such conversations were sometimes very revealing and insightful, as participants did not reckon this to be a formal interview and were thus relaxed. Permission was sought for these 'conversations to be used anonymously. This meant that immediately after parting with respondents, I sat down, wrote down these conversations in order to prevent any forgetfulness on my part. This also entailed taking copious notes of interactions and other relevant observations.

One challenge, quite a rather interesting one, was participants' preoccupation with what other participants had said. Some of the participants asked for information from specific CWs and some very insistent participants would constantly circumvent to the request in different ways throughout the interview session. In instances where I had been snowballed to a participant, she would ask about how the previous CW who had snowballed me to her had answered a particular question. The two areas in which these inquiries emerged were the challenges and coping mechanisms of other wives. In order not to appear rude and also to respect participants, I provided general and in most cases vague answers with the excuse that ethical issues did not require disclosure at this stage. I further informed them that this was also a way of protecting their own information from other participants. Such participants graciously accepted this explanation. However, presidents of some CWs organization and some members as well requested copies of the research. I explained to them that this was next to impossible due to the volume of the work that might be produced and the economic implications of printing for all who requested copies. They were then informed that a

copy of the thesis could be accessed from the University's libraries, with the further assurance that articles which were published from this work could be provided for them. This experience proved a lesson in the weakness of the snowballing method.

Just like most research, I faced a lot of financial constraints. Apart from reaching different participants at different locations in the city, I had to make financial contributions as a participant-observer during programmes such as harvest programs. Attending churches also meant giving offerings and donations to assist the church. Also, a series of failed interview attempts resulted in financial cost to me since some locations could not be accessed by public transport.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

I attained my ethical clearance from the University of Ghana Ethical Committee Clearance board. In order to meet all ethical considerations, interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis. The express consent of interviewees sought with an assurance of confidentiality. While such assurances were meant to allay any fear participants may have had, some of them still declined to be recorded. This wish was respected by taking notes at points when I felt the point being made by the participant was relevant to the study. A confidential form was provided for signing and read out and explained in a language the respondents understood in instances where respondents could not read. Such circumstances were indeed very few and the participants who could not read could speak Twi, which is a language I can speak, read and write. Data collected was handled with utmost care by storing on a password protected device with a backup storage. While this might not be fool-proof, it prevents willful exposure of respondents' identity. Recorded interviews were coded with different and made-up names to prevent a direct connection to the participant.

An ethical issue that was crucial for this work was the ways in which the data gathered were to be presented in the work. This concern stemmed from the fact that respondents themselves sometimes

showed great concern and anxiety about divulging information. This was signified by the constant request to consider some shared information off record. There were also the request by some participants to pause the recorder in order to prevent the recording of what was to be said. In the instance, there participants indicated they did not want to be recorded. Some of the participants also provided certain information (such as marital abuse, extra marital relationship, text messages, etc) baring all consequences but left it with me to use at my discretion. This required a lot of sensitivity and discretion such that while relevant information was shared, participants were also protected. This meant the use of pseudonyms and avoidance of certain stories that can be traced to certain individuals. However, it was also realized that no one was so exception or peculiarly different from others and that groups, especially due to denominational practices could be homogeneous in certain aspects such as role expectaations and challenges. This meant that at every point in the project certain discussed characteristics, challenges, privileges and role expectations as well as some power dynamics were similar if not the same for a particular group of CWs. Hence no one individual could be singled out for identification.

Survey questions were also coded in order that respondents' names were not used in the final report. For the sake of those who wished to remain anonymous, a soft copy of the question was sent to them via their emails. This happened in five cases.

4.9 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have taken a look at methods used in collecting data for the work. I have discussed issues such as some feminist research approaches and epistemologies and the quantitative and qualitative methods that were employed. Specifically, I have looked at issues such as study area, study populations, survey, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and other related issues

such as data analysis and ethical considerations. In the next chapter, I discuss findings from the data collected.

CHAPTER 5

Roles, Challenges, and Privileges of the Clergy-Wife

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present data on the roles CWs play in church, the challenges they encounter, the privileges they enjoy, and the joys they derive from their position as the CW. Descriptive statistics such as multiple responses results and cross-tabulations as well a simple graph are used to present the information in this chapter.

The chapter has been divided into a number of sections with each section addressing areas in relation to the objective of the chapter. I first discuss the socio-demographic characteristics of CWs in the first part. The second part of the work looks at the predominant roles CWs play in church and the challenges involved in the performance of these roles. In the third section, I discuss some challenges which CWs raised which are not directly associated with the roles that they play but are as a result of the fact that they are CWs. This section relies mainly on data from interviews with key informants and CWs. The fourth section of this chapter focuses on the privileges enjoyed by CWs. I also discuss some joys which CWs indicate they derive from the position. These ‘joys’ are not related to privileges received directly from church members but rather those that are intrinsically derived from their positions as CWs. This section uses data obtained from the survey and interviews with CWs. The fifth and last section of the work concludes the chapter by summarising the salient issues discussed on roles, challenges, and privileges and joys of the CW.

5.2. Socio-demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 4: Biographical data of CWs

Denomination			Age			Educational Level			Employment Status		
	N	%		N	%		N	%		N	%
Protestant	42	31.3%	Below 30	7	5.2%	No Education	3	2.2%	Not Employed	23	17.2%
Pentecostal	30	22.4%	31-40	51	38.1%	Primary	7	5.2%	Formal Employed	30	22.4%
Charismatic	62	46.3%	41-50	50	37.3%	JHS	19	14.2%	Formal (Self-employed)	7	5.2%
			51-60	25	18.7%	SHS	42	31.3%	Informal Employed	18	13.4%
			Above 60	1	0.7%	VOC/Tech	30	22.4%	Informal (Self)	56	41.8%
						Tertiary	33	24.6%			
Total	134	100%		134	100%		134	100%		134	100%

In all, a total of 134 CWs participated in the survey. Out of this total, 31.3% were from the Protestant denomination, 22.4% from the Pentecostal denomination and 46.3% from the Charismatic denomination. The mean age was 2.15 with most participants aged between 31-40 and just a few above 60 years. On their educational background, the majority of CWs who participated in the survey had up to Senior High level (SHS) with 2.2% representing participants who had no formal education. An appreciable number of CWs had tertiary education, represented by 24.6% of the total sample. Education was considered to a very significant factor in ways in which a CW participated in the church. Most CWs indicated that the demography of young congregants was one with high levels of education. For a CW to participate and interact meaningfully with church members, it was imperative that she was educated. A significant and the

highest percentage (41.8%) of participants in the study indicated that they were informally self-employed. This could be explained by the constant transfers of husbands, especially in Protestant and Pentecostal denominations, which made it difficult for some wives to work in formal settings. Hence, some CWs, during the interviews indicated that they either operated shops or had learnt skills such as baking, soup making, cream making, fabric (tie and dye) manufacturing, and so on. These products can be manufactured at home and at one's convenience. Similarly, a significant proportion of 17.2% of the respondents indicated that they were not employed, citing the same reasons above. Others also noted that the demands of raising children prevented them from engaging in any form of work.

5.3. Roles Played by CWs in Church

One of the main objectives of the thesis is to investigate the role expectations of the CW. I am interested in finding out the specific and dominant roles that CWs play in the church. To this end, the CWs were asked to select from a list of items the roles they played in church. Table 1 displays the specific roles CWs indicated that they play in church.

Table 5: Roles CWs Play in the Church

Roles Played	Responses		Percent of cases
	N	Percent	
Lead Groups	66	29.2%	75.9%
Counselling	59	26.1%	67.8%
Welcome and Serve	40	17.7%	46.0%
Visitations	26	11.5%	29.9%
Singing	14	6.2%	16.1%
Preaching	11	4.9%	12.6%
Cleaning	10	4.4%	11.5%
Total	226	100%	159.8%

N=134

Source: Author's fieldwork, 2019.

The total number of responses for CWs who played a role in the church was 226 out of which 75.9% of cases said that they lead groups. This was followed by counselling represented by 67.8% of the cases. Welcoming and serving of visitors scored 46% of cases, whereas Visitation recorded 29.9% of cases. The next role was singing in church with 16.1% of cases. Preaching and Cleaning were represented by 12.5% and 11.5% of the cases respectively.

Compared to other roles, it can be seen that more wives indicate playing leadership roles than other roles. A further cross-tabulation of the roles CWs play in the church by denomination revealed the results below.

Table 6: Roles which CWs Play in the Church by Denomination

Roles played by CWs in church								
Denomination		Lead groups	Counselling	Welcome & serve	Visitation	Sing	Preach	Clean
Protestant	n=42	43%	52.4%	36%	17%	10%	7.1%	5%
Pentecostal	n=30	47%	37%	30%	27%	17%	20%	13.3%
Charismatic	n=62	53%	42%	26%	23%	8.1%	3.2%	7%

N=134

Source: Author's fieldwork, 2019.

A breakdown of roles played according to denominations indicated counseling as the role most performed by Protestant CWs 52.4%, followed by the leadership of groups in the church, 43%. The role least played by Protestant CWs was cleaning which scored 5%. Among CWs in Pentecostal denominations, the leadership of groups was highest, 47%, followed by counselling 37%. Cleaning scored 13.3%; the least role played by CWs in Pentecostal denominations. In the Charismatic dominations, the leadership of groups turned out to be the highest role, scoring 53%, followed by counseling 42%, with the least role played being cleaning, 7%.

5.3.1. CWs Role as Leaders of Groups in the Church

It can be seen from the results that the leadership of groups was a role that CWs selected as the one they played most. Although the leadership role is second to counselling within the Protestant denomination, it still had a significant score of 43%. For Protestant CWs, they explained that leadership roles did not come by default and that laid down procedures sometimes prevented them from taking up the role. Even then, an appreciable 43% indicated that they led groups. In the interviews of CWs, key informants, as well as in the focus group discussion, participants indicated that leadership of groups is a role most CWs played in church. In almost all congregations, CWs are expected to be members of an association and other groups. Where there was a vacancy in the leadership position with no immediate leader in sight, CWs indicated that it automatically fell on them to take the reins of leadership.

While it is a requirement in some churches that the CW should always lead associations such as the women's organisation, some CWs were of the opinion that if the CW found herself in any organisation then she should lead.

I believe that the Asafo maame should be the natural leader of groups, especially, women's group. This is because she is mostly the one woman in the church that most women and girls look up to. Sometimes if you have the Asafo maame and you elect another leader, it causes a whole lot of problems. In my church, it is the norm that the Asafo maame takes the leadership position of the women's group (Amanda, 60, CW, Large Pentecostal congregation).

A key informant also shared:

As the wife of the pastor, I think it is right that you lead the group you find yourself in, especially the women's group or Sunday school. This is because you are a woman so you will know how to handle the women, what to teach them and help them solve their problems (Nii, KI, Protestant)

CWs added that even in instances where there were leaders, some issues were still referred to them as the CW. According to CWs, this occurs because members assume CWs to have the experience,

especially if the CWs are known to have served in different churches. Then it is expected that they would bring their experiences to bear on a particular issue being discussed. One participant explained:

Although there is a leader, they always consult me over issues. Both members of the group and even the leaders of the group come to me. I think they feel I have the experience because I have been moving from church to church, and I don't have a problem with that (Selsis, 42, CW, Large Protestant Congregation).

Of all the roles they played in church, the leadership of groups is the one CWs said they enjoyed most but also the one they found most challenging. A further investigation pointed to a simple answer to this inconsistency. While the category 'group', had been lumped together (group: women's, children, Bible study group choir, etc) in the questionnaire, CWs explained during interviews that the specific groups they enjoyed leading are the Children's group and Bible study groups while the one they found difficult leading is the women's group.

CWs intimated that they experienced almost no challenge from leading Bible groups and consider it a 'safe' group to lead in the church. It was explained that a Bible quotation is always open to varied explanations and the CW is the last to make a take if she was leading. The norm in leading Bible study groups is to give the Bible verse and have members deliberate, everyone, sharing their ideas and experiences. The CW then adds or sums up the opinions that have been given and adds her own opinion. Leading Bible study groups were also considered easy by CWs due to the explosion of devotional materials both in print and on the internet, coupled with the various radio and television stations opened purposefully for Christian programs. This means that a CW, who has to lead Bible studies always goes prepared with sufficient information. As a 68-year old CW recalls:

It was difficult when I started forty-something years ago. You had to know all the Bible quotations by heart and how to use or explain as if you also went to Bible school. But these days, I am on so many Whatsapp pages where people post all sorts of morning devotions. I also listen a lot to the radio, even whilst at work, so if I have to lead the group I don't necessarily have to remember anything, I go and open my iPad and start reading from there (Selmum, 68, CW, Large Protestant congregation).

In congregations where there was previously no Bible study group, CWs find that starting one is an unobtrusive way of leading without encountering any challenge.

Furthermore, it was explained by CWs that the Children's group tends to have minimal conflicts and although issues can arise between teachers, it is minimal and quickly resolved.

There are rules to working with children and even when there are conflicts among teachers they are quickly resolved. Also, now most churches have strict codes of conduct on how children service should be run and handled. This reduces a lot of issues previously present in Sunday schools (Children's service) (Lydia, KI, Pentecostal).

Moreover, because members of the Children's service are children, it is not likely for them to pick conflicts with the leaders. Also, both the church and the parents of these children show all forms of gratitude and appreciation for the teachers. This results in satisfaction in the role performance. As one focus group participant noted "*The whole church organises parties for the Sunday school children and the teachers are always given gifts of appreciation*" (Eunice, FGD, Protestant).

However, CWs noted that their challenge was with leading the women's group. Members of the women's group are adults and conflicts and dissent can occur on two levels; among the leaders and between leaders and members. This challenge ran through for all CWs from all denominations who indicated that they lead Women's groups in the church. It was explained to me that challenges have to do with dealing with conflicts that arise from positions within the organisation and interpersonal relationships between members. Additionally, conflicts arise as a result of

accusations of non-performance by leaders. Some participants gave these responses during interviews:

A lot of conflicts come from the women's ministry because they think I am not doing more as they expect me to. It causes a lot of stress and sometimes at worst open confrontation with some of them. Then the little, little gossip starts and church people can gossip. (Judith, 38, CW, Small Pentecostal Congregation).

The leadership of the women's group is not easy at all. What I have realised is that sometimes individual members in the group may have certain conflicts among them and they carry it over to the group. This can easily lead to factions in the group and cause a lot of confusion. If the leader is not smart enough to handle it well, it can actually destroy the whole group (Selum, 68, CW, Large Protestant Congregation).

An observation I made, especially with Charismatic CWs was the fact that they complained of accusations of being too domineering. This was especially so if their husbands owned the church, as Mina below indicated in her submission:

The Women's group can be troublesome. We all don't see things the same way so opinions differ. However, because you are the leader and the one responsible, you may take some decisions that they might not understand. Then they make it look as if you are taking those arbitrary decisions because the church belongs to your husband, but it is because you have the welfare of the church at heart, more than any woman in the church (Mina, 38, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

It would seem as if CWs whose husbands own the church feel there is a lot more at stake than other CWs, because of the sense of ownership and investment they may have made into the growth of the church. In such an instance, a CW might appear or could actually be overbearing and overly involved in her bid to secure the welfare of the church. In any group, such as the women's group, such an attitude could cause conflicts and thus become a challenge for the CW to handle the group.

5.3.2 CWs Role as Counsellors in the Church

Counselling was the second most mentioned role played by all CWs, making up 67.8% of all responses. It was the role mentioned the most by Protestant CWs, and the second most played by

Pentecostal and Charismatic CWs. A total of 32.7% cases out of 134 responses indicated that this role was one they enjoyed playing.

CWs identified that counselling as a role was performed for only church members. CWs indicated that anyone at all could and did come to them for advice. They also divulged that apart from the church or people coming home, their place of work could also serve as the space for counselling.

Brewa, a CW noted in an interview:

As for the counselling I do it everywhere, for me, it especially happens in the workplace. Sometimes my colleagues refer a patient to me to do the counselling before treatment. For instance, a woman's baby was at intensive care and she came asking us to release the child to her. When she was quizzed, they found that she wanted to take the child to the church for anointing so they called me. In cases like this, a professional counsellor might not achieve a rapid result, so they call me. When I disclosed that I was a pastor's wife and mentioned the church, she trusted me. Then I sat her down and used the Bible to explain to her why the child needed medical care and not anointing oil. These incidents happen all the time (Fanny, 35, CW, Small Protestant Congregation).

Similarly, Cecilia, a seamstress noted:

Sometimes, when people, especially young women come to sew, I use that as an opportunity to counsel them. Because the style you want to sew might not be appropriate for the occasion, so I take my time, show other very fashionable styles and through conversations I counsel them on their lifestyles. I have even won souls to the church through that (Cecilia, 33, CW, Medium, Pentecostal)

However, at least of the 33 CWs interviewed, only one indicated that she has the professional license to provide counselling. Some of the CWs said they have gone through some months of counseling courses ran by their own church or Bible schools. Thus, knowledge for counselling comes from hands-on experience, a referral to Biblical examples and common sense. When I asked a CW about the inconsistencies that can occur as a result of her lack of professional training, she answered:

When people choose to come to you, it is first an honour. Then it is also because they trust you and know you can help and keep it a secret. Once you agree and pray, the Holy Spirit will take over and provide you with the knowledge. You asked about abuse, I can't tell someone to divorce, because mostly they don't want to divorce, they want it to stop. But if I find it is severe, I will tell Pastor to take over. It can be difficult because you might be experiencing the same problem and someone will come to you with the same case. The amazing thing is that sometimes when you begin talking to the person immediately you begin to find answers to your own problems. But I know that our little knowledge, with the grace of God, has helped a lot of people (Sally, 40, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

Some points come out from the voice above. The first is the reliance on the Holy Spirit for guidance and the second is the acknowledgment that CWs are not always adequately prepared to handle a situation. There is also the indication of the willingness of the CW to help and a realization of her need, as the CW, for counselling. The CW is also a point for people to seek counselling because of the lack of available and affordable professional institutions in the country where individuals can seek help. While anyone can be sought for advice, the belief by members that their issues will be kept in secret by the CW leads people to them. This also creates an avenue for the CW to have access to a lot of private information about people. CWs also noted that as part of the church's requirement, they assisted their husbands to counsel female members. I was informed that in some churches, clergymen are not allowed to counsel women alone but in the presence of their wives. This is meant to prevent any sexual advances on either the side of the clergyman or the female members. In this regard, the CW serves as a moral guard to her husband.

During focus group discussion and interviews, I realised that a CW's educational level and age affect the level of confidence church members have in her as a counsellor. This is echoed in the responses below:

Personally, I don't like taking my issues to people, but sometimes the matter might be beyond you so you need advice. In that case, I will go to Asafo maame, but that has happened only once and I trust her because she is a lecturer. I believe that once she is educated to that level, she will have discretion and the experience because

she works with educated people as well as have the knowledge to guide anyone (Fuka, church member, Charismatic).

I will not go to anyone I am older than or my age mate for advice just because she is Asafo maame. I will not even attend a church where I am older than the pastor in the first place, how much more go to the wife for advice (Addo, KI, Pentecostal).

Most CWs who were in formal employment also disclosed that while people come to them for advice on personal problems, a lot of people also come to seek advice related to their line of employment. For instance, one CW noted that because she is a medical doctor, most church members come to her or confided in her if they had serious medical conditions which they did not want other people to know about.

A key challenge noted with counselling by CWs was the fear that sometimes people who come to seek advice from them can take certain actions and decisions and later blame it on the CW's advice. The advice given could sometimes be taken literally or out of context and have dire consequences even for others. Jam's story below is a case in point:

I once advised one of the junior pastors that he needed to make more time for God's work. Before I knew, he had sent down his family, from London, including his wife and month old baby to Ghana. The reason he gave was that he was acting based on my advice. What! I was so shocked when I heard that because I had not meant that at all, (Jam, 47, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

Other CWs shared stories similar to Jam's experience and pointed out that sometimes, in order to avoid such situations, they referred some issues either to their husbands or the counselling committee, if there was one in the church.

5.3.3. CWs Role in Welcoming and Serving of Visitors

Welcoming and serving of visitors was a role played by CWs from two dimensions. The first was the one performed in church and the second was the one done at home. In the church, CWs

indicated that it is a key responsibility for the CW to welcome and make new converts feel at home. A CW pointed out:

When we have new converts, I am one of the people who is expected to go and welcome the person. I have to constantly interact with the person after church and even check on them sometimes outside the church. The idea is that they are to feel at home and accepted by my constant interest in them (Aba, 43 CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation)

Another noted:

I am responsible for newcomers class in the church. I welcome them and take them through all the groups in the church, activities of the church, whom they can contact for what and a whole lot of things. I also take their numbers and check on them regularly (Mina, CW, Charismatic).

In churches where there are welcoming committees, the CW is still expected to take a special interest in new members and make them feel welcome. Welcoming and serving visitors at home is also a frequent role that CWs played, especially for those CWs who are resident in the church's residence. Traditionally, it was the norm for almost every Christian stranger or visitor to be housed in the Manse and the CW was in charge of hospitality. The Manse has always played a vital role in Christian hospitality. A Key informant noted:

It was where everybody went. When I was young, it was a big deal to go to the mission house. We only took water there or went there on very important errands. You had white missionaries, priests, strangers; anyone who was important in Abokobi went to the mission house. It was a place for welcoming everyone who visited the church (Adoley, Presbyter, Protestant).

Thus, the manse became an epitome of hospitality, a place where anyone in need of food or other services could go for help. But the Manse has no physical limitation as it extends to any house which the clergy occupies, not just the one that is situated on the church premise or built by the church. Additionally, CWs explained that some church members feel that donations, collections, and other funds which are given in the church are kept by the clergy and congregants in need could, therefore, walk-in for assistance. As one clergy-child in a focus group shared:

I have witnessed church members come to our home and take stuff, like literally take stuff because in their minds it belongs to the church. They come and ask for money, for food, for school fees and my parents give them the money when they (your parents) had just told you they didn't have the money you have asked for (Rose, FGD, Protestant).

Church members or even other visitors expect that they can visit the manse when they need help and expected the CW to welcome and serve them. A participant in the focused group discussion noted:

There is an unwritten law the door of the manse should never be closed. My grandmother always cooked large meals because she knew someone will always come by the house that needed to be fed. It has become her habit now. Whenever you go to her house, you will get leftover food (May, FGD, Pentecostal).

Thus, the manse continues to hold a very significant place as a space for Christian hospitality and the CW is responsible for welcoming and serving visitors. Some views shared by CWs show that welcoming and serving visitors could be stressful and inconveniencing.

Sometimes it is back to back. You do not have breathing space. People keep coming and sometimes you may be inside with someone and another person is waiting outside. It can be difficult because you too you need space to do your own things but people don't care. This is the manse so they will come anyway (Selsis, 42, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

I don't do visitors, period. Of course, they come every now and then but my work does not allow me to do visitors often. My husband has an office so people can go in there if they need to see him. I don't bring my patients home to treat them. Of course, I am not saying people shouldn't come or that we don't receive visitors, but there is a limit. It is a conversation my husband and I actually had and took the decision not to turn our home into a church. I don't even do it at church, because once you start at church it follows you home. I know people say all manner of things about me in church, the fact that I am unfriendly and all but at least I get to keep my sanity (Boafoa,51, CW, Medium Pentecostal Congregation)

Boafoa represents one of the CWs who find hosting of visitors in their home very inconveniencing.

While some CWs said that they were unhappy about hosting at home because it encroached on their privacy, none expressed it as brazenly as Boafoa. Boafoa makes the point that her work does not make room for her to entertain visitors, she is thus able to use her job to escape a role she is

expected to play. Moreover, the decision not to host at home is one discussed with the husband. Boafoa, by having this discussion with her husband makes a clear distinction between her husband's work and her family's life. She further makes an important connection between undertaking the role at church and its consequent repercussion on playing the role. Boafoa believes that once she starts performing the role at work, it would be expected of her to continue at home. This stance, however, makes her unpopular, as she is perceived by church members as unfriendly, a reputation that can affect her husband's reputation and work as well especially in terms of membership of the church. Also, Boafoa obviously puts her and her family's privacy first, at the risk of her reputation as an unfriendly CW. Boafoa is also a CW in a Pentecostal denomination where churches have their members before a pastor is transferred to the church. Obviously, if it was a Charismatic church where the husband owned the church or where the pastor had to build the church from scratch, Boafoa's stance would have been different. It should be noted that Boafoa is a highly educated CW with a high paying job. Perhaps, this provides Boafoa the courage to take the decision above.

5.3.4. CWs Role in Cleaning the Church

Of all the roles played in church, cleaning was the role least performed by CWs. This scored 11.5% of the cases with a breakdown within denominations as follows; Protestant, 5%, Pentecostal 13.3% and Charismatic, 7%. While it was the least role for Protestant and Pentecostal CWs, it was the last but one role in Charismatic denomination, coming before Preaching. CWs explained that most churches now have cleaning departments which are responsible for cleaning. Other churches which do not have cleaning departments have various groups in the church that take turns to clean. There is, therefore, no need for the CW to clean the church. For those CWs who indicated that they cleaned the church, they explained that they do the cleaning not out of necessity or expectation but as a form of service to God. A CW observed:

I am neither a leader in any group in the church nor can I sing. In my church too, the Asafo maame cannot mount the pulpit and preach. I, therefore, decided that I will clean the church as a form of service to God. I was already doing that long before I married my husband anyway (Gifty, 34, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation).

Cleaning was also one of the roles found the least challenging by CWs, with a score of 1.3% of cases.

Generally, from the survey trends and views captured for the interviews and the focus group, it can be seen that certain roles ran through for all the denominations with minor detractions. This means that CWs from all denominations play similar roles in the church considered central to their positions. These roles have associated challenges and while some CWs still overlook the challenges and perform the roles, others do not fully engage or undertake these roles.

5.4. Challenges Encountered as the CW

In this section, I discuss some of the challenges which are not discussed together with the roles played above. This is because these challenges are encountered as a result of who the population in the study are; CWs. These challenges are not directly related to or associated with specific *roles* the CW plays. However, these are significant challenges as they fall squarely into the greedy nature of the church as an institution and also forwards the argument of the two-person career nature of the clergy work. These challenges can be encountered by CWs whether they play or do not play any role in the church. The data presented in this section was obtained from the focus group discussion and interviews of CWs and key informants.

5.4.1 The Challenges CW Encountered as a Result of Expectations from the Church

One of the most expressed concerns raised in the literature on CWs was the burden of expectation placed on the clergy family, but especially on the wife. Furham notes that: “just thinking about expectations can make a minister’s wife want to throw in the dishtowel at the first potluck”

(2014:2). Indeed, in one study of CWs, it was found that CWs who accepted and absolved expectations placed on them soon realise that there is no joy in living up to the expectations but begin to recognize these expectations as duty-bound and therefore burdensome (Benoit, 2010).

I found that the CWs interviewed in this thesis were not so much perturbed by the fact that there are expectations; rather what they found unnerving was the ‘unreasonableness’ of the expectations.

A CW shared her frustration at what she perceives to be unrealistic expectations required of the CW:

It is just a headache thinking about what you think people want you to be or do. There are too many expectations. You must speak like this, dress like so, your children should be like that, smile, frown, ohh. If you try to live or think about all these expectations, you will break down (Millicent, 49, CW, Large Protestant Congregation).

The first issue CWs raised as an expectation was the ability to raise the perfect family. CWs confess that this is one expectation which leads most church members to interfere in their domestic affairs. Furham aptly describes this as “*living in a fishbowl*” (Furham, 2014:6), because CWs feel that they are under constant scrutiny by the church (Baker and Scott, 1992). It was explained by CWs interviewed for this thesis that the constant comments and criticisms on their children’s’ behaviours, made them feel as if they were incompetent mothers: A CW narrated her experience:

I was in the church office one day when a lady came in and complained bitterly about my daughter’s rudeness. She said my daughter had retorted to something she had said and then walked away. According to her, she felt she was correcting her behaviour because what she was doing was wrong, especially for a clergy-child. I don’t even remember what the specific offense was but I remember I apologized and told her my daughter was frank and not rude per se. Meanwhile, the issue that happened had other young girls involved, but it was the pastor’s child who was reported (Sewaa, 51, CW, Large Protestant Congregation).

In instances where children are reported, CWs are expected to handle such complaints gracefully and maintain their composure even if they are unhappy with the situation. This, according to

participants is because CWs are not expected to show emotions such as anger, and if they do, they immediately earn a bad reputation for themselves and by extension, their husbands.

I am telling you that sometimes church members will even report your three-year-old child to you about an issue that under normal circumstance they shouldn't take note of. It is not just about the reporting, but it is also a way of telling you that you are probably failing as a mother. Sometimes I feel it is because I am a younger woman because the complaints always come from the older women who will further advise me to be strict on them or my children will get out of hand and in all these you are expected to smile and thank them (Sisi, CW, Pentecostal)

When I asked the older CWs, they also said they had encountered this same challenge as younger wives but developed resilience over the years. The older CWs further explained that even though their children were older, any comment on their misconduct or failure is always made in reference to the fact that they are clergy-children.

Providing financial support for church members was one expectation that was raised by CWs during our interview session. This tied in with the financial difficulties that the clergy family faced. During interviews, CWs reported that one of the challenges they face is the expectation to provide financial support to church members and sometimes members of the community. They considered this a challenge, especially in situations where the clergy-family is struggling financially but is still expected to support others. The close link between the expectations to provide financial help and the financial situation of the family was also drawn by CWs. It is almost unheard of for the clergy couple to turn away anyone who comes to seek financial support because of the nature of such requests. It was pointed out that such requests were mostly for emergencies such as hospital bills, school fees or household feeding. Since the requests cannot be turned down, clergy families are forced to give out the little they possess. This, according to CWs puts a lot of financial strain on the family. One wife shares her experience:

My husband wasn't earning much as a pastor because the church was young and we had to be paid by the church. But I was coming from a very rich home... My father was a rich man and I also had a job so I had the money. So you could say without me the house was broke. Members knew this, but they still came with their financial burdens. It was alright initially but when the children came, then requests started becoming a burden (Aba,43, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

Stories similar to what Aba shares above were narrated by some CWs. Indeed, although CWs consider this a burden they are unable to do anything about it.

The issue of dressing appropriately was one of the expectations of CWs and one that most indicated they perform to the letter. Indeed, there was a consensus among all CWs that a CW could fail at dispensing all her roles and it can be overlooked, but the CW who does not dress appropriately is not forgiven. Congregants in the focus group, as well as key informants, were also unanimous in their agreement that the CW needs to always appear appropriately dress.

I don't even think this one someone needs to tell you as a CW unless you come from the moon. You are the face of the church. Even if you divorce the pastor you will forever have the tag. The Asafo maame has no business dressing shabbily or ridiculously either (Addo, FGD, Pentecostal).

As shared during the focus group discussion, criteria for appropriate dressing include but not limited to: not too much wig, no dreadlocks, no hair dyeing, no large earrings or multiple earrings (piercing), light makeup, not too flashy, not exposing too much flesh, not too high heels, no eye-lash or nail extensions (or too long if it needs to be done). However, the dress politics between Protestant and Pentecostals on the one hand and Charismatics on the other is very interesting. The Protestant and Pentecostal CWs sneered at the recent flashy and show-off dress code of Charismatic CWs while Charismatic CW's ridiculed Protestant and Pentecostal for still harbouring age-old beliefs about Christianity. A Protestant CW observes:

These need Charismatic churches and the way they dress, hm (laughs). You can't even tell what they want to prove. I was watching this woman (mentions a Charismatic CW) preach on TV the last time and I was shocked. Her make up alone

and the dress she wore, ei. I even called my husband to come and watch. If you dress expensive and flashy like this, what ideas are you putting in the mind of the young ones (Selmum, 68, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

While a Charismatic CW notes:

We serve a God who provides everything. The fact that you dress like a poor person doesn't mean you are a good Christian. I am not saying you should look like kaakamotobi (clown) but even young women shouldn't dress like old women because they are Asafo maame in a Protestant church. You see a fine young woman who has tied a scarf so tight around her head because she is Asafo maame in Pentecost (Tricia, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

For Charismatic churches, the idea of dressing 'well', sometimes flashy, for both men and women is part of their theology on wealth. Especially for younger CWs in Charismatic denominations, I observed that their appearances are fashionable and in line with current fashion trends. On the other hand, Protestant and Pentecostal CWs are of the opinion that modesty and decency are what they seek to achieve with their clothes, not a show of God's blessing or otherwise on their lives.

While most CWs indicated that they did not have a problem dressing as required of them, their challenge was when church members commented on their appearance, especially where comments were indications that they were not appropriately dressed. Consider the case of Gayi below:

Just this morning, one of my teacher colleagues who also happens to be a church member commented on my dress. He made the comment to the effect that my dress was too short. I was fuming inside but I just smiled. I mean I am a lady and I got my degree a long time ago. I don't need someone to lecture me on the length of my dress (Gayi, 32, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation)

Observations on CWs dressing by church members are thus not limited to appearance in church alone but appearances in all other spaces. One CW had this to say:

Even in town, people who know that you are Asafo maame will be observing the way you are dressed and if it is not up to their standard, they will comment on it later in your face. Sometimes they make it sound like it is a joke, but they will say it all the same, almost as if to tell you they were embarrassed to see their Asafo

maame dressed in a certain way to town (Loiuse, 36, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

There were a few CWs who intimated during the interviews that, they have refused to tow the line of expectation and dressed to suit their own whims and not to the expectation of church members.

I grew up in Ivory Coast before I came to Ghana and met my husband. Before we married, he saw the way I used to dress up and liked it, he was a pastor even then. So now that I am married to him, I will not change my appearance. I know people gossip about my hair and earrings but that is their business (Sisi, 28, CW, Medium Pentecostal Congregation).

This CW believes that if her husband did not have a problem with what she wore, then she did not see the need to change her mode of dressing. Further, it should be noted that as a younger woman, this CW struggles in conservative ways to suit the so called requirements of a CW's dressing code.

From the opinions gathered, the problem it seems to me, is not so much of the attire worn, as most CWs indicated that they made sure their dress did not expose their flesh. However, what seems to be the areas of contentions are rather designs of the attire, amount of make-up, artificial extensions for eyes and nails as well as hairstyles. A key informant shared her views on this issue as follows:

A pastor's wife should not look like she just walked out of some fashion magazine. I am not saying they shouldn't dress up o. I am only saying it should be done in moderation. Some of the things we see nowadays are too much: long painted nails, plenty wig, heavy make-up, just too much of everything (Naa, KI, Charismatic).

Clearly, the expectations in dressing for the CW is moderation in appearance.

5.4.2. The Challenges CWs Encounter as a Result of Lack of Time with and from Husband
CWs indicated that one key challenge involved in being married to the clergyman was the strain on time with the family. The keywords that consistently came up in interviews were "lack of time" and "limited time". The lack of time was in two dimensions. The first is that husbands could spend all their time engaged in church activities and thus have little time for their wives and children.

I am very upset inside because I don't understand it. I am not saying he shouldn't do his job or serve God, I just want him to know that he has a family too (Cecelia, CW, Pentecostal).

CWs complained that husbands tended to spend time on numerous visitations to members, counselling sessions both at home and in the offices at church, numerous church activities and other spiritual engagements such as fasting and prayers. This leads to a feeling of neglect and bitterness among CW not just towards the husband, but the church as well.

I have been complaining and complaining now I am even tired. Sometimes I don't know if I am still married to him or the children still have a father. Could you believe that he forgot to pick his own children from work because he was too busy? I sometimes intentionally pick a quarrel with him just to know that he is still here with us. He spends all his time in the church office. I do everything for the kids, everything. I asked him the last time if he is the only pastor on earth? Look my father died just yesterday and I need my husband here with me but where is he now? Church office! (Mina, 35, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

Husbands who have offices on the church premises mostly came home late, with an explanation that they were attending to the needs of members. CWs like Mina above feel that their husbands' long hours away from the family put a lot of parenting stress on them as they felt they were playing the role of single parents, an experience amply shared by other CWs elsewhere; "many wives begin to feel resentment when it seems that she has to shoulder all the responsibility for the home and for the children" (Benoit, 2010:50).

It was further explained by CWs that they can experience instances of jealousy when the husband seemed to be spending more time with female congregants to the neglect of the wives. While nothing amorous might be happening between the husband and these women, CWs find such situations uncomfortable. As a CW shared during an interview:

Some of the female members are too troublesome. They are always the ones with the problem that needs immediate and urgent attention of the pastor. Every time they want the pastor's attention. My sister, (referring to the researcher) it is such a struggle. I was once asleep and woke up to find my husband sitting on the porch

making a phone call. It was around 12:00 am. I went back to sleep. When I woke up at 2 am he was still making the call. It was not the first time. So I checked his phone the next morning. I found that that number had been calling him consistently. When I asked he indicated that it was one lady in church who keeps calling about some issue. I don't have a problem with the calls, but I don't like the timing (Sally, 40, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

The challenge of spending little time together could create conflicts and tensions as most of the said that they felt that their husbands were drifting away from them and their children. This particular challenge is well captured by the theory of the church as a greedy institution and the calling of the husband. The greed of the church takes up all the time of the husband, coupled with the calling of the minister that forces wives to compete for attention (Coser, 1974). One CW in this study shares her frustration thus:

You don't want to appear to be complaining too much but sometimes it hurts and I am saying it because you asked, otherwise who will I complain to? Even when he is here at home, people will still come to him or be calling him (Adelaide, 45 CW, Medium Protestant Congregation).

CWs interviewed thus felt that the lack of time and attention from their husbands made them feel unimportant as they have to play second to everyone else.

5.4.3 The Challenges CWs Encounter as a Result of the Constant Transfer of Husbands

Transfer of husbands as a challenge consistently came up in the focus groups and interviews. For CWs, especially in Protestant and Pentecostals denominations, constant transfers are an integral part of the pastoral enterprise. One would therefore not expect that this should be a problem. However, the point of contention is the mode in which the transfers take and the new place in which one is being transferred.

Two views shared during interviews with a CW and a key informant are very instructive on this issue. The first view is that of a CW.

If there is a bitter woman then it is the CW. You get transferred your whole life. It affects your job, your children's education and everything else. The worse is when you get transferred to a baby congregation. Sometimes you start the congregation from scratch and build with your very being. Then just when the church is growing and you are to bear the fruit of your labour, you get transferred and sometimes you get sent to another struggling congregation again...I remember we started with campus ministry and these were school children. Just when these young ones had graduated, gotten jobs and were likely to pay tithes and other donations that we could also enjoy, we got transferred. You know in Assemblies, you are paid by the congregation and you give a certain percentage to headquarters. So when we had student members, we were struggling because their offering couldn't pay us. But when things looked brighter then we moved. It was very painful for us (Happy, 58, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation)

If we interrogate the statement above, it is obvious that CWs grievances can result from transfers because of the feeling that one has not benefitted from their labour. From the story above, transfers do not only affect the clergyman but his family as well. Thus, the children's education is constantly interrupted and wives occupation is affected. While the two-person career nature of clergy work requires that CWs abandon their jobs and go on transfer with husbands, the church does not take the effect this will have on the wife into consideration nor does it make provisions for her. I, however, found that some CWs, especially those in high paying jobs are not going on transfers with their husbands. For instance, a lecturer in the University of Ghana or an employee with an Airline in Accra (the capital of Ghana) can refuse to go on transfer with the husband on the basis that she can neither abandon such high income earning jobs, which served as a huge economic base for the family, nor find a branch of the company in the new place of transfer. Additionally, education of the children, which CWs cited as one of the challenges emanating from constant transfers was given as one of the reasons why CWs did not go on transfer with husbands.

The other dimension of the challenge that arises from constant transfers can be inferred from the view of the key informant below:

I think that transfers are some of the most conflicting moments in every clergy family's life. Sometimes it becomes an open conflict, especially when it involves ulterior motives and dirty politics. In a church, I was in before the pastor and his wife started the church from scratch. His wife had to quit her well-paying job to help build the church. Then when they had used all their resources to build a beautiful church, the head pastor wanted to transfer him. The worse part of the situation was that the head pastor wanted to replace him with his own son. This became a big conflict. Eventually, the pastor broke away and refused to give up the building and started his own congregations. But that was karma working. You know the head pastor himself broke away from Assemblies of God because of this same issue, but when he got the chance, he was doing the same thing to another person (Vivi, CW's assistant, Charismatic).

From the sentiment above, the challenge of transfer had been exacerbated by the politics of family engagement in church administration. The head pastor had wanted to replace the pastor in an established church with his son and the pastor in charge who had built the church fought against this transfer, leading to his breakaway. It was also intimated by wives in Protestant church that even in Protestant churches, transfers could be a highly political issue, with favourites of bishops getting transferred to the most enviable, large and rich congregations. In an interview with a church administrator however, he indicated that issues of transfers are a complex consideration of many factors.

You cannot transfer anyone to any church. Some may blossom in some congregations and others do not. A clergy can thrive very well in a village or town congregation and mess up in a city or he might successfully handle a smaller congregation but cannot handle a bigger one. You can get a clergy, who is a powerful preacher in a local language, but you put him in a large English congregation and he cannot deliver. Sometimes even the education counts because there are some congregations where you need a high ranking and educated person to handle. How do you send just anybody to a campus congregation? He will be preaching and people are marking the grammatical errors. So the transfers are not a straight forward issue like that. There are some people who will constantly be transferred to certain congregations because of a whole lot of factors (James, Church administrator, Protestant).

If one was to go by James’ statement above, then it is true that the complex processes of consideration involved in transfers can create a situation where some clergymen can be consistently transferred to ‘insignificant’ congregations and therefore cause angst in some CWs.

5.5 Privileges CWs Receive from the Church

Privileges and special treatments continue to be an opaque area in the literature on the CW. I, therefore, wanted to investigate whether CWs receive privileges, which are the special ways in which they are treated by the church. Out of the total sample of 134, 80% answered in the affirmative that they received certain privileges from the church. The table below shows a breakdown of specific privileges received by CWs by denominations.

Table 7: Specific privilege received by CWs by denomination

Denomination	Specific treatment received			
		Respect	Special seat	Gifts
	N	%	%	%
Protestant	42	76.2%	40.5%	16.7%
Pentecostal	30	63.3%	40.0%	26.7%
Charismatic	62	66.1%	58.1%	27.4%

N=134

Source: Author’s fieldwork, 2019.

Table 7 shows that all CWs from all denominations selected respect (Given title, greeted often, and presence acknowledged) as the privilege they enjoyed most from the church. Gift giving was the least selected privilege across denominations. A look within denominations shows that among Protestant CWs, more wives selected respect (76.25%) as the privileges most received, followed by special seat (40.5%) and gifts (16.7%). Respect (63.3%) was the highest privilege selected by

Pentecostal CWs. This was followed by special seat and gifts, represented by 40% and 26.7% respectively. Finally, among Charismatic CWs, respect was also highest (66.1%), special seat (58.1%) and gifts (27.4%). Within denominations, more Charismatic CWs selected special seat as a privilege than within the other denominations.

On specific privileges, respect ranked highest within all denominations. The components for respect for this study include; the giving of titles, greeted often and presence acknowledged in all spaces. Titles are given to all women once they marry a clergyman. Titles, however, differ for the different denominations. For the Protestant, the most common ones are “Mama” and “Mother”. For most Pentecostals, it is “Asafo maame” and in Charismatic dispensations, title differed based on the church. Some of the titles in Charismatic include but not limited to “Mummy”, “First lady”, “Lady” (plus the woman’s name). All titles point to the mothership and leadership position of the CW.

Allocation of special seats differs from church to church. This means different churches within the same denomination can have different practices in relation to assigning the CW a special seat in church. While both churches A and B may be in the same denomination, church A may assign a special seat in church for the CW but church B might not do the same. However, if seats are assigned, auspicious places such as near the pulpit, on top of the dais, and the front row are reserved for CW. As a key informant pointed out:

The Pastor’s wife must always sit where she may be recognized as the mother of the church. It is the same way you will not give the president’s wife a place behind the congregation. It is a way of indicating that she holds a special position in the church (Nii, KI, Protestant).

The response above makes an allusion to the fact that the CW should be treated like the first lady, the president’s wife. This is in line with the point already raised in chapter one of this work that

the CW's position also mimics the first lady position (Soothill, 2007). In terms of the seating arrangement, the idea is that wherever she is positioned, the CW is to be allocated a place where she is easily recognizable as the wife of the man in charge, the first lady. I was informed also by some CWs that sometimes a CW's seating position is one of moral police, especially if they sat on the dais. The CW's position on the dais serves as a moral check by ensuring that a woman who is inappropriately dressed does not sit in a position that could potentially obstruct the pastor.

It is important for the pastor's wife to sit in front or on top around the pulpit. You serve an important purpose that way. You can see those who are not well dressed and if she is in front, she gives cues to the husband. Her sitting there can even serve as a form of moral support for her husband (Comfort, 35, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

In some other instances, the CW sits in the front row facing the pastor directly. By facing the pastor directly, she provides psychological support, by tacitly encouraging her husband. Sometimes the CW communicates through non-verbal cues with her husband. If the cleric is prolonging, the CW can prompt him.

Giving of gifts to the CW scored the lowest privilege within all the denominations. Protestant and Pentecostal CWs said in the interviews that most gifts were not targeted at them per se but to the manse. They however still received gifts as CWs. Both Protestant and Pentecostal CWs also noted that the kinds of gifts given were mostly tied to the location of the church:

The gifts are different and depend on where you find yourself. The gifts you receive when you are in a village congregation are different from when you are in the city. As for the gifts, most come to the mission house (Manse) but people also do give you gifts (Gayi, 32, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation).

As Gayi above explained, if one is working in the city, one is likely to receive gifts in the form of objects such as cloth, kitchen device, money, or a car and so on. On the other hand, gifts in a village or small town congregation are offered in the form of food items and domestic service and

lots of respect. Charismatic CWs also indicated that they received gifts which were targeted at them and not the whole family.

There is nothing I wear that I bought. People give me everything, everything. It is the blessing of God. If I compliment what someone wears, they make me one, if it is my birthday, mother's day, appreciation day, you name it. I recently told your friend, the one who brought you to interview me, that I wanted Gele, and she got one for me (Jam, 47, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

If I want a car, I just say it and I will get the newest model. People will give you all these things. Once you do the work, it comes with it. Initially, it is not like that, but later when the church grows, it comes with it (Martha, 45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

However, gifts come with a lot of complexities. I was told that it is advisable for the CW to be given the gift than for her to request for the gift. It was explained that gift-giving could mean a lot of things for the clergy-family. While some gifts are innocent gestures of goodwill, if a clergy family is new to a congregation, then consistent gifts from certain quarters or individuals mean that these people were courting favour with the new clergy. This favour could later be used to acquire a position or extract an agreement from the clergy and his wife on a certain decision. a CW that consistently requests for gifts risks earning herself a bad reputation. As one participant shared in a focus group discussion:

Mummy is always asking for this or that. Anytime she sees something new on you she will say 'eii, that is nice, this one I want it' and you are forced to make one for her. We even discussed it among ourselves. It is too much, she practically begs you to give her things (Eunice, KI, Charismatic).

It is interesting to note that this comment of the demanding CW was made by a church member of Jam, quoted earlier, who indicated that whatever she wore was a gift from members.

I was also informed by CWs and other key respondents that gift-giving is considered a 'ministry' in Charismatic churches. This is the belief that service and gift-giving is a Christian virtue that can be developed in order to receive some divine rewards. Members are thus taught that the primary

focus of gift-giving should be the clergy family, namely the clergyman and his wife. This is because the clergyman and his wife are believed to have a special divine connection to God which members automatically get signed onto if they are generous to the clergyman and his family. This blessing, it is believed, comes normally in the form of material things such as good jobs, good partners, cars, houses travels abroad, etc. When a CW participant indicated that a member had recently bought her Kente cloth, I asked about other gifts and she responded:

R: They are uncountable. Gift-giving itself is a ministry and you have to teach people to understand that. If you give to ordinary people you get blessed so can you imagine what happens when you give to the Man or Woman of God? Sometimes, people think it has to be something tangible but you can give your service as a gift. I have this son (member) in London and all he does is to wash my car anytime I am around. Even when it snows he will come and wash my car. Now you see the doors (blessing) that have opened up for him (Martha, 45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

I: how do you know the blessing is as a result of the car washing?

R: you may not understand it because it is a spiritual issue. But when you wholly believe and apply principles, things happen in the spiritual realm and giving is one of those principles.

Gift-giving is recognized as part of the human society and one of the glues of social cohesion. Gift-giving and receiving of gifts are acceptable practices and involves the exchange of goods and services (Weiner, 1992). This concept is implicit in the voice of Martha. According to her, her spiritual intervention for her church members can be interpreted as a gift which is reciprocated by the physical gifts which she receives from her church members.

The idea of service brings me to a very important privilege the CW enjoy, domestic service. Almost all study participants indicated that they enjoyed the use of domestic service from congregants. Out of a total of 101 survey respondents who indicated that they had extra help apart from the

husbands, 53.5% said that such help was from church volunteers. The breakdown of the type of help is shown in table 9 below.

Table 8: Type of persons who provides domestic service for CWs

Type of help	Frequency	Percent
Church volunteer	54	53.5%
Your relative	27	26.7%
Husband's relative	10	9.9%
Hired help	10	9.9%
Total	101	100%

Source: Author's fieldwork, 2019.

CWs said that domestic service could be offered by individual church members on a regular basis or by groups in the church at appointed times as revealed by the CW below:

Domestic help can come from different people both in church and sometimes even from the community. People might just come in because they want to assist today or it might be a prior arrangement after church (Comfort, 35, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

Figure two below shows a breakdown of persons who offer domestic assistance by denomination.

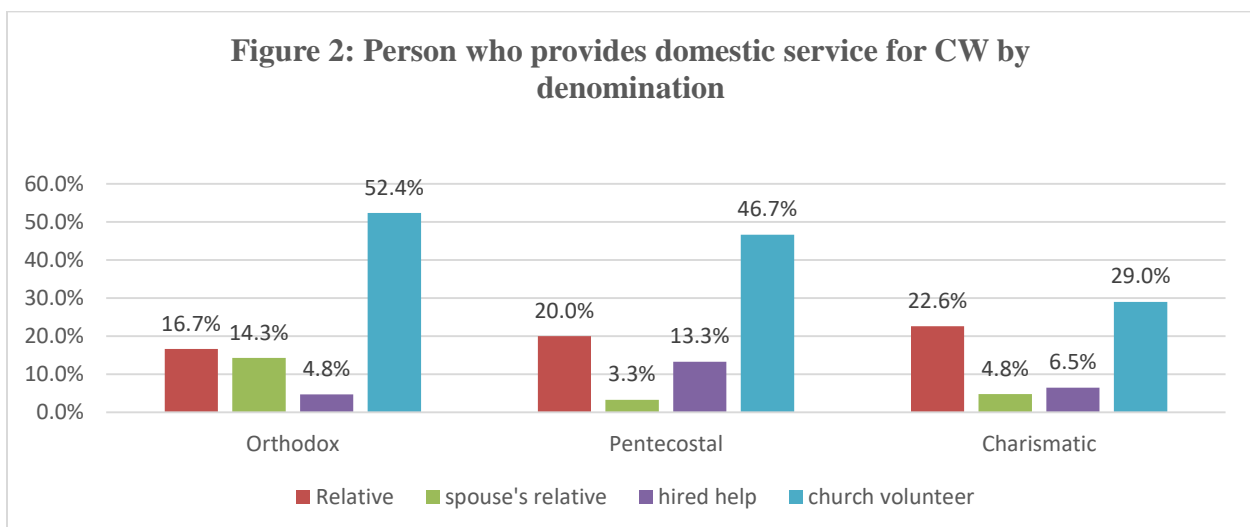


Figure. 2 shows the person who provides domestic service to CWs by denomination. It is clear from the figure that all CWs within denominations indicated that church members were the highest number of people who provided domestic service. In Protestant denominations, the percentage of respondents stood at 52.4%, in Pentecostal denomination it was 46.7% of respondents, whereas in Charismatic denomination the result is 29.7% of respondents. The highest score by Protestant CWs could be as a result of the fact that groups in Protestant churches mostly the youth groups organize constant clean up and offer help at the manse. In most Protestant churches, manses are mostly located in the church premises. The proximity, therefore, makes it easier for individuals or groups to go in and help. Hired help is the last group of people to provide domestic service, except in Pentecostal denominations where it came before husband's relative. In this case, it still scored a significantly low percentage of 13.3% of respondents. CWs indicated that they were mostly not in favour of hired help especially stay-in-helps. It was explained that unlike church members or one's relatives, hired helps did not have loyalty towards the family. There is, therefore, the fear that a hired help can spread rumours about the family. A CW shared her experience thus:

When I had my second child, my mother was not so well so she could not help as she did with the first one. My mother-in-law and sisters-in-law are also living in the USA so I couldn't get help from that side too. I then hired someone to assist but there were too many problems with that. If she did anything wrong and I complained, she will go to the neighbours that Asafo maame is difficult and wicked. The stories kept going around until a church member informed me and I immediately sent her away. That sort of scared me so now I rely only on volunteers from the church who come to help sometimes once or twice a week (Aba, 43, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

Another added:

Personally, I advise other pastor's wives not to go in for hired help at all. Relatives are better because they are one of your own and hardly spread rumours about you. People love to hear and embellish any information they have about the pastor and his wife. This means anything, especially negative stories, that the help takes out about you will keep spreading (Adelaide, 45, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation)

However, church volunteers who come to help do not stay and can therefore not have as much information as a stay- in-help could have about the clergy-family. Of course, there is also the element of monetary reward. While a hired help is paid, church volunteers do not require payment although they are provided with refreshment or food. CWs disclosed that individual assistance offered by church members from time to time could develop to become a frequent occurrence in which case CWs paid a small fee or reciprocated with food, cloth items or assist with other financial obligations such as school fees.

5.6 The Joys that Come from Being a CW

CWs pointed out that although they faced challenges, they also derived certain joys from the position they occupy. I define joys as the satisfaction CWs derived from their state as CW and not the privileges received from church members. In the survey, CWs were required to select the top three of a list of items indicating the joy they receive from being the CW. The highest item was Personal growth and fulfillment (76.2%) of cases. The next item was learning more about the Christian faith (56.9%) of cases and the third item was knowing a wide range of people (45.4%) of cases.

Table 9: The joys derived by CWs

Joys of being a CW	Responses		Percent of cases
	N	Percent	
Personal growth and fulfillment	99	27.1%	76.2%
Learning more about the Christian faith	74	20.3	56.9%
Knowing a wide range of people	59	16.2	45.4%
Showing people a better way of life	57	15.6%	43.8%
Place of respect in church	52	14.2%	40.0%

	Being of service to other people	24	6.65	18.5%
Total		365	100%	280.8%

Source: Author’s fieldwork, 2019.

Table 9 shows that most of the CWs selected personal fulfillment as bringing them the most joy. In a cross-tabulation with denominations, the table below produced similar results within denominations.

Table 10: The joys derived by CWs by denomination

Joys derived by CWs				
Denomination		Personal growth and fulfillment	Learning more about the Christian faith	Knowing a wide range of people
Protestant	n=42	90.5%	54.8%	50.0%
Pentecostal	n=30	60.0%	56.7%	43.3%
Charismatic	n=60	69.4%	54.8%	40.3%

N=134

Source: Author’s fieldwork, 2019.

Some CWs put words to their experiences thus:

It is good to go to bed at night and know that today you did something worth the call you have received. I feel that being a CW is a call and so you are constantly doing your quota to improve the work of God. This makes you happy inside; your heart is always full of joy. Of course, most of the things you do is to help your husband but through that, you are doing God’s work. Even, in my most difficult and saddest moments, I call to God and remind him of my contributions and he listens to me (Adjo, 40, CW, Medium Pentecostal Congregation).

The work is difficult and tiring, but what keeps me going is how I feel when I am able to accomplish a task for God. I feel so much joy when someone comes to me for counseling and the advice I give changes the situation for the person and helps the person to make the right decision. It is the fulfillment I get when I see that I have been of help to a fellow person (Selmum, 68, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

I feel much fulfilled as a person because I am a CW. For me, I had always wanted to marry a pastor because I love God’s work but I also did not want to be a pastor. That is why I wanted to marry a pastor so that I could do God’s work because I felt

that if I married any man I will be hampered but if I married a pastor then I will be at the centre of the work. For me, therefore, this position I find myself in as the pastor's wife was something I looked forward to. I have a lot of challenges, as I have already narrated, but I am very much fulfilled because I know I am advancing kingdom work (Doris, 27, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

From the voices above, it can be interpreted that although it seems like the roles played by CWs are primarily towards the welfare of their husbands work, the ultimate effect of their contribution is towards the growth of God's work. For these CWs, being able to accomplish what they described as a contribution to the kingdom is the personal fulfillment that leads to joy. The point was made that being the CW has afforded some of the CWs the opportunity to be closer to God as the mere fact of the position demands it.

I loved doing the work of God but I knew I could not be a pastor so I had always wanted to marry a pastor. This gives me a reason to pray and fast and engage in all church activities so that while playing my roles, I actually doing what I love. It keeps me closer to God. This is such a source of joy to me (Joycelyn, 30, CW, Small Charismatic Congregation).

For CWs like Angela, being the CW is an avenue to fulfill her heart's desire to do God's work. The love derived from the service provided is, therefore, a source of joy. This closely ties into their second choice which is; learning more about the Christian faith.

CWs said that being in their position means they are constantly praying or reading the Bible to strengthen themselves spiritually. This trend was discovered among CWs in Malawi who said they undertook constant prayers because of their position (Nandasaba, 2011). All 33 CWs interviewed in this study indicated that they constantly prayed at night, with some indicating that they sometimes held all-night service at home either on their own or with the whole family, especially if the children are old enough to undergo an all-night session:

I constantly wake up at night to pray, even do all-night sessions. When the children were younger I used to do it alone or with my husband sometimes. But when they grew older I included them in the all-night sessions. You do these things as a

Christian, but especially as the CW. When you pray constantly, you read the word of God in order to get prayer points and God also shows you how to be a true Christian (Sarah, 33, CW, Large Charismatic congregation)

Due to some of the roles that some CWs played in church, some of them made it a point to learn as much as they could, especially about the Christian faith. The CWs, who led groups such as Bible study groups indicated that they constantly read the Bible, listen to other preachers, read books or watch a Christian related programme on television in order to further their knowledge. Also, because CWs provide counselling for church members, they realised that they constantly had to upgrade their knowledge and ground themselves not only in church doctrines but Biblical examples to assist in their work. This constant reading of the Bible leads not only to one's knowledge of the Bible but an improvement in their general character as Christians. A Protestant CW confessed that becoming a CW had improved her character as a Christian:

I have learnt to treat people better, to be tolerant and to sometimes even intercede on behalf of the people who hurt me. All these I have gained so much because I became 'Mother'. Before that, I was a very hot-tempered person and I will not forgive you if you wronged me. But I have learnt the right Christian way and to live by it because I am the Asafo maame and I know I have to be an example (Selsis, 42, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

From the experience of Selsis above, and from stories of other women, being a CW provides the women an opportunity to improve their own characters as individuals. Most women intimated that they had learnt self-control in the face of extreme provocations and had thus learnt to handle different people in better ways over the course of their lives as CWs.

The third joy which CWs selected was knowing a wide range of people. Much was not said for this but CWs noted that being in their position meant interacting and engaging with so many people. Such connections accrued to the benefit of the CW, especially in denominations where the CW had worked in different churches. Some CWs said they stayed in contact with the members although they have been transferred from that congregation. Knowing a wide range of people is

also a form of social capital for the CWs who can draw on these relationships for assistance. Two

CWs noted:

In this church, we have all manner of members, in all sorts of employment having all forms of skills. In the women's group alone, we have lawyers, lecturers, doctors, fashion designers, hairdressers, entrepreneurs, builders, you name them. When the church or I need something, I have the people here. So then that becomes one of the joys in my position (Martha, 45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

There are people from different backgrounds in the church. One of our members is the headmistress of one of the secondary schools. When my niece needed admission I told her and she helped us to get my niece into the school, otherwise, my niece would still be at home. There are countless occasions when knowing all these people become beneficial (Gayi, 32, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation).

The voices of the two CWs above show that knowing a wide range of people can be a source of joy since they can easily get help when the need arises. While Martha has the assurance of getting assistance from church members who are experts in various fields, Gayi is able to secure admission for her niece who would have otherwise not gained admission to Senior high school.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the roles, challenges and the privileges involved in the CW position using survey results, focus group discussion as well as interviews with CWs and key informants. The chapter opened with a summary of discussions that would be undertaken in the chapter. This was followed by the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. The chapter then continued with a discussion of the various themes. The first of this was a discussion of the roles that CWs played in church and the challenges associated with those roles. Three of the topmost roles played were discussed in this descending order; leadership of groups in church, counselling, and welcoming and serving visitors, while cleaning of the church, the least role played by CWs was also discussed.

The next section of the chapter paid attention to challenges which CWs raised during interviews. These challenges were not associated with the roles CWs played but emerged by virtue of the fact that they were CWs. The third section of the work concentrated on the privileges while the fourth looked at the joys the CW derived. Privileges were the special treatments which CWs received from the church and included a special seat in church, respect from church members, gifts from church members as well as domestic service whereas joys were discussed as those satisfactions which CWs derived as a result of being the CW. The three top items discussed were; Personal growth and fulfillment, Learning more about the Christian faith and knowing a wide range of people. Summary and conclusion formed the last part of the chapter.

Data from the survey and opinions shared indicate that similar roles are played by CWs across denominations, with minor differences. The roles played by CWs in church runs parallel to those performed by mothers in order to make for an effective administration of the home, in this case, the church. While some challenges were associated with the roles CWs played in church, other challenges noted were not connected to the roles played but were as a result of the fact that wives were married to the clergyman. Privileges, which were the special treatments CWs received from church members, are enjoyed by CWs but with slight differences within denominations. Finally, it was observed that CWs also derived some joys from their positions as CWs and not as privileges received from church members.

CHAPTER 6

Clergy-Wives and Power: Access, Manifestations, and Contestations

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the various power dynamics inherent in the CW position. I am interested in how CWs access power; the ways in which the power manifests and finally, the tensions and silences that come with the use of power.

For the purposes of this study, I conceptualize power as the ability to overtly or covertly influence or control the actions, decisions, and thoughts of people and to also bring about a change to a particular situation. A CW might exert power in one area but not in another and this makes it a complex terrain.

The chapter is divided into three parts. I begin the chapter by discussing some of the ways in which CWs access power. I then examine the various ways in which the powers of CWs manifested. Thirdly, I interrogate some of the dynamics, especially the tensions that arise between CWs and significant others in their life including husbands, and assistant pastors. The chapter concludes with a summary of the issues raised and discussed in the work. This chapter presents the data obtained mainly from interviews with CWs and key informants. I, however, make few references to my survey data and the focus group discussion.

6.2. CWs Pathways to Power

It has been established throughout this work that the roles played by the CW, the challenges she faces, as well as the privileges she enjoys, are all a direct consequence of her relationship with her husband. It is also via this same route that she is able to access power. It is the CW's marriage to the clergyman that confers on her a special place in the church and society. The woman's power

is, therefore, not in spite of her husband but because of her husband. Power acquired is not as a result of any particular achievement of the CW or through descent as occurs with royals, but as a result of her marriage to the clergyman (Soothill, 2012). As two key informants who are also clergymen noted:

I have packaged myself in certain ways and so I get certain kind of things and treatment and that is how my wife too will be treated. It is because of me that she will be treated that way (Eben, KI, Charismatic).

Let's assume I am MTN⁵ and my wife is the chip. When you have the chip you get the connection wherever the connection reaches as well as all the benefits, free night calls, bonus, data, double credit, whatever. In the same way, so long as she is my wife and is connected to me, she will get all the benefits. If she is using the network, then she will get the connection (Godwin, KI, Protestant).

The two opinions shared above sum up the idea that, in principle, CWs' power emanates from their relationship to their husbands. The explanations of the two clergymen are an indication of the awareness that, whatever power accrues to the CW is as a result of the position of the husband and not as a result of anything the wife has done per se. Indeed, in chapter 5, it was noted that all CWs in all denominations enjoyed certain privileges from the church just by virtue of the fact that they are CWs. These privileges include special seats, gifts, respect from church members and the provision of domestic services. However, in terms of power, that of CWs in Charismatic denominations, in particular, is further strengthened in other ways.

The first of these is the positions of CWs in terms of hierarchy in Charismatic denominations. On the pyramid of the authority of the church, the CW is mostly next in line after the husband and even in churches where there are structures for succession plans; it is that the woman is the next person of consequence after the husband. It is this acknowledgment of the authority of CWs as next in line to their husbands that give their CWs the right to mount the pulpit of the clergyman

⁵ MTN is one of the leading telecommunication networks in Ghana

when no other person is allowed to use the pulpit for Sunday preaching. This authority which the CWs hold stems from their roles in the formation of the church. As discussed in chapter two, CWs in charismatic denominations are very central to the formation of the churches and are, therefore recognized as one of the founding members.

I quit my job, I had a company. I was making money. I was a rich woman. If I wanted a car I could get it, not second hand, tear rubber. Oh, I had money and I loved it (laugh). You know now that I quit the company, the devil keeps reminding me of those days, but now I know what is at stake. Look, I had a business and I gave it up for this dream and we are here. I am part of this dream, it is my sweat too (Jam, 47, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

Another CW noted:

Hert: My husband is the CEO of the church and I am next in line.

I: Did you say CEO?

Hert: Yes. I talk like that because I have a degree in business. My husband is the CEO and I am next in line and no one can really change that. When we started this we had nothing. I have suffered hunger. I have fasted, prayed all-night with him, cleaned the church, and done everything I am not doing now. I have earned my position. I am next in line not because I am just his wife, which would have been equally justifiable, but also because I have worked to be here (Hert, 38, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

These women use the language of ownership and although they claim the church was built for God, they are convinced of the fact that they are the earthly owners, with both women emphasizing their contributions to the formation of the church. Indeed, so far the work has shown evidence to prove that CWs are powerful because of their husbands. However, Hert's point of view brings a new dimension to the discussion. According to her, she is not powerful because she is the wife of a powerful man, but she also feels that she has earned her power by virtue of her contribution to building the church. If Hert's position and that of other CWs in her situation are to go by, then a wife who contributes to her husband's work and gains from it is not just a contributor to or beneficiary of his power but an active participant to the generation of that power.

Another way in which CWs can access and strengthen their power is through preaching or mounting the 'main pulpit'. I found that while all CWs could preach and some CWs across denominations indicated that they preach, it was the type of pulpit which they mounted that was different. For CWs in Protestant and Pentecostal denominations, they could not mount the Sunday pulpit to preach unless they are lay-preachers or during occasions. On special celebrations such as Women's Week, Church anniversaries, Youth week and other such celebrations, CWs can and are allowed to preach on the main pulpit or during Sunday service. Apart from this, Protestant and Pentecostal CWs can only preach on "lower pulpits" such as those used for mid-week services. In Charismatic denominations, however, preaching posts, especially on Sundays are more frequent for CWs. Indeed, it was further noted that in cases where the clergyman did not allow anyone to mount the pulpit, his wife is allowed to use the pulpit.

The associate pastors were unhappy that we had been serving for years but had not been allowed to preach on the main pulpit before so we decided to hold a meeting with Bishop and raise our grievances. He got upset and on Sunday he announced in front of the whole church that: "only my wife can mount my pulpit. If you want to mount a pulpit you can move out of this church and form your own church. My pulpit is meant for two people, myself and my wife" (Akwesi, KI, Charismatic).

For the clergyman to make this pronouncement to the entire congregation is a pronouncement to not just the assistant pastors but the entire congregation that his wife is as important and powerful as he is and therefore she has the right to use his pulpit. This in effect places the wife above every other person in the church apart from the clergyman.

A third means which I identified as a source of power to CWs in Charismatic denominations is the litany of assistants, guards, and staffers that surround the CW. While a few of these staffers are paid, some of them are young men and women who work on volunteer basis. They are responsible

for assisting the CWs to run their programs and activities smoothly. Some are in charge of assisting the CW by carrying her handbag, answering her phone or serving as the first point of call when a visitor comes to see the CW. In this way, they act as gatekeepers for the CWs. My own experience of being refused access to interview some CWs on the grounds that they were busy or absent speaks to this point. When I finally had the chance to interview some of them, they mentioned that they had neither received my letter nor messages. Other voices add to reflections on this experience:

I got upset one time over this incident and changed my assistant. She didn't know I was looking at the camera. I saw her in a conversation with a woman and I saw the woman sitting down for almost an hour after the conversation. So I decided to call the assistant and told her to let the woman come to my office. When they entered, the woman's first words were: "but you said Lady Pastor was not around?" I found later that she had been doing that to people. Sometimes you ask them to do that because you might be really engaged, but then they go overboard (Martha, 45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

My own experience is that some of these assistants are put there so that everyone will not just walk in and see them. Do you know what our pastor said? He told us that we should use him now that we can because very soon, he and Mama will get assistants and guards and we would have to book appointments before we see them like we book to see the other big men of God and their wives. He said it on Sunday, while he was preaching. Then he started by getting a top military officer in the church to volunteer two recruits to accompany him anytime he goes out to preach in another church (Akvesi, KI, Charismatic).

Korankye Ankrah and Rita are very good friends of mine, from our SU days. I went for a program and I didn't know they would be there but here they were. They were in the front row and I think I was three seats behind so I asked her assistant in front of me to tap her for me and she went like "please we can't disturb her"; I was like what?! The program hadn't even started so I just called her; Rita! And she turned, got up and came to hug me and Sam (the husband) joined in. I kept thinking the whole time about how Rita was now a powerful woman, hm. (Jimmy, KI, Protestant)

In the three narrations above, Martha, a Bishop's wife, confirms that CWs sometimes make the assistants "curate" the access themselves when they need time or are busy whereas the pastor in Akvesi's case wants to "curate" the access in order to further his and his wife's importance. In

both stories, however, they rely on assistants and volunteers to achieve the goal. In Jimmy's story, we see that the "curating" moves from outside the church to public places. Jimmy's experience makes him realise that Rita is no longer the SU friend he used to know but a person with power. This realization is a result of the action of the assistant who tries to prevent him from accessing Rita Ankrah, whom Jimmy perceives to be an old friend. Indeed, Akwesi's narration is very important if we consider the fact that the pastor in his story is yet to get these assistants and guards. The pastor makes an even poignant remark about big pastors and their wives and their use of assistants and guards and starts building his "big man" portfolio by getting some military guards. This is clearly an acknowledgment by this clergyman that the number of staffers such as assistants and guards is an indication of one's status and power in the Charismatic dispensation.

6.3. The Ways in which the Powers of CWs Manifest

In this section, I am interested in finding out the ways in which CWs are able to influence, change and resist change in the church. I do this by discussing issues such as their positions as mothers of the church, as role models, as leaders of groups and their possession of spiritual gifts.

6.3.1. Power through CWs Motherhood Positions

For CWs in all denominations used for this study, the power accrued in terms of their motherhood position is undeniable. As already discussed in chapters two and three of this thesis, the church as a greedy institution is organised as a family. The clergyman is seen as the father, the wife as the mother and church members as children. The CW is therefore expected to 'mother' the church members just as it occurs in the nuclear family. This explains why in the discussion of privileges in the previous chapter, it was found that all CWs had certain titles. The various titles for CWs in the various denominations are all an indication of the motherhood position of the CWs. Most CWs in all the denominations selected respect as the privilege they received most from the church; Protestant, 76.2% of respondents, Pentecostal, 63.3% of respondents and Charismatic, 66.1% of

respondents within their various denominations. It was then communicated during the interviews that the major reason they felt respected was the fact that they are seen as the mothers of the church.

Some of the responses ran as below:

My church members call Asafo Maame because of the belief that I am the mother of the church. It is first, of, all a show of respect and also an indication that I have power as a mother. This means I have to do all a mother does; pray for the children, love them and even reprimand them when they go wrong (Happy, 58, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation)

I was really overwhelmed the first time I went to church after we married. Everyone one was calling me “mother”, even the older congregants. At first, it was weird but I got used to it, and it made me feel much respected. That is when you begin to realise that now you are not an ordinary woman, but someone people look up to because you are the mother for all the church members (Sandy, 33, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation).

In the first voice, the speaker acknowledges the fact that her position as a CW confers power on her; the power of a mother. Indeed, I noted that almost all CWs interviewed believed that they were the mothers of the church and, therefore, had the power as a mother is supposed to have. This meant showing constant interest in the welfare of church members, including reprimanding those who go wrong. The issue of reprimanding church members was constantly raised in interviews with CWs and I observed that with each denomination, there was a difference. The snippets below show some of the ways in which CWs from different dominations see the issue of reprimanding church members.

If I find something wrong with someone or someone reports an issue to me, I am cautious about how I do it. In Protestant churches you have to be careful how you go about things otherwise you can destroy things for your husbands. You must not be seen to attack people. There are nice ways to reprimand and correct people without causing bitterness in the person (Millicent, 49, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

If you are wrong, you are wrong; I don't see why you have to be pampered. Of course, I will not just start shouting at you and beat you but it is my responsibility

to let you know that what you did was wrong. You may get upset about it immediately but later you will realise I had your welfare at heart (Adjo,44, CW, Medium Pentecostal Congregation)

I slapped one group leader because I felt he was disgracing us. I told him, “don’t treat your wife like this” and he wouldn’t listen and so I decided to teach him a lesson. I am his mother and he is supposed to reflect the teachings and the leadership position he holds. He has been working directly with me as the leader of the youth group in London all this while and he didn’t learn anything from me? I slapped him and started boxing him (Jam, 47, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

While Protestant CWs are very circumspect about how to handle offending church members as mothers of the church, it appears that Pentecostal and Charismatic CWs are a bit brazen on how they solve this issue. Indeed, while Jam’s action may be interpreted in some quarters as abusive, she justifies her action by the fact that it is a correction from a mother to her child. This is in line with the ways in which CWs operate in different denominations. As already discussed in chapter two, the rigid regulations and established governing bodies in Protestant denominations restrict the operations of CWs. Thus, from Millicent above, CWs in protestant denominations have to be circumspect in order not to appear to be controlling church members or appear more powerful than other governing bodies in the church.

The counselling role (which 67.8% of the responses of CWs indicated they played in church) is tied to their position as mothers of the church. Members who come to the CW for counselling do so because they see CWs as mothers who have the welfare of their children and had the experience to assist. In a focus group discussion, participants unanimously agreed to this belief, as presented by Fuka :

I have gone for counseling from my pastor’s wife because I saw her as the mother of the church. That woman was very good, they are now on retirement. I wanted to marry from the church but I did not have any particular lady in mind. I told mother about it and we discussed the issue at length, then she asked me to leave it to her. Truly, she recommended my wife who I am married to now and I am happy with my wife. I felt like she was the right person to go to so that even when there is a problem then it will be easier to go back to her for help (Nii, KI, Protestant).

A key informant had this story to share:

If not for my pastor's wife, I would have divorced my husband a long time ago. My husband was misbehaving because I could not get pregnant. Then from the various hospital tests, we found out that he had low sperm count. Immediately I made plans to leave him because he had made me suffer all this while. Both my sister and brother-in-law talked to me but I refused to listen. But my pastor's wife intervened and counseled me consistently and because she is like a mother figure to me, I could not refuse her request (Joy, KI, Pentecostal).

It is obvious from the voices above that the CW in each situation influenced the outcome of crucial decisions in the lives of these two church members. Nii entrusted the CW with a vital decision such as the selection of a wife because he perceived her to be the mother. This will suggest that as a mother, the CW knows what partner will be suitable for her "son" (Nii). Implicit in this also is the idea that as a mother, she is observant of all church members and might thus know the character of all the eligible young women. Nii further rationalizes that he can always go back to the CW for support and help should a problem arise with the choice the CW made for him. In such an instance, the assumption is that it would be easier for the CW to counsel or call the wife to order. In the second snippet, although the speaker had refused to take the advice of family members, she, however, paid heed to that of the CW because she respects the CW as she would respect a mother.

Although all CWs are acknowledged as mothers, age plays a role in the ways in which a CW can use this position. The younger CWs indicated that, unless the congregation was one that had younger congregants, they found that the title "mother" was just in name as they cannot reprimand or correct older church members.

I was the mother at a congregation that had older members and although they called me 'mother' and treated me with respect, there was no way I could face someone if they did something wrong or someone reported them. At the time I was only 25 years. The only members I could correct or reprimand were Kids in Children's service (Laughs) (Sewaa, 51, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

I am not sure I can talk to an older woman if her husband reported her to me. The younger ones, maybe, but when people are older and you are younger it is difficult.

I tried once to talk to one lady who is even my age mate but she was dismissive and I lost the courage from that time (Tilly, 27 CW, Small Pentecostal Congregation)

However, as was observed in chapter 5, younger CWs indicated that unless church members were younger than the CW, they mostly did not go to them for counseling even if they called them “mother”. Furthermore, while the motherhood position is expected of all CWs and while it is an expected role of the CW to act as a mother for the church, there were some CWs in this study who refused to take up such a role or are deemed to be look warm towards the performance of such roles. Such CWs are deemed as a bad example for other women in the church and society at large, especially since she is expected to teach other women on how to be good mothers. Indeed, a CW who is unable to successfully act as the mother of the church is deemed to be a cross to her husband, making it difficult for the “father” of the church to successfully organize the church. Thus, the motherhood role of the CW is very crucial to keeping the church intact and teaching other women to be good mothers.

6.3.2. The Power Manifested as Role Models

While CWs power is essentially derived from their husbands, the power could grow quite rapidly and develop a life of its own because of the CWs’ sphere of influence. Most CWs noted that their association with women and children as mothers of the church meant that they were role models to a great number of people. It was explained by CWs that one of the main reasons why certain characteristics and actions are expected from the CW is because she serves as a role model for many women in the church, especially the younger women and girls. From interviews, I realized that role modeling could occur where the CW serves as a role model to her church members. Then there is the instance where she can serve as a role model to other CWs members. All the subsequent narrations show CWs as role models to members in the church.

I have some young women I am mentoring. It is not a group or anything. They came to me separately because they liked what they saw, particularly the fact that all my children are boys but they are well educated, married, working and so well behaved. So I talk to them from time to time. I teach them how I have been able to stay married for so long, how I brought up all my kids and so on. If they have a difficult problem they call me or come here and I show them, “do this or that” and they listen and it has been like that. It is not something you can escape as a priest’s wife. You will, by all means, serve as a role model to many women (Selmum, 68 CW, large Protestant Congregation)

The idea that the CW is a role model is not a joke. One day after church, one man walked up to me and told me the daughter said she liked me very much and wanted to be my friend. I was pleasantly surprised and very happy. I later found out that their Sunday school teacher was sick one Sunday and I stood in for her and that is how the little girl fell in love with me (laughs). So I became friends with this girl, I think she was about 8 or so at the time. When she found out that I was a doctor, she said she also wanted to be a doctor; meanwhile, she had wanted to be a pilot before then. Right now, she is in SHS 3, reading science and I pray for her every night. This story stands out for me because it shows that I can influence even a little child’s life unknowingly (Happy, 58, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

I think it is the book of Hebrews that says we are surrounded by an army of witnesses. People will look up to you whether you like it or not. It, therefore, depends on you to carry yourself well. A young woman once told me that she was in church because of me. She had seen a video of me in different ways and liked the way I carried myself so she found her way into the church. She walked up to me one day and said I was her role model. She is now one of my volunteer assistants. I realized that her dressing and even manner of talking has changed since she started working with me. The other day when I made a comment on the changes, she said she was learning from me and I felt humbled. In fact, I believe that if you are a pastor’s wife and no one looks up to you then you have a problem (Jam, 47, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

The three extracts from CWs of the three different denominations sum up the point that powers of the CW can manifest through role modeling. The story of the little girl and the CW is significant in that, the course of life of the girl changed because she wanted to be like the CW. The CW in the first story could also be said to be the one moulding and directing the marriage and family affairs of the younger women through her constant advice to the younger women who are her mentees. In the third extract, the mode of dressing and manner of speaking of the young assistant has been influenced and changed through her association with the CW as her role model.

The discussions below illustrate two things about role modelling between CWs. The first form of role modeling between CW is where the CW, who is serving as a “mentee”, is interested in acquiring certain knowledge from the other CW. This is mostly between an older CW and a younger CW as exemplified by Fanny below:

I am the first woman to marry a priest in my family so I do not have anyone to look up to and say I am learning from her. But I saw Apostle Lady Ankrah and I wanted to learn from her. I don't want to model my life after hers because we all have our paths in life. What I am learning from her is how to build and sustain a ministry like she has done with her husband (Fanny, 35, CW, Small Protestant Congregation).

In the comment above, Fanny sees Lady Ankrah as a role model in terms of her work as a woman who has built a ministry with her husband. Her interest is in acquiring certain knowledge that would also make her a ministry builder and not necessarily another “Lady Ankrah”. It is also noteworthy that while Fanny is a CW in a Protestant church, her role model is a CW from a Charismatic denomination. This means that role modeling can transcend boundaries such as church denominations.

In the second role modeling between CW, the CW who serves as a “mentee” models her life and actions exactly after the other CW. In the voices below, the goal of the CWs is to be exactly like their role models, both in person and in deeds.

I want my life to be a reflection of Lady Mimi of Makers House Chapel. I love her sense of fashion, her programmes on Facebook and how she carries her herself. I want to be exactly like her. I also wish to be able to build a beautiful ministry as she has together with the husband (Jocelyn, 30, CW, Small Charismatic Congregation).

Tricia: Bishop Dag's wife is my role model. My dear, I want to be exactly like her and I love everything she does. I want to be exactly like her. I want to speak, preach, dress and impact lives as she is doing. She is just too powerful. I watch and listen to every video she has made.

Me: I see. But mummy, I think you are age mates or you are even older than her. I also remember you said you are a role model for most people in your church. So if your goal is to be exactly like Madam Adelaide, then what about those modeling their lives after you?

Tricia: I can't stop someone from looking up to me. If someone sees what I am and likes it then it means that what I am also learning from Dag's wife is great. Then I guess she is indirectly the girl's role model through me. It is good; they must be like her then just as I want to be like her. When I have to meet and talk to the young women in my church, I just go and listen or read Lady Adelaide's book. As for age, it doesn't matter. My dear, I love the woman. (Tricia, 48, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

The two CWs above intend to model not just their actions but even their physical appearance and modes of speech after their role models. Tricia's case is profound because she feels that other young women can also model their lives after her role model. Clearly, Lady Heward-Mills is a potential role model for a girl through another CW and this is possible because of Lady Heward-Mills power as a role model. Although Lady Heward-Mills is neither physically present nor has any direct interaction with Tricia above, the latter intends to model her life and even appearance after the former, despite the fact that they may even be age mates. Tricia's case also illustrates that, CWs such as Lady Heward Mills who have books and other audio-visual materials which have been produced with their husbands and can reach larger portions of the population, can be powerful role models even from a distance.

6.3.3. Power Manifested through CWs Leadership of Groups

The power of the CWs is mostly heightened in their capacity as heads of organisations since it centralizes decision making and the control of resources in the CWs. There are two types of leadership roles I will discuss in this section. The first is the case where the CW is the leader of a group in just the church and the second is where the CW is the overall leader of organisations or groups in all the churches under her husband's control and thus has leaders of the groups in the various churches reporting to her.

I first discuss the scenario where the CW was the leader of a group in the church. The survey data indicated that 46.1% of respondents of the total sample size of 134 said they were leaders of a group in the church. A further cross-tabulation within the denominations showed that 40.5% of respondents in Protestant churches were in leadership positions, 60.0% of respondents in Pentecostal churches were in a leadership position and 44.0% of respondents in Charismatic churches were in leadership positions. CWs in Pentecostal churches were in leadership in some churches within the Pentecostal denominations, the CW is the default head of the Women's group. Protestant CWs were less likely to be in leadership positions because of the structures put in place within the denominations. The rigid formal structures of Protestant churches discussed in chapter two and three make it difficult for CWs to do or take certain decisions as could occur in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. However, while there are denominational differences in terms of the leadership roles, the data shows that the power of all CWs can be manifested through their leadership positions.

The three voices below, representing a CW and two informants are suggestive of the idea being discussed that CWs can use their leadership positions of groups in the church to influence or cause a change in people or decisions made in the church.

When you are the leader of the group, there are some decisions you have to take without sometimes paying attention to what members say. Everyone has something to say but you have to put your foot down when you have to. For instance, we agreed on blue and white as colours for the women's Lacoste in this church but I had to add colour red at the last minute because our denomination has 3 colours; blue, red and white. Some members were upset when the Lacoste finally came but they wore it anyway. (Aba, 43, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation).

My wife was pregnant and struggling through morning sickness so it made it difficult for me to attend the first service. Mother called me on Sunday and told me to come for the first service and I told her about my wife's issue and she said she understood how it was to be pregnant. Later she told me she was transferring me to the toddlers unit although I worked with the teen service. Another teacher told me

Mother had complained to her that I was using my wife as an excuse to not do what she asked me to do so she will teach me a lesson in obedience (Nii, KI, Protestant)

My pastor's wife told me to ask my sister to send her clothes to sell because my sister is abroad and used to send stuff down for the family to sell for her. But when I told my sister about sending some clothes down, she said she was no longer in that business. Mummy was not happy about that. I used to be in charge of the tithe contributions but she started a negative campaign against me about how I was a single mother and could, therefore, be in need of money and thus borrow from the tithe. The next year around, I was told to leave the position for someone else, although all the other leaders kept their positions. It was one elder who told me that Mummy had said really bad things about me at leaders meeting (Naa, KI, Charismatic)

In the first quote, there is an indication that sometimes, as leaders of groups; CWs take arbitrary decisions even in the face of conflicts and dissents. She, however, justified it as being for the general good. In the second story, the CWs used her position as the leader to do what the participant considered as a demotion whereas, in the third story, the CW used her position as the leader of the women's association and as part of the leaders' committee to raise a negative campaign against Naa. The three voices suggest that as leaders of groups, CWs can manipulate, demote, or silence dissenting voices by disregarding suggestions and opinions. This does not preclude the fact that a CW who is not in a leadership position cannot cause a change or influence the outcome of decisions, the point being made is that a CW wife who is the leader in a group is in a better position to control issues and people.

The second leadership scenario is when a CW is the overall leader of organisations or groups in the church and has the leaders of the groups in various congregations reporting to her or where she is the originator of the group. In this situation, the CWs do not have a direct relationship with the group members on constant basis and just like the political first lady who runs affairs from the statehouse through governors' wives (Mama, 1999), the CWs ran operations of groups through leaders under their jurisdiction. This process is aptly described by Martha, a Bishop's wife:

All the branches across the world meet with her (the founder's wife) every year and she tells us what she wants and how we should go about it. There is a program for the year and it is like a sort of training for all the Bishops wives. We also then come and share with the wives of all the branches under us then they in turn go and implement them in their various churches and various departments (Martha,45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

Another CW also explained this arrangement:

As Bishop's wife, I am Mother superior and by implication, all the other women are under me. Since I cannot get to all of them, I rely on the other wives and department heads to run things (Sewaa, 51, CW, Large Protestant Congregation)

Those who work under the CW are therefore mostly organizational heads. It is these people who feel the brunt of their power and are, thus, better placed to share their experiences. Although CWs in Protestant and Pentecostal churches in this leadership situation also have power, it is in Charismatic churches that such power is overtly manifested. Within the Charismatic denomination, CWs who indicate that their husbands own the church formed 35.5% of Charismatic respondents. Within the Charismatic churches, I found that the power pronouncedly manifested if the CWs husbands owned the church. These powers can manifest through appointments, demotions as well as sometimes abusive treatments. The three voices below recount the experiences of some respondents:

Let me tell you something that the wife of the owner did. One pastor started a congregation in a place in Accra. That place is one of the prime areas in town and knowing the church we are talking about, there were lots of big shots and rich guys in the church. When the daughter of the owner married, they transferred the pastor to some small struggling congregation and replaced him with the son-in-law. We later found out from headquarters that the CW, I mean the wife of the owner was behind it. (Eben, KI, Charismatic)

I remember we once held an annual meeting with mummy and she was talking about dressing. Then she asked me to stand up and told me that the Leader of the women's group cannot dress like this. Then she took off my wig and said this is not something I should wear and that she will take me shopping for a proper wig the next week. It's been years and yet no wig. I was so embarrassed and felt disrespected. There was no one I could report this treatment to in church because she and her husband are the overall bosses. It was after I left the church some years

later that I realised she actually did some of these things to people every year but we just laughed about it (Eunice, KI, Charismatic).

At the leader of the Children's service, one lady made a suggestion about the way we organize our Children's service. Lady Rev just looked quietly at her and smiled. Later she called her to her office and warned her that if she interrupted her again at a meeting, she would have her removed. But the woman too didn't keep quiet; she talked back and said the church doesn't feed her. She was accused of disloyalty and removed a month later (Vivi, KI, Charismatic)

The first voice tells the story of a CW who is perceived to have so much power that she is able to appoint pastors in the church. Aggie's experience can be described as abusive; however, she felt she had no medium of redress because the CW is the final point of call. She noted that such a situation has been happening to others but no one had the courage to stop it. Thus, the CW did not account for her actions. On the other hand, the woman in Vivi's story who stood up to the CW was removed from her position. All the stories above indicate the show of the absolute nature of the power of these CWs. In these spaces, therefore, the CW's power is absolute. This absoluteness is further strengthened if she is the originator of any group in the church. The most common group which some CWs form is women's group apart from the traditional women's organisation in the church. This can be a group made up of only clergy-wives, young women in the church or one for professional women or even mothers. In such instances, CWs, as the originators of the group have the final say in every aspect of how the organisation is run and it is with such groups that they mostly begin to amass power like that of their husbands or more than their husbands. They are venerated by members and their control begins to stretch outside the original church. They are so powerful that other CWs even from other denominations look up to them as a sort of godmother and this leads to what Soothill terms "Female Charismatic Dynastic" (Soothill, 2012:90). They control how activities generally ran in the organizations and are quick to replace leaders or else start a negative campaign against perceived insubordinate leaders if they were elected.

6.3.4. The Power Manifested through the Possession and Application of Spiritual Gifts

The issues discussed under this title relates to the Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches. The emphasis on the Holy Spirit and its gifts are central to the theology of both Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. Four CWs in Pentecostal denominations indicate that they had spiritual gifts while 6 in Charismatic churches said they had spiritual gifts. The gift most mentioned were the spirit of prophecy, visions, and healing. The idea among Pentecostals and Charismatics that some spiritual gifts such as prophecy and healing are sharper and thus attractive to church members means that people with such gifts will be in demand and in control of others. (Personal communication with Ebenezer Bosomprah, a Theology student at Trinity Theological Seminary).

When you have spiritual gifts, everyone comes to you. This is why most people go to all these churches that have mushroomed. The so-called prophets promise all sorts of miracles, healing, babies, travel abroad, money and all kinds of things. Things are difficult so if anyone promises an escape, everyone runs to that person and does everything they are asked to do. I am sure you have seen all those horrible videos going around on social media on what the Prophets do to people. They control them like they are children. What I am saying is that if you have spiritual gifts you are powerful because you control people (Godwin, KI, Protestant).

Three insights emerge out of the statement made by Godwin above. The first is that spiritual gifts are in demand by church members. The second is the fact that people who are in search of solutions to various problems will allow themselves to be under the control of anyone with a solution; a spiritual one in this case. The last insight is that individuals with spiritual gifts are likely to control others in need of their help.

CWs that have spiritual gifts are also of the view that such gifts are highly sought after and a source of much reverence as well as power. Although it was indicated to me that the gifts are not intentionally used to control people, the attitude of some church members, it was said, especially the tendency by some to misinterpret issues sometimes result in control.

God does not give you the gift so that you can control people, but sometimes it is the way people act. I know that sometimes even if I see something, like a character flaw or misbehavior and I point it out, it is taken as a sort of prophecy. Once the thing is coming from you, people will do it because they may think it is coming from God (Sarah, 33, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

Others, however, said that sometimes they use the idea that they have gifts to control church members in order to attain some positive results. One of such respondents noted:

The idea that you are in possession of spiritual gifts by itself is a form of power, even if you don't have such gifts. Once people believe it, whatever you say, some people will do it even when you are just using your own intelligence. Let me tell you what happened. There is a young rich guy in the church, very handsome and friendly but very abusive. He has been beating his wife and nothing we have tried has worked. He beat her so badly I decided to end the situation. A week after the beating, I called him to the office and told him that I had a vision that he had killed his wife and hanged himself. Then a week after, while I was in the spirit prophesying to people in the church, I intentionally called him and told him I see a fog of darkness before him. Three weeks after that, we invited a prophet for our programme and I told him about the situation and the plan I had put in place so the prophet also intentionally called him and told the young man that he sees him dangling from a rope in a dark room. Since then, two years now, the beatings have stopped (Eunice, 44, CW, Medium Charismatic Church).

In the account above, the CW uses her power as someone who possesses the gift of Prophecy to control a situation which she considers dire to her church member. She went further to solicit the assistance of another Pastor who is also deemed to have the gift of prophecy in order to achieve results. While she deems her action to be justifiable in the light of the problem, it does not preclude the fact that her possession of the spiritual gift of prophecy was used to bring about a total change in the matter.

The other angle of spiritual gifts and control is the idea of impartation. Impartation was explained by a key informant as:

the transfer of certain gifts from one person, mostly a man or woman of God, to someone else. Mostly when you have sat under the feet or faithfully served someone with the gift, that person will impart or even transfer their gift to you. It

was first done in the Bible by Elijah and Elisha, so it is allowed in the spiritual realm (Eben, KI, Charismatic)

In the explanation above, it is thought that spiritual gifts could be obtained from another person's under certain circumstances, mostly after one has served the individual that has the spiritual gift. The idea that a CW has spiritual gifts and can impart into others can also serve as a platform for control. One key informant tells the story of how one of her grand-nephews became a victim of the belief in impartation.

After Senior High, while waiting for his results, my nephew joined a church. He was very good with computers so he started assisting the pastor's wife with PowerPoint presentations and other things. After a while, he refused to attend Presby with us and started spending his whole day in the church or in the woman's house. He claimed the woman had a gift of vision and he was, therefore, receiving some impartation from the woman so that he could also do the work of God. He said he didn't want to continue his education anymore. He refused to do anything at home but if the woman calls, this boy ran to serve her. We put a stop to the relationship immediately and when his results came, we didn't even allow him to come to Legon, we sent him to Tech (Adoley, KI, Protestant).

A key informant for this study who is also as an assistant to a CW indicated that she had been serving the woman as a volunteer because she expects to be imparted with some of the woman's spiritual gifts.

I serve for free not because I am stupid or anything like that. I know what I am doing. There is something in Mummy that I want and it was revealed to me that if I serve her faithfully I will be rewarded with the same gifts. I ran errands for her and do whatever she wants me to do and I believe that one day when I mount a pulpit, people will realise that I got something from this woman (Vivi, KI, Charismatic)

Vivi, like others in her position, have the belief that serving a CW who had spiritual gifts comes with some benefits, one of which is the impartation of these spiritual gifts. A distinction needs to be made here between serving to get divine rewards and serving to be imparted. As discussed in chapter five, serving and giving are considered a form of ministry in Charismatic denominations. However, there are those who serve with the aim of reaping some tangible physical rewards such

as jobs, good marriage partner, and children and so on, while there are those who serve in order to receive the spiritual gifts of the person they are serving. Vivi above falls in the latter group of people who serve to in order to receive gifts such as visions, healing and the like. Such people, mostly young men and women who have the zeal to do God's work come under the total control of CWs and while they may not run errands or undertake certain chores for even their own families, they willingly do so for the CW, as indicated by Adoley's grand nephew's case. The use of spiritual possession and use of spiritual power is also very central in Charismatic tenets and clergymen are equally known to control congregants due to their perceived or assumed possession of spiritual power.

6.4. Silences and Tension: Dynamics in the CWs Use of Power

In this section, I am interested in discussing some of the ways in which the CWs' power can be a source of tension and how this can resort to silencing in some cases.

6.4.1. The CW and her Husband

The first of these tensions to be discussed is one identified between CWs and their husbands. The CWs who shared the experiences discussed below are all from the charismatic denomination. Five (5) out of the fifteen (13) Charismatic CWs interviewed shared similar forms of tension and silences. These tensions arise in situations where the CW has spiritual gifts as has been discussed above. Frequent and constant requests for the CW by church members, invitations from other congregations, sometimes with invitations from abroad to preach and minister to churches can create tensions between the clergyman and his wife, if the husband does not have these spiritual gifts.

As discussed above, CWs who have spiritual gifts are sought after and have power because of their gifts. The issue, therefore, is that CWs who have these gifts will turn the congregants away

from the clergyman which will translate into a loss of power for the clergyman. However, while husbands call this “concern”, the wives interpret it as “jealousy”.

In an interview with a clergyman, there was a perception of encroachment and usurpations of the powers of the clergymen by CWs who had spiritual gifts. He expressed his view thus:

You can lose your church to a spiritually powerful wife. Let me tell you in the spiritual realm there cannot be two heads in one space. That is why John the Baptist had to lose his head when Jesus arrived. There can never be two masters in a boat. Perhaps for all you know it was even the anointing of the husband that rubbed off to the wife but you the man can easily lose your power to your wife. If the wife gets imparted and there is a problem, she might start her own congregation. If that happens, the pastor will lose respect and members because your number one supporter has told the world you are not worth the respect and the church. It might sound controlling, but a wife who starts exhibiting those gifts must be checked (Eben, KI, Charismatic).

The view of Eben indicates that a CW who has spiritual gifts can pose a danger to the power of the clergyman. According to Eben, such a wife should be controlled and one way of doing this is by silencing. The story of Eunice below indicates a case of silencing the CW:

I started morning devotion and had about 30 members. One day, he took a chair and sat in front of the house and embarrassed everyone, especially men, who came for the devotion. He told them that this house has an owner and that was him, not me and that he even had power over me and so they shouldn't come here again. One time when I was ministering to someone he came shouting that I should stop that and so I eventually did. Then I moved on to start a women's ministry. We had been operating for some time and eventually decided to inaugurate the group. This man sat and watched us put all arrangements in place, even share fliers. Then a week before the programme, he told me to cancel the programme because he has decided to host his own harvest that week. I cried, my sister. That was the end of this group too (Eunice, 44, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

Eunice's experience tells the story of a CW who was silenced because of the perceived danger she posed to her husband's ministry and power. The home was one place which was used to silence and control perceived powerful wives. It is noted in that the domestic or private space, the wife is essentially deemed as a wife. She is expected to play her roles and when there are visitors she is

expected to serve and welcome them. In stances when there were assistance at home, the wife is expected to supervise them to serve. It was further found that a CW deemed to be powerful was put in “her place” by the husband’s insistence on her performance of domestic duties and sometimes meting out verbal abuse and making denigrating comments about her appearance, intelligence and spiritual gifts in front of domestic servants and the children.

. It is worth noting that while the five women who shared this experience are unhappy about this situation and other related incidents which they clearly articulated as being abusive during our interview sessions, they are also in full support of their husbands’ ministry and did not show any indication of leaving the marriage. They were rather interested in negotiating and co-operating with their husbands in ways which will accrue to both their benefits, as illustrated by Martha below:

I want to work at it. If he says stop, I stop. I am willing to do what I have to do to make this marriage and this church work, for all our benefits, even if that means putting an end to my organisation (Sally, 40, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

The CWs are resilient in their stance to stay in the marriage because they hold the belief that they have been called for a higher purpose and their current situations are meant to detract them from their goals. This belief is channelled through their counseling sessions and in their preaching where CW impress on other women to remain patient and fulfill their spiritual mandate by staying in abusive mariages.

I know why I have been called and it is difficult to sometimes submit to such a man who does all these things to you. But the man, the one who has called you says you should submit. You know what you are doing and you also have to understand that he is a man and although he is the man of God, the devil can use him so it is even in instances like this that you the wife have to be strong and intercede for him. You must also know that we do not wrestle against flesh and blood so you sometimes have to understand the spiritual dimension. Foolishness is foolishness, I know and me I will tell you when you are being foolish but you also have to know when

something is an attack. This is why I always tell the other women to be patient and wait on the Lord (Martha, 45, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation).

Martha's sentiments are in line to what Jane Soothill writes about wives in Charismatic denominations in general. Soothill (2007) notes that: "the wives of charismatic ministers tend to present themselves as the epitome of selfless service, submission, and self-sacrifice, in relation not only to their husbands but also to their husbands' congregations" (2007:166). It has been recorded that the theology on female submission, which features prominently in Charismatic teaching comes with a somewhat different consequence. While Protestant and Pentecostals stress the heavenly reward for submissive wives, Charismatics teach that such submissiveness has earthly rewards and it is "presented as a strategy to achieving personal success" (Soothill, 2007:116). In other words, the CWs who are undergoing silencing in this present study can endure any treatment submissively so long as it is seen as a means to an end. Indeed, Martha makes excuses for her husband's abusive behavior by attributing her husband's behaviour to a spiritual cause, thereby absolving him of his behaviour.

I also picked on another reason that functions as the "staying factor". All the five women indicated that they have toiled to build the churches with their husbands and were now reaping the benefits that accrue from their investment. In such a situation, therefore, the cost-benefit analysis will serve as a staying factor since the cost of leaving is much heavier than staying.

I am not going anywhere. I have struggled together with my husband to build this ministry and the time for reward has just opened up. What will I get if I leave? I will stay and continue to help him build the church. I told him the last time to get used to me because I am going nowhere (Tricia, 48, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

CWs like Tricia are aware that their power and position as people of consequence is by maintaining the patriarchal order. She rationalizes that her gains are more secured if she stayed in the marriage. Tricia intends to stay and "help him build the church" just as political first ladies are bound to

maintain the “patriarchal and middle-class interest” for their own self-preservation (Aubrey, 2001:103).

Furthermore, the fear of being stigmatized serves as a reason for the CWs to stay in the marriage. The reification of clergymen, especially in Charismatic dispensations means that any other person who tries to humanize them, even their wives becomes an enemy.

If I leave, I will become a bad person. Nobody will bother to hear my side of the story. Do you know about Duncan-Williams and his first wife’s story? The same will happen and he will continue to move on as Papa of the church and I will be the one under attack (Sally, 40, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregation).

The reference to Duncan Williams ex-wife, already discussed in chapter 3 shows Sally’s fear of being labelled as a “bad woman”, hence her decision to stay. Indeed, some of the clergymen have an army of loyal church members who rise to their defense in all situations and the scenario of a vulnerable estranged wife in the hands of these devotees is enough to scare any wife whose image preservation is paramount to her existence.

The dissimilarity between the political first lady and the CW needs to be drawn here. In the world of political parties and elections, the formation of women’s groups, para- organisations and other philanthropic activities of the first lady are considered germane to the popularity and total gains of the political party and its consequent performance in winning power. The activities of first ladies are thus encouraged (Mama, 1995). In the so-called democratic political countries, power is contested every agreed number of years (four, in Ghana) and a political party must do everything possible to curry favour with the electorates. Every strategy put forth to achieve this end is welcomed and an overly involved and popular wife as in the cases of Mrs. Agyeman Rawlingsof Ghana and Mrs. Babangida of Nigeria, already discussed in chapter three are perfect examples of such scenarios. Indeed, in Mrs. Babangida’s case, a state body that had been instituted for women’s

welfare, “The National Commission for Women” had its leaders brutalized, assaulted and arrested for no tangible reasons other than that it rivalled the first lady’s organisations (Mama, 1995). However, in the church, an overly popular wife is found as a danger to the establishment. The clergyman’s claims to traditional authority, one derived through a divine being, God puts him above all others in the church. All the attention, therefore, needs to be focused on the clergyman who maintains this power through his interpretation of the divine word and may perform other miracles also interpreted as divine. A powerful wife, and a woman at that, detracts attention from the subject of veneration; the clergyman. Granted, while the wife’s activities could win members to the church, her activities are not expected to overshadow the man but rather build-up to his ultimate success. Thus, while the concept of Femocracy is helpful in capturing how the CW accesses and uses power, the finding of the study indicates that further studies and concepts are needed to understand how women can use obtain and use power ‘safely’, devoid of its gendered trappings.

6.4.2. The CW and Assistant Clergy

The second area of tension in the CWs use of power is between the CWs and assistant pastors in the church. This power dynamic was found among Pentecostal and Charismatic CWs. Although some Protestant CWs complained about assistant clergy or church elders such as catechists, they noted that such attacks are mostly directed towards their husbands and not the wives. The tension point is the assistant pastors’ accusation of overbearing and powerful CWs and the CWs accusation of disrespectful subordinates. This tense power relationship between CWs and assistant pastors is evident from the snippets below.

Some of them are very respectful and loyal and nice, but others too are disrespectful and think they have the power here. They don’t know how we have suffered. They think we are equal. I told one of them that one day someone will do the same thing to you. They feel that they know all your secrets because sometimes they will be

the ones bringing the women to your husband so how will they respect you? (Hert, 38, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

Some young pastors can be very disrespectful. They even gossip about you the wife to other members. They try to make people see that you are too powerful or overbearing or troublesome. I have experienced these pastors on so many occasions (Amanda, 60, CW, Large Pentecostal) Congregation

To begin with, the woman is strong-willed and influential so she controls her husband. She has too much power. Some of the things, when Papa (referring to the pastor), says it, you know that this is mama's words in papa's voice. If an issue happens, she will intentionally put the words in her husband's mouth and he will come and insult us as if we are children. You can easily tell that this one the woman is in control. But still, if she sees that you have become too close to pastor, trouble (Ben, KI, Charismatic).

Sometimes our pastor's wife behaves as if she is struggling over her position with someone. I look at her and think, this is your church, and you don't have to fight for space. Sometimes she can frown the whole time and not talk to any of us Junior pastors (Akvesi, KI, Charismatic).

For CWs, the affinity provided by marriage gives them an assurance of sharing private space and being in a relationship with the source of power, that is, the clergyman. On the other hand, assistant pastors also tend to work closely with the senior clergymen, sometimes attending programmes and other places without the wife. They can also serve as personal assistants and are constantly in contact with the clergyman. This close relationship between clergymen and their assistant pastors may gradually push the wife to the margins and limit the CW's access in some circles and matters. This sets the scene for struggle for space and control. Moreover, as Seki indicated above, when the clergyman has extra-marital affairs, it can sometimes lead to a lack of respect from subordinates, as assistant pastors may have the information they consider vital to the image of the clergyman and his wife. Assistant pastors may then assume an air of authority knowing that the information they have give them power over the CW since they can blackmail the clergyman and his wife. However, there is also indignation on the part of assistant pastors perception of the control some CWs have over their husbands. In order to maintain their position, CW may apply the full rigor of their power as in the case below.

I sacked one pastor in a church, even in the absence of my husband. I couldn't take the disrespect anymore. My husband was not around and I preached that day. After, the preaching, he took the microphone, and practically re-preached my sermon, as if to say I did not do it well. For about 20 minutes he went on and people kept murmuring. Right after church, I told him he was no longer a pastor in the church. When my husband came back he tried to come and beg but my husband told him my decision will stand. Already we had been reliably informed that this guy was the leader of a group of people in the church who had written an anonymous letter that an elder or pastor should be in charge in pastor's absence, not his wife. Since that incident, all the others started behaving well (Eunice, 44, CW, Medium Charismatic Congregations).

Louise's story provides a good insight into not just her power as a CW, but also the tense power relationship between the CW and assistant pastors. The disrespect felt by Louise led her to take the severe action of sacking the assistant pastor, even in the absence of her husband. Her action is also a statement of her power as the next in line in the absence of her husband, which according to her has caused the other pastors to stop misbehaving. Her story also shows the dislike of the idea that the pastor's wife should be in such a position of power by some members. According to Louise, these members, led by the assistant pastor had taken their grievances further by writing an anonymous letter to the effect that the arrangement should be changed. It should also be noted that the husband, in supporting his wife's decision, acknowledges her authority as the one in charge in his absence.

6.4.3 The CW and leaders of groups

The final form of contestation according to CWs originated from the groups they led, especially the women's group in the church and this run through all the denominations. Perhaps, this is to be expected as a majority of CWs indicated that leadership of the women's group was the role they found most challenging.

The women are always fighting you. They think that you have too much power as the leader. They don't know that leadership comes with a lot of responsibilities. Sometimes they go behind you to have meetings and to gossip about your

leadership skills. Some of the battles even move from the physical to the spiritual realm (Adelaide, 45, CW, Medium Protestant Congregation)

We were transferred to a church where because of a little disagreement, the leader of the women's organisation and her assistant had been suspended. It naturally fell on me to take over because the women's group was disintegrating. Some of the members started gossiping that I just came and that I was becoming too powerful, then I started getting sick. I just left their organisation for them (Amanda, 60, CW, Large Pentecostal Congregation)

When you are the leader of the women's group, they feel you have too much power. Over time, they may begin to fight you. Some send anonymous messages of threats, insults and all sorts of things. Everyone wants a taste of power so they will fight you (Tricia, 48, CW, Large Charismatic Congregation)

From the information provided by the CWs above, there is an indication that there are contestations that arise from their leadership roles, specifically as leaders of the women's group in the church. Spiritual attacks, which have hitherto not featured in the other two contestations discussed above, play a central role in this realm of contestation. There is a belief by the first two CWs that their possession of power could lead to not just physical contentions but also spiritual attacks. Amanda interpreted her sickness as a direct result of the fact that she was becoming too powerful although she was new in the church.

6.5. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter set out to answer three main questions. These were: How do CWs get power? 2. How do we know CWs have power? and 3. What are some of the contestations in the CWs' use of power?

In answering the first question, I found that CWs generally access power through their connections with their husband. This is the idea that CWs are powerful or have power because of whom they are married to. However, in Charismatic denominations, it was also found that such powers could be furthered through the hierarchy of the wife in terms of her being in charge in the absence of her

husband, the opportunity to preach on Sundays on the “main” pulpit and their access to an army of staffers, including assistants, guards and other volunteers.

On the second question of how the power of CWs is manifested, I discussed four points, which include; their positions as mothers, their leadership roles, their ability to serve as role models and their possession of spiritual gifts. I discussed that these four ways are means through which the CW can influence, change or resist change in the church. However, the possession of spiritual gifts as a manifestation of the CWs power was unique to Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations, but especially heightened and pronounced in Charismatic denominations.

Finally, the chapter looked at the contestations inherent in the possession and use of power by CWs. I examined the tensions that arise in the CWs possession of power, especially in situations where they have spiritual gifts which their husbands do not possess. This could lead to silencing because of the perception that possession of such gifts by the wife can pull the members away from the clergyman. Furthermore, CWs and assistant pastors could have tense relationships, particularly where CWs are considered to be too powerful and where the CWs also considered assistant pastors to be disrespectful and disloyal. Their leadership positions in the church could also result in tensions between CWs and some members.

Clearly, the position of the CW as the wife of the clergyman becomes a vehicle through which she can access and use power. However, the use of this power is not infinite as there can be some contestations and silencing in the use of power.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection to understand the position of the CW in Ghana. I commenced the study on the conviction that the CW occupies a special position as the wife of the clergyman. It was argued that her marital position is different from other women because of her marriage to a clergyman. I presupposed that certain roles and expectations will be expected of the CW and that these can be a source of challenge for the CW. I was of the further persuasion that the position of the CW could also be a source of privilege and space for CWs to access power.

To be able to answer the questions raised in the thesis, I used a mixed-methods approach by employing both quantitative and qualitative research methods. For the quantitative data, I surveyed 134 respondents. SPSS was used to analyze the survey data by drawing frequencies, multiple response sets, and cross-tabulations. The qualitative methods included a focus group discussion of church members and in-depth interviews of CWs and key informants. Data from the qualitative methods were transcribed and analyzed thematically and the responses served to supplement the data for the survey.

The subsequent sections are as follows: Section two provides a summary of the findings of the thesis. Section three outlines the linkage between theory and findings of the research. In the fourth section, I make some conclusions of the work, while section five ends the chapter with a discussion of some of the recommendations for further studies.

7.2 Summary of Empirical Evidence and conclusion

The major findings of the work are presented in chapter five and six of the work. Chapter six analysed the roles, challenges, privilege, and the joys of CWs.

In chapter five of the thesis in I discussed the roles which CWs played in church, the challenges that CW faced and the privileges they enjoyed from the church. On the issue of roles, it was found that there were similar roles played by all CWs in all the different denominations. The survey results indicated that the roles most played by CWs in the church in descending order were: Leading of groups in church, counseling, welcoming and serving visitors, visitations, singing, preaching and cleaning. The roles which CWs played most in church were established in this order. However, there were slight differences within denominations of the roles played by CWs in church. Among the Protestant denomination, more CWs played roles as counselors than in Pentecostal and Charismatic denomination where more CWs indicated that they played roles as leaders of groups in the church. Even with this difference, it was noted that an appreciable number of CWs in Protestant denominations played roles as leaders, with their leadership role placing second in the list of roles they played in church. On the other hand, counseling was the second role most played by CWs. Also, while cleaning CW was the role least role played by CWs, a breakdown within denominations indicated that while preaching was the least role played by CWs in Charismatic denominations, cleaning was the least role played by CWs in Protestant and Pentecostal denominations. Challenges associated with the playing of these roles were also discussed in this section. Two significant insights were drawn from this section. The first was the fact that the role which was played most by CWs, leading of groups, was the one they found enjoyable as well as challenging. A breakdown of groups further indicated that while CWs enjoyed leading groups such as the children's service and Bible groups due to minimal or no conflicts

emerging from such groups. However, the leadership of the women's group was the one they found most challenging because of conflicts and contestations that arose from this group

The next section of chapter five looked at the challenges which CWs experienced as a consequence of their position as CWs. These challenges were not related to the roles they played in church and a CW could face these challenges whether she played or did not play any role in the church. The first of these challenges was what the CWs described as "unreasonable expectations". The most significant of these expectations were raising the perfect family, dressing appropriately and providing financial support to the church. The second challenge discussed was the lack of time from and with husbands, while the last challenge was the constant transfers of husbands. In this second, I found that almost all CWs in this study complained of facing either one or all of the challenges. Expectations of CWs and limited time with and from husbands were universal problems for all CWs in this study. However, constant transfers of husbands were experienced mostly by Protestant and Pentecostal CWs.

The third and fourth part discussed the privileges that CWs enjoyed from the church and the joys they derived for their positions. Privileges, which entailed the special treatments which CWs received from the church were enjoyed by CWs in all denominations with some differences in the specific type of privilege most enjoyed by CWs. All CWs, even within denominations selected Respect as the privilege they received most from the church. However, within denominations, more CWs indicated that they received special seats and respect than the CWs in Protestant and Pentecostal denominations. In the discussions, I found that there were some complexities involved in gift-giving as a privilege enjoyed by CWs. A similar issue discussed in the fourth section is the joys derived for the position of the CW. These are not privileges enjoyed from the church but the inherent benefits that accrue as a result of the fact that they are the CWs. The three top joys which

CWs indicated they derived from their positions were personal growth and fulfillment, learning more about the christian faith and knowing a wide range of people. The ranking of these joys was consistent within all the denominations.

Chapter six of the thesis looked at the power which CWs derived from their position. It discussed the ways in which CWs access power, the ways in which the power manifests and the dynamics involved in the use of power. The first part of the chapter, which looked at the ways in which CWs access power discussed issues such as the hierarchical position of CWs in the church, their preaching appointment in church and their use of assistants and guards. The second section looked at the ways in which the power of CWs manifested discussed issues such as the motherhood position of CWs in church, their role model potentials, their leadership of groups and their possession of spiritual gifts. The final section of the chapter then discussed the dynamics involved in the use of power by looking at some of the contestations between the CW and significant others such as husbands, assistant pastors, and group members. This chapter revealed that CWs indeed get access through their husbands, but with different dynamics. CWs in Charismatic churches were more likely to derive more power through their preaching posts as well as their spiritual gifts. This shows that CW exhibited agency in how they access and use power. Also, in the manifestation of power, it was found that the power of all the CWs manifested through their motherhood positions, the role modeling abilities and their leadership of groups in the church. However, Charismatic CWs could also manifest their power through the presence of spiritual gifts. Finally, it was found that the use of power was not without contestations. It was found that CWs access, manifestation and use of power and its resulting contestations were more pronounced and stronger in Charismatic denomination.

One of the foundational argument throughout the study is the fact that the CW holds a unique position as a wife as a result of the two person career and the greed nature of her husband's calling. The study clearly states in its concluding remarks that indeed the CW is unlike any other wife as a result of her direct but unremunerated involvement in her husband's work. However, in some other ways, the CW is also similar to other wives. The wife of a business executive and the political first lady have been identified as both similar to the position of the CW as both are heavily invested in their husband's career and the first lady especially grows powerful as a result of her husband's position. In this study, the CW who is clearly involved in her husband's work would be quite similar to the Ghanaian business executive's wife. Further, the work cites Mrs. Konadu Agyeman Rawlings, a Ghanaian wife and a one-time first lady of Ghana as a classical example of a femocrat. In the church, Mrs. Francesca Duncan Williams was discussed as a femocrat as well. Some CWs in the study are very similar to the ways in which some political first ladies such as Mrs. Konadu Agyemang drew power from their spouses, their formation of clichés of women that surrounds them and the ways in which the use of such power may go unchecked and unaccounted for, although in the case of the CW, such powers may be silenced or experience tension in use from the husband and other groups in church.

Some similarities as well as dissimilarities can be speculated in the future of all CWs. For almost all CWs, it would seem that the roles which they play as well as expectations associated with the position are likely to be ones that wives will continue to play. This is more probable for CWs in Pentecostal and Charismatic churches where the rhetoric on women's gendered roles are deeply entrenched in the theology and CWs themselves use their various platforms and groups to propagate and teach such message. and However, CWs in Charismatic and Pentecostal churches are more likely to find other avenues to create spaces for themselves and operate in other positions

which are not considered traditional. For instance, the study found that some CWs were appropriating social media platforms to organize groups and followings and hold on-line meetings, services and counselling. For such CWs, the future is one in which they are able to garner following for themselves outside the church.

7.3 Implications for theory

While the findings of the thesis corroborate some of the theories used for this work, it also challenges others. This work is one of the studies that explores the effect of a spouse's career on the spouses' partner. It specifically looks at how being the CWs involved the playing of specific roles, the challenges involved as well as the privileges and power that accrues to the CWs. The data suggest that the CWs play numerous roles in church most of which come with some challenges. The performance of these roles of the CW is as a result of the two-career person nature of the clergy-work. This requires that CWs play active roles and perform some tasks in order for the church, the husband's employment to be successful. This also provides the wife an avenue to enjoy privileges and power. As has been observed, women, CWs in this instance continue to perform unpaid labour in order to make their husbands' work successful. However, CWs also experience challenges because of the greedy nature of the church and the calling of the husband. I found that CWs' complaints of limited time with and from husbands and the expectations from them by the church is a direct result of the greedy nature of the church and the calling of the husband.

The data also suggest that not all CWs fully engage or are willing to play the roles as is expected from them. Some CWs made it a point to make a clear distinction between their private homes and the church by limiting the extension of the roles they played at church into their homes. This was achieved by limiting the level of involvement in playing this role at church. It was rationalized by

such CWs that if they did not show much enthusiasm in playing the role in the church, then it was a clear statement to the church members that the CWs were not enthused about living up to the church's expectations.

Generally, this thesis has shown that CWs have power. However, its access, manifestation, and contestations were stronger and pronounced in Charismatic denominations. As had been argued earlier, the powers are first and foremost derived from the husband, as described by the first lady syndrome. These powers are then furthered by various means, especially in Charismatic denominations. Additionally, especially in Charismatic denominations, some powers of the CW can remain unaccounted for, as is reflected in appointments and demotions of leaders and outright dismissal of others as some participants narrated to have done. I found that the CWs in Charismatic denominations did not necessarily see themselves as contributing to their husband's work but as part of the originators of the establishment. For these CWs therefore, while they saw all the privileges that they enjoyed like other CWs as emanating from their position as CWs, they also perceived that power and privileges they had were as a result of their hard work in assisting their husbands to build the church.

A complexity that emerges out of the discussion is that although some CWs see themselves as equal contributors to the development of the church, the fact remains that the establishment was initiated as a result of the husband's calling. This places women in second in command positions, no matter the investment they may have made into building the church. This makes them keenly aware of the precariousness of their position. What this then means is that while they see themselves as originators, there is no doubt that they reckon their husbands as the primary source of power. Hence leaving the men, even in cases where they consider the situation to be unfavourable to them, could lead to loss of privileges and power. Thus, women may be forced into

accepting unpleasant situations in order to maintain power, even as architects of the establishment. I have already indicated that dissimilarity could be drawn between the political first lady and the CWs who also mimics the position of the first lady in the ways in which power that women draw from their husbands operate. In the realm of politics, a femocrat is a welcome figure since her popularity accrues to her husband and the political parties. In this work, the data seem to indicate that an overly popular or powerful CW is silenced, especially if she makes claims to divine gifts. This is because it challenges the very basis of her husband's power and claim to divine authority not just over the congregation but even his wife. This points to the fact that religion can be deeply patriarchal and the claims that Pentecostals and Charismatics provide spaces for women's spiritual experiences must be interrogated, as women's higher spiritual experiences and encounters of the divine might be silenced.

Moreover, CWs just like Ghanaian women are not universal due to some denominational differences. However, CWs are not exempted from the gendered expectation placed on a Ghanaian woman. CWs are first and foremost expected, like almost every Ghanaian woman who is married, to succumb to her husband, even if she is more spiritually gifted than her husband. Again, CWs are also expected to possess certain cultural and Christian acceptable qualities of a "good" woman. As was copiously discussed in chapter three, page a woman who was selected as CW was expected to be an embodiment of morality and that expectation continues to be expected of a CW. The expected utopian is that the CW be an "appropriate woman in terms of behaviour and appearance" and then to further pass on such values to other women in the church and society at large.

Finally, there is a need to also pay particular attention to women's roles, especially the private/public dichotomy of women's roles. This is because as the data for the study seem to suggest, the lines between the two can be easily blurred. For instance, a significant question which arises is; what space is the CW occupying when she leads groups, organises programs in the church in order for the church and its activities to thrive? Is she engaging in public or private work? This is important because such imprecise definitions and classification of women's roles affect the ways in which their works are perceived and rewarded in relation to men's.

7.4. Limitations of the Study

This work does not purport to provide a complete compendium on the life of CWs in Ghana. Its main focus was to investigate the roles, challenges, and privileges of the CW on one hand and the power dynamics inherent in the position on the other. The work was therefore not able to examine the ways in which CWs handle their challenges and difficulties and the various ways in which they arrange their lives in order to be able to fully execute their expected roles. Again, the sample means that any generalization must be cautiously done .

Finally, an interesting phenomenon observed was the ways in which CWs use both traditional and social media to form groups. These groups could have both Christian and secular names and mostly have women as its members. Others have programs on Television and other social media platforms such as Facebook and Whatsapp with an appreciable number of followings. It is important that such spaces are investigated in order to understand the theology and motives underpinning these groups and programs and how they convolute to either support their husband's ministry or otherwise create spaces for themselves outside their expected spheres of operations.

7.5. Recommendations and Implications for Further Studies

While this study does not make a particular claim for policy formation, it is important that churches begin to pay critical attention to the position of the CW. This is because the study has shown that they play significant roles and are faced with challenges in playing these roles. Further, as a space for the production and use of power, it is important to further interrogate the nature of this power and the extent to its use in order to prevent abuse of such powers. This is important in the wake of recent calls for government by the population to investigate and make laws to combat activities of some churches, clergymen and by extension their wives.

While most churches have CWs groups where CWs meet on designated dates and times to discuss issues germane to their position. Others also have training session for CWs before they actually marry Clergymen. While these can be seen as progressive move, there seem not to be any established system that pays attention to the CW wife in terms of what she represents, challenges encountered and other support systems such as professional counseling services. It is important that such services are provided for CWs who may need it from time to time as a result of the stresses they encounter in their work. It is also important that the church begins to have conversations about ways to remunerate the wife because of the intense involvement in her husband's work.

This study has sought to fill the gap in the understudied area of the position of the CW. One interesting space that this study opens up is the position of men married as clergy-husbands. Such a study will be important in our understanding of the complex nature of the marital dyad and gender and to investigate whether husbands are likely to be heavily invested in the wives' work as wives do for them. It will also be interesting to further understand if clergy-husbands have to navigate the same challenges, endure the same strains as well as enjoy the same privileges and power as CWs do in their position.

The study also unlocks an avenue to further interrogate women's access and use of power. While various works are replete with empirical evidence of the various ways in which women accessed power in pre-colonial times and their loss of these powers in post-colonial dispensations, there are gaps in ways in which women are now carving and appropriating other spaces as spheres of power. Because it has been established that women are not a homogeneous entity, there is the need to begin to pay critical attention to women in different settings and their access, and use of modern institutions or even their reinvention of traditional spaces and institutions for power.

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APPENDIX I- ETHICAL CLEARANCE



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

31st January, 2019

My Ref. No.....

MS. Abena Kyere
Institute of African Studies
University of Ghana
P O Box LG 73
Legon. Accra

Dear Ms. Abena Kyere

ECH 120/17-18: For God and Man: A Study of the Clergy-Wife

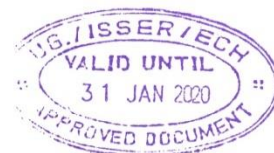
This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 31/01/20
On Agenda for: Initial Submission
Date of Submission: 27/04/18
ECH Action: Approved
Reporting: Bi-annually

Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof. C. Charles Mate-Kole
ECH Vice Chair



Cc: Prof. Akosua Adomako Ampofo, Institute of African Studied, UG
Prof. Daniel Avogbedor, Institute of African Studied, UG

Tel: +233-303933866

Email: ech@ug.edu.gh

APPENDIX 11-PROTOCOL CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



Official Use only
Protocol number

Ethics Committee for Humanities (ECH)

PROTOCOL CONSENT FORM
In-depth Interview

Section A- BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Title of Study:	FOR GOD AND MAN: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE CLERGY-WIFE
Principal Investigator:	ABENA KYERE
Certified Protocol Number	

Section B-CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

General formation about Research

I am Abena Kyere, a PhD candidate at the Institute of African Studies (IAS), University of Ghana. I am conducting a study on the position of clergy- wives (popular known as Pastors' wives) in Ghana. I make the assertion that these women occupy special positions in the society because of the kind of men they are married to. Their peculiar positioning, I assert, comes with expected responsibilities, roles, privileges, and are ripe with various power dynamics. The study specifically examines the ways in which clergy wives arrange their lives in conventional patterns given the special position they occupy. It does this by investigating issues of role expectations, power dynamics and privileges inherent in this position. My study will use a combination of methods, namely: survey, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions.

This consent form which you will read or will be read to you, is to show that you have been informed about this study and are willing to be part of the project. After reading, depending on your preference, you will also be asked to sign or thumbprint the consent form. I will give you a copy of

this form for your personal records. In case you find words in the consent form that you are unfamiliar with, kindly draw my attention to it for further explanation.

The purpose of this study is to elicit information from clergy-wives, clergymen and other stakeholders. The information provided in this study is important because it brings together a comparative study of the clergy-wife experiences with the aim of interrogating how these women negotiate their lives, the inherent challenges as well as power relations involved in this position. It will also provide avenues for further research into the field. So, we will have conversations on specific issues raised in the study.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be interviewed for about forty-five minutes. To allow me to capture details of the conversation accurately, I will use a tape recorder for the conversation and also take field notes. In case, there is something that you do not want me to record, kindly tell me and I will pause the recording and continue when you ask me to do so. No medical tests will be conducted in this study. A total of 35 participants comprising clergy-wives, clergymen as well other stakeholders will be interviewed.

Benefits/Risk of the study

There are no risks associated with your participation in the study. The interviews will not ask questions that will affect you emotionally, physically or in any other way. I will not pay any money for your participation but when the findings of the study provide information on clergy-wife, it will be of benefit to the whole country including individuals such as you.

Confidentiality

I wish to assure you that all information given is solely for academic purposes and will be treated as confidential. Your name and address will not be recorded on your interview guide and you will not be named in any write-up I may have on the study. Your biographical data will be kept confidential. Pseudonyms will be used in the write up. The research records will be kept securely at the Institute of African Studies and the Balme Library. However, other students, faculty and other researchers may refer to the thesis that will be produced out of my interactions with you.

Compensation

This research does not offer any compensation in cash.

Withdrawal from Study

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged to answer all questions. You may choose not to answer a question or choose to stop the interview altogether if you so desire. If you choose to stop the interview, all responses you have already provided will be deleted from the tape. The study is an ongoing discussion and therefore, the researcher will notify you of any new information on the study and if you are willing to participate, arrangements will be made to collect more data from you.

Contact for Additional Information

After our interview, if you have any additional questions about this research or any concerns regarding the study you may contact me, Abena Kyere on 0246142348 or chirehabi@gmail.com or

Dr. Edward Nanbigne. Institute of African Studies. P. O. Box LG 73 University of Ghana-Legon
nanbigne@gmail.com or 024 465 0661

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant in this study you may contact the Administrator of the Ethics Committee for Humanities, ISSER, University of Ghana at ech@isser.edu.gh / ech@ug.edu.gh or 00233- 303-933-866.

Section C-VOLUNTEER AGREEMENT

"I have read or have had someone read all of the above, asked questions, received answers regarding participation in this study, and am willing to give consent for me, my child/ward to participate in this study. I will not have waived any of my rights by signing this consent form. Upon signing this consent form, I will receive a copy for my personal records."

Name of Volunteer

Signature or mark of volunteer

Date

If volunteers cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of witness

Signature of witness

Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent

Date

APPENDIX 111- QUESTIONNAIRE

FOR GOD AND MAN: A STUDY OF THE CLERGY-WIFE

Survey Questions

SECTION I: Biographical Data.

1) What is you and your husband's age as at 31st January 2018?

Husband	Wife
1	1 Below 30 yrs.
2	2 31 yrs-40 yrs.
3	3 41 yrs-50 yrs.
4	4 51 yrs-60 yrs.
5	5 60 yrs and above.

2) What is you and your husband's educational level as at 31st January, 2018?

Husband	Wife
1	1 No education.
2	2 Primary.
3	3 Junior High School.
4	4 Senior High School.
5	5 Technical/Vocational.
6	6 Tertiary (Degree, Masters, PhD).

3) Occupation:

- Formal (employed)
- Formal (self-employed)
- Informal (employed)
- Informal (self-employed)

4) Nationality: _____

5) Number of children: _____

6) Number of years married to spouse:

- Below 5 yrs.
- 6-10 yrs.
- 11-15 yrs.

- 16-20 yrs.
- Above 20 yrs.

7) Was your spouse in ministry before you married him?

- Yes
- No

8) Church denomination:

- Protestant (Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist)
- Pentecostal (Pentecost, Apostolic, Assemblies of God)
- Charismatic

9) How long have you been a member of your current church?

- Under 5 yrs.
- 6-10 yrs.
- 11-15 yrs.
- 16-20yrs.
- Above 20 yrs.

10) Were you married into this denomination?

- Yes
- No

11) Were you married into this branch or this is your parent branch?

- Parent branch.
- Married in.

12) Are or were any of your parents a clergy?

- Yes
- No

SECTION III: Residential arrangements.

13) What is the residential arrangement of the family?

- Own House.
- Church residence.
- Rented by church.
- Rented by family.
- Share cost between family and church

14) What is the distance from your house to the church?

- Less than 500 meters.
- 550m-1km.
- 1.5km-5km.
- 5.1km- 10km.
- More than 10km.

15) Does the location of residence to the church affect the family in any way?

- Yes
- No

16) If above is yes, please indicate how?

- So close we have too many visitors
- So close we able to attend all services
- So far we have less visitors
- So far coming to church is a problem
- Other

17) How often do people come to the house to see your husband for his services?

- Daily.
- Weekly.
- Bi -weekly.
- Monthly
- Bi-monthly
- Other (Please specify)

18) What kind of service (please tick as many as applies)

- Prayers.
- Counseling.
- Discussion of church matters.
- Others (specify).

19) Does your husband often stay at home?

- Yes
- No

20) If yes, how often does he stay at home?

- Once in a week.
- Twice in a week.
- More than three days in a week.
- Other (Specify)

21) Does your husband assist when at home?

- Yes
- No

22) If yes, please tick **all** of the following household work which your husband undertakes when at home.

- Cooking.
- Taking care of children (carrying, bathing, help with homework, feeding etc).
- Cleaning (sweeping, dusting, scrubbing).
- Laundry (washing of clothes).
- Shopping for the house.
- Taking children to school.
- None of the above.

23) Do you have extra help to assist at home besides your husband?

- Yes
- No

24) Who is this person?

- Your relative.
- Spouse's relative.
- Hired help.
- Church volunteer(s).

SECTION II: Ministerial Data.

25) How long has your husband been in ministry?

- Under 5 yrs.
- 6-10 yrs.
- 11-15 yrs.
- 16-20 yrs.
- Above 20 yrs.

26) Approximately what is the combined adult membership of the church?

- Below 100 people.
- 101-500 people.
- Above 501 people.

27) Which of the following applies:

- Husband owns church
- Husband co-owns the church
- Husband has been employed by the church
- Husband volunteers to work for the church

28) How heavy is his schedule?

- Light.
- Heavy.
- Very heavy.

29) How often does your husband travel?

- Daily
- Weekly
- Bi-weekly
- Monthly
- Bi-monthly

30) Are you an ordained clergy yourself?

- Yes
- No

31) If Yes, were you ordained before or after your husband?

- Before
- After

32) Are you a member of any group(s) in your husband's church?

- Yes
- No

33) If yes, please indicate group.

- Women's Org
- Sunday school.
- Youth Org.
- Choir.
- Counseling Group.
- Bible study Group.
- Other (specify). _____

34) Did you volunteer to join the group?

- Yes
- No

35) If no, how did you join the group?

- I was asked to lead by church members.
- Spouse suggested I lead.
- Felt obliged to lead as clergy-wife.
- Other (specify). _____

36) Do you feel obligated or pressured to engage actively in most church activities?
 Yes
 No

37) Do you readily engage in church activities?
 Yes
 No

38) Kindly give reason(s) for your answer.

39) How would you describe your involvement in your husband's ministry?
 I am in the background, supporting.
 I am a team worker, actively sharing in his ministry.
 None of the above.
 Other (specify). _____

40) What motivates you to be involved in your husband's ministry? (tick all that apply).
 I have a desire to contribute through useful work.
 I believe in the purposes of the church.
 I believe I have been called to be a pastor's wife.
 For the sake of Christian service.
 Congregation expects my involvement.
 My husband expects my involvement.
 No one else is willing or trained to do what I do.
 Other (specify) _____

SECTION IV: Roles, Challenges and Privileges.

41) Do you feel that you were well prepared to take up this position?

- Yes
- No

42) Before you became a clergy-wife, did you have any expectations of what a clergy-wife's life would be?

- Yes
- No

43) If yes, please give a list of these expectations (**tick all that applies**).

- Sing in church.
- Cleaning.
- Lead groups (Women's group, Sunday Sch., choir, evangelism team, Bible study group, etc)
- Visitations.
- Welcome and serve visitors
- Financial well-being
- Preferential treatment (special seat, accorded respect, etc)
- Others (specify).

44) If _____ no _____ please _____ explain.

45) How different is your position now from your expectations before?

46) In your position now as a clergy-wife, what are some of the roles you play most in church? (**Please select all that apply**).

- Sing in the church.
- Welcome and serve visitors.
- Visitation (Visit church members)
- Lead some groups (Women's group, Sunday Sch., choir, evangelism team, Bible study group, etc)
- Preach.
- Cleaning the church.
- Counselling.
- Other (Specify) _____

47) What roles or activities do you enjoy doing most? (**Please select all that applies**)

- Sing in the church.
- Welcome and serve visitors.

- Visitation (Visit church members)
- Lead some groups (Women's group, Sunday Sch., choir, evangelism team, Bible study group etc)
- Preach.
- Cleaning the church.
- Counselling.
- Other (Specify) _____

48) Do you find some roles more challenging?

- Yes
- No

49) Please tick the ones you find more challenging.

- Sing in the church.
- Welcome and serve visitors.
- Visitation (Visit church members)
- Lead some groups (Women's group, Sunday Sch., choir, evangelism team, Bible study group etc)
- Preach.
- Cleaning the church.
- Counselling.
- Other (Specify) _____

50)What do you expect from the church?

- Respect
- Financial support
- Privacy for my family
- Respect for my personal space
- Other (specify)_____

51)Do you belong to any clergy-wife association?

- Yes
- No

52)If yes how often do you attend meetings of the association

- Once a year
- Twice a year
- Thrice a year

53)Which are you most likely to use **(select only one)**

- Professional counselor
- Church counselor
- Read books and audio-visual materials from other pastors

Other (specify) _____

54) Who is a likely role model? (select only one)

An older clergy-wife

God

Bible character (Please state) _____

Secular person (please state profession) _____

55) Do you think you receive preferential treatment compared to other people in the church?

Yes

No

56) If yes, what are some of these treatments?

Special seat.

Treated with respect.

Showered with gifts.

Other (specify) _____

57) As a clergy -wife what are some of the joy of the position you occupy: **(tick the top two)**

I am respected in church and community.

I have come to know or be in acquaintances with a wide range of people.

I am experienced Personal growth and fulfillment as a person.

Teach people a better way of life or the path of God.

The opportunity to learn more about the Christian faith.

Being of service to other people.

Other (specify) _____

58) The problems or conflicts which you encounter are: **(select the top three)**

Little or no privacy.

Lack of time from husband.

Congregational demands.

Lack of time for self and family.

Financial constraints.

Few Personal friends.

Criticisms on my dressing.

Feeling of inadequate

Other (specify) _____

59) In your position as a clergy-wife which department of life are you most likely to experience conflict?

From my spouse

- From the church (Please name specific department, if any)
- Internal conflict/self-censorship
- Other

60) Please explain why you are likely to experience conflict from this aspect of your life

61) Whom are you more likely to discuss your challenges with (**select the top three**)

- Husband
- Parent (mother or father)
- God
- Sibling
- In-law
- Friend at church
- Friend outside church
- A respectable person at church
- Self

62) How do you handle offenses

- I pray
- Confront the offender
- Discuss with husband
- Talk to an older person in the church
- Let it go

63) Who is in charge of affairs at church when your husband is not around?

- Myself.
- Associate pastor
- Church elder.
- Board of directors.
- Other (specify) _____

64) Do you have a **say** in how the church is run?

- Yes
- No

65) Do you **actively** engage in the administration of the church?

- Yes
- No

APPENDIX 1V- FGD GUIDES

For Church Members/Leaders

1. What in your estimation are the expectations and roles of a clergy-wife?
2. Are these roles denominationally based?
3. Does your denomination have these expectations documented?
4. What happens when the CW fails to meet these expectations?
5. Who decides what these roles and expectations should be?
6. Does the congregation put undue pressure on clergy wives?
7. What are some of the challenges that arise from such roles and expectations?
8. Do you think clergy wives can be powerful?
9. What are some of the ways in which these powers manifest?

APPENDIX V- INTERVIEW GUIDES

Guide for Clergy-wife

1. What are some of your roles and responsibilities?
2. Who decides these roles and responsibilities?
3. Do you feel you were adequately prepared to take up the position?
4. How did you prepare yourself?
5. Do you see your husband's work as placing undue pressure on you and your family?
 - a. [Explore different dimensions of the work and the demand it places on the family]
6. Does your husband offer assistance at home?
 - a. [Explore forms of assistance offered and the need for external assistance]
7. How do you handle conflicts?

- a. [Explore forms of conflict and ways that they are managed]
8. Do you feel you are a powerful person?
 - a. [What do they consider as power and situation that are sources of power]
9. Why or why not?
10. How does this power manifest?
11. do you find people (church members) challenging

Guide for KI interviews

1. What are some of the roles and responsibilities of clergy wives?
2. Who decides these roles and responsibilities on you?
3. Do you think they are adequately prepared?
4. What are some of the challenges and tension that arise between clergy wife and people in authority in the church?
5. What are some of the causes of these conflicts?
6. Do clergy-wives have power in the church because of who they are married to?
7. Do you find that the powers of the Clergy-wife can be challenged? How and why?