

1 Article

# 2 The Dilemmas of Monogamy: Pleasure, Discipline 3 and the Pentecostal Moral Self in the Republic of 4 Benin

5 Academic Editor:

6 Received: date; Accepted: date; Published: date

7 **Abstract:** Based on ethnographic research in the Republic of Benin, this article explores how  
8 Pentecostal teachings on marriage and the management of sexual pleasure contribute to shaping  
9 converts' moral selves. For Pentecostals, fidelity towards God, when single, and fidelity between  
10 partners, once married, is presented as the ideal model of partnership to which every Born Again  
11 should aspire. In a context where polygamous unions are socially accepted, Pentecostal pastors  
12 teach that a satisfactory sexual life restricted to the context of marriage is the means to building  
13 successful monogamous unions. However, sexual satisfaction might not always guarantee marital  
14 success, especially when people face problems of infertility. The author suggests that the  
15 disciplinary regimes that these teachings promote contribute to shaping new modes of intimacy,  
16 which are compatible with societal changes, but often contradict extant social norms and ideals of  
17 reproduction. Moral dilemmas arising from this tension are key to understanding how Pentecostal  
18 Christianity shapes the moral self. The article addresses how Pentecostals in Benin navigate and  
19 negotiate cultural continuities and discontinuities in relation to church authority and family life.

20 **Keywords:** Pentecostalism; morality; sexuality; marriage; monogamy; reproduction; infertility.  
21

## 22 1. Introduction

23  
24 In recent years, relations of intimacy in Africa have experienced important transformations.  
25 These transformations can be considered part of a global trend where emotional intimacy is seen  
26 'as the source of the ties that bind' [1] (p. 2). In Africa, as in many other parts of the world, ideas of  
27 romantic love, the pursuit of pleasure and the ideal of a companionate marriage have increasingly  
28 become paramount attributes of 'modern' relationships and forms of personhood [2,3]. These shifts  
29 in contemporary relationships cannot be isolated from broader social, political and economic  
30 processes, such as economic liberalization, international migration and the flows of information  
31 facilitated by mass media. These factors that have contributed to shaping local aspirations and  
32 interpretations of intimacy, based on the cultivation of individualist subjectivities and new forms of  
33 consumption [1-3].

34 The growth of Pentecostal Christianity in Africa, as in other parts of the world, has been part of  
35 the processes outlined above. The proliferation of Pentecostal churches in this continent has  
36 coincided with the implementation of neoliberal policies and the retreat of state power during the  
37 postcolonial and post-cold war era [4-7]. Pentecostalism has been interpreted, on the one hand, as a  
38 reaction to a societal environment of fear, deprivation and lack of confidence in the future caused by  
39 a retreat of the state [5,8]. These churches have been seen as filling a void left by the state in the  
40 provision of social services [7] (p. 53). On the other, their emphasis on conversion, and the need to  
41 'break with the past', has been seen as the vehicle by which people, especially the emerging middle

42 classes, articulate aspirations to 'modernity' [9-11]. By demonizing anything associated with  
43 'tradition', they challenge older forms of authority grounded in rural life, as well as in religious and  
44 political colonial structures [7,9,12]. In doing so, these churches provide new eschatological, spiritual  
45 and moral narratives to re-interpret the world events and things to come [7] (p. 63-66), and establish  
46 new 'sovereignities' that regulate people's subjectivities and their 'affects' [7] (p. 65-67).

47 It is in this area that Pentecostal Christianity in Africa has played an active role in shaping new  
48 patterns of intimacy in people's relationships. Indeed, it has been argued that in their efforts to  
49 transform society according to a Pentecostal ethos, Pentecostal churches have contributed to shaping  
50 ideas of personhood, gender relations, and emotions that are compatible with a neoliberal ethic and  
51 aspirations [8,13-16], which resonate with 'modern' ideals of intimacy [1]. One of the key issues is  
52 how, in a context of global concern with the treatment and prevention of the HIV pandemics,  
53 Pentecostal Christians have played an active role in teaching their congregations how to manage  
54 their marital and sexual lives. To do so, they have relied on the introduction of methods such as  
55 counseling and the publication and distribution of educational literature on these topics [10,16].  
56 These methods have informed the way in which born-again converts learn to express affection in  
57 public [17,18], assimilate ideas of romantic love [19], and train their emotions [20] to achieve an ideal  
58 of companionate marriage. People in churches are encouraged to speak openly about matters of  
59 sexuality, thus transforming local practices of secrecy that prevail in 'traditional' religious contexts  
60 [10,17,21,22]. Moreover, these teachings contribute to a moral reevaluation of social conditions that in  
61 African contexts tend to be stigmatized, such as singleness [23], infertility [24], and the bearing of  
62 children outside the marital bond [25].

63 This article contributes to and extends the body of literature outlined above by exploring  
64 how Pentecostal Christians within the Republic of Benin shape their moral selves through practices  
65 of discipline and self-discipline in their intimate relationships and the management of their  
66 sexuality. I focus on the moral dilemmas that Pentecostal teachings on sexuality bring about and the  
67 kinds of moral choices that Pentecostals are confronted with when they try to follow them. Indeed,  
68 the analysis of moral and ethical dilemmas has been a key concern in the study of Pentecostalism  
69 [26-29]. This is because Pentecostal conversion with its demands to 'break with the past' [11] in order  
70 to be 'born-again' requires a degree of separation or rupture from former social norms and values  
71 and an alignment with new Christian ones [30]. Pentecostal conversion is therefore characterized by  
72 an inherent tension between cultural continuities and discontinuities that derive from this process of  
73 rupture [29-32]. In his study of Pentecostalism in Ghana, Daswani [29] highlights this tension by  
74 bringing together advances in the study of Christianity and rupture with those from the  
75 anthropology of ethics, and defines Pentecostal transformation in terms of ethical practice. He  
76 argues that rupture is always accompanied with ethical disputes and deliberations, where believers  
77 try to discern which aspects of their pasts should be left behind and which ones carried forward.  
78 They examine the compromises they have to make to remain committed Christians [28] (p. 13). Thus,  
79 Pentecostal ethical practice involves three interconnected aspects. The first consists of processes of  
80 discipline established by the church to ensure the continuity of a Christian future. The second aspect  
81 concerns moments of uncertainty, where actors question the parameters established to define what  
82 acceptable Christian practice is and what it is not. The third is what he calls 'acts of philosophical  
83 labor and critical reflection' that intend 'either to alleviate moral ambiguities or to create innovative  
84 positions around which new norms eventually develop' [28](p. 469), [29] (p. 7). Framing rupture as

85 ethical practice, he suggests, allows 'for a better understanding of how people respond to 'an  
86 incommensurability of values and practices internal to Pentecostalism' [28] (p. 468).

87         The moral questioning and dilemmas that happen in the domain of sexuality can be  
88 analyzed in light of some of Daswani's observations and Robbins' [27] theory of morality and social  
89 change.<sup>1</sup> In particular, I am interested in the relationship between disciplinary practices, moments of  
90 uncertainty or ethical deliberations, and people's responses to these moments. Moreover, one also  
91 needs to consider the relational and emotional qualities of Pentecostal transformation [29] (pp. 20,  
92 27), the way it takes place and is achieved through people's relationships with their kin groups, their  
93 immediate family, pastors, church fellows, Jesus and God [28,29,32]. Also, the articulation of  
94 emotional expressions that accompany these relationships, such as bonds of affection, love, shame,  
95 anger or regret cannot be isolated from the analysis of the process by which converts shape their  
96 moral selves. I want to highlight how in cases where people experience conditions such as infertility  
97 that bring a sense of 'disruption to social and family life' [33] (p.201), [34], Pentecostal 'ethical  
98 practice' provides a sense of continuity and hope. I also show how moral failure and discipline open  
99 the possibility of bringing about moral change. At least in matters of sexuality, change is not  
100 exclusively the product of moments of philosophical or critical reflection [29] (p. 7). Instead, I  
101 suggest, moments of moral failure, the disciplinary practices to which converts subject themselves  
102 and/or are made subject to, and the experience of redemption that results from these, are central to  
103 understanding this process. In this case, moral failure and discipline should not be solely seen as  
104 negative aspects of a coercive or restrictive moral order; instead, I want to highlight their positive  
105 and productive potential.

106         In Benin, as in other African countries where polygynous<sup>2</sup> unions are prevalent,  
107 Pentecostals place an important emphasis on prescribing and teaching how to build monogamous  
108 unions where sex is restricted to the context of marriage. These teachings establish disciplinary  
109 regimes that also bring about important moral challenges. It is assumed that a satisfactory sexual life  
110 plays a crucial role in building and maintaining successful Godly intended monogamous unions.  
111 However, in a patrilineal society such as this, where having numerous descendants is highly valued,  
112 a satisfactory sexual life does not always guarantee marital success. This is especially the case when  
113 monogamous couples face problems of infertility. I argue that the moral and ethical dilemmas of  
114 people in these situations reveal certain continuities in the importance of the patrilineage and the  
115 value placed on sexual reproduction to secure its permanence. However, in cases when infertility  
116 threatens this value, Pentecostal ethical practice can provide a sense of personal continuity.  
117 However, this does not mean that the authority of the patrilineage remains unchanged vis-à-vis  
118 Pentecostal values. How people experience moral questioning, the choices they make, and the way  
119 in which they negotiate the tensions between the imperatives of their lineages with those of the  
120 church, are key to understanding how Pentecostal Christianity in Benin brings about moral change  
121 in social norms and values.

122         To develop my argument I will first introduce some general characteristics of marital and  
123 sexual relationships between men and women in contemporary Benin and some of their historical

---

<sup>1</sup> I will discuss this process of moral change in relation to Robbins' [16,17] work in the last part of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Polygyny refers to the union of one man with several wives, whereas Polygamy refers to plural unions in general.

124 transformations. Second, I will present the ways in which Pentecostal teachings try to respond to  
125 contemporary changes by providing specific moral guidelines. In particular, I describe the kinds of  
126 teachings addressed to women and men, and the disciplinary regimes that they create. Third, I  
127 present the challenges that these teachings bring about, especially when people face problems of  
128 infertility. Using the case study of a young couple without children, I present the moral dilemma  
129 faced, and the tensions between a person's patrilineage and the authority of the church. Fourth, I  
130 present what happens in situations where people breach the Pentecostal moral behavior and commit  
131 adultery. I suggest that these moments present key opportunities to effect moral change, and where  
132 disciplinary practices such as public confession play a central role. We will see that these breaches of  
133 moral behavior can be considered essential to shaping people's moral selves at individual and  
134 societal levels.

135

### 136 *1.1 The ethnographic setting*

137

138 The material that I present here was gathered during a period of nineteen months of  
139 ethnographic fieldwork in the southeast of the Republic of Benin, between 2008 and 2010. The events  
140 that I describe happened at the Assemblies of God (AoG), a Pentecostal church in a town that I call  
141 here Ipese.<sup>3</sup> Ipese is a semi-rural town situated in the proximities of the border with Nigeria in an  
142 area with predominantly Yoruba population. This town has a population of approximately 5000  
143 people, and is characterized by the ethnic diversity of its population. Attracted by the burgeoning  
144 commercial activity of its two weekly markets, people from different ethnic backgrounds have  
145 settled in this town over the years. At the time of my fieldwork, the AoG church in this town had a  
146 membership of approximately 300 people, mostly of Gun origin, followed by the Yoruba.

147 In the Republic of Benin there exist a wide variety of Pentecostal churches with diverse  
148 theological approaches. Each of them could be situated somewhere between the continuum of  
149 so-called holiness movement or classical Pentecostalism, and the increasingly popular prosperity  
150 gospel [35] (p. 9). The AoG is the Pentecostal church with most members at a national level. One of  
151 the main features of the AoG in Ipese is that its theology could be seen as closer to a classical  
152 Pentecostal theology, rather than the prosperity gospel. The pastor and fellowship at the AoG  
153 church in Ipese were rather suspicious of prosperity gospel pastors, especially from Nigeria, who  
154 emphasized the importance of material wealth as a testimony of God's blessings. Sermons and  
155 teachings in this church placed particular emphasis on the need to observe a strict moral conduct.  
156 This was particularly the case in relation to sexual practices. I now turn to present some of general  
157 aspects of marital relations and sexual reproduction in Benin.

158

## 159 **2. Forms of Marriage, Sexuality and Reproduction in the Context of Social Change in Benin**

160

161 Throughout history, marital relations in Benin, as in many other parts of Africa, have been subject to  
162 transformations that reflect broader changes in patterns of power, economic relations, gender  
163 inequalities and the assimilation of new cultural ideas [36]. At the beginning of the twentieth century

---

<sup>3</sup> The name of this town and all personal names are pseudonyms. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the people in the Republic of Benin whose collaboration made this research possible.

164 Fadipe [37] described the Yoruba marriage as ‘one of the social institutions (...) which has been most  
165 in a state of flux as a result of the diffusion of foreign ideas and the quick process of economic  
166 growth’ [37] (p. 91). In this quote, Fadipe referred to the influence of European colonization and  
167 Christian missions. Today, this colonial legacy converges with the influence of the Internet, foreign  
168 films, Latin American and Indian soap operas, government’s legislation in matters of family law, the  
169 promotion of women’s rights by international organizations and Pentecostal Christianity.

170 The existence of polygamy in African societies has been subject to contention, debate and study  
171 in religious, governmental and academic circles. Nineteenth century Christian missionaries<sup>4</sup> saw  
172 polygamy as one of the major obstacles to overcome in their efforts to Christianize the population  
173 [38,39]. Many of them condemned this practice as uncivilized, unchristian and immoral [40] (p. 341).  
174 Missionary efforts to establish monogamy as the only form of Christian marriage were supported by  
175 colonial administrations that justified its enforcement by establishing legal frameworks [38] (p. 55).  
176 However, there is also evidence that missionary strategies in establishing monogamy varied across  
177 the continent and denominations, some were more tolerant and permissive of polygyny than others  
178 [38,40] (p. 54), [40] (p. 342-343). This scenario presents some parallels with the current situation in  
179 Benin, as will be seen below.

180 Polygyny has been and continues to be a predominant form of marriage, especially in West  
181 Africa [41] (p. 363), [38] (p. 56). Neither increasing urbanization, which modernization theories  
182 predicted would contribute to its disappearance [41] (p.365), nor missionary efforts have achieved  
183 much to change this predominance. The study of polygamy in patrilineal societies in Africa has been  
184 at the center of classical ethnographies [42-45]. One of the main reasons given to explain why men  
185 seek to enter polygynous unions is to ensure a large progeny [43], or at least to secure one male child.  
186 A large number of progeny allows men to establish their seniority and position themselves within  
187 the social hierarchy as heads of lineages [46]. It secures a so-called ‘wealth in people’ [45]: the  
188 necessary social relations that increase a man’s opportunities to access political and/or economic  
189 power. Among the Yoruba, Gun and Fon in the southeast of Benin having numerous children is  
190 highly valued, despite a trend among younger people to have fewer children. People often say that a  
191 person who has many children is a wealthy person, regardless of her economic status. In Yoruba  
192 language children are often described as precious beads and silver [47] (p. 167), and women are  
193 praised in traditional oral poetry (*oriki*) for providing their husbands with children [48] (p. 213).

194 In a society such as this, sexual relations, the means of reproduction, shape marital relations  
195 and negotiations of sexuality [49] (p. 159). These are often at the center of power struggles between  
196 partners, and raise a great deal of concerns and dilemmas. Due to their capacity to procreate, women  
197 play a central role in the perpetuation of their husband’s lineage. They are seen both as powerful and  
198 dangerous beings that need to be respected and feared [47] (p. 167). As I witnessed in Benin, many  
199 women are well aware of the power they hold vis-à-vis their husbands. Sometimes they use their  
200 sexuality to their own advantage, in particular, to obtain economic rewards from men [50] (p. 153).  
201 In turn, men manifest concern about the fidelity of their partners or wives, and say that only women  
202 know whose child they are carrying in their wombs. A man’s decision to take a second or third wife  
203 is often a painful emotional experience for women. It brings about feelings of jealousy and creates

---

<sup>4</sup> Although the missionary presence in Africa can be traced back to the fifteenth century, it was until the nineteenth century that a systematic approach to missionization took place [30].

204 rivalries between co-wives. Some women in polygamous unions come to terms with their situation,  
205 but many others do not. On various occasions I heard women express with sadness that ‘the human  
206 heart cannot be shared’.

207 Although, in Benin, monogamy tends to be associated with Christian marriages, religious  
208 affiliation alone does not determine the type of marital union. During my fieldwork, I met several  
209 Muslim men who were monogamous. Similarly, different Christian denominations hold different  
210 views and levels of tolerance towards polygamous unions. It is well known that many so-called  
211 monogamous men in Catholic and Methodist churches marry and live with one official wife, but  
212 keep clandestine relationships with other women, who are popularly referred to as *seconde* or  
213 *troisième bureau* (second or third office). Similarly, the Celestial Church of Christ, one of the largest  
214 African Independent Churches in Benin, tolerates polygynous unions on the basis that it is  
215 hypocritical to claim monogamous fidelity, while living in concubinage [38] (p. 57). In contrast,  
216 Pentecostalism is the only Christian denomination that severely condemns polygamy as unchristian  
217 and immoral, and shows no tolerance towards born-again men who decide to take another wife.

218 Moreover, in 2004, monogamy became the only form of union legally recognized in the national  
219 constitution of Benin. This initiative was largely promoted by international NGOs that promote  
220 women’s rights, and by the government’s efforts to appear ‘modern’ vis-à-vis international donors.  
221 The national curriculum in Benin prescribes the teaching in schools of the constitutional law and the  
222 declaration of equal rights between men and women. These ideas are debated in the classrooms and  
223 young people are asking questions about whether polygyny is something that people should  
224 continue practicing. On various occasions, I had conversations with young people who were curious  
225 about how monogamy worked in ‘the West’ and the reasons why people had few or no children.  
226 Nowadays, young people in Benin become sexually active at a young age, and very often a marital  
227 union happens because a girl has already become pregnant. Older generations often complain that  
228 traditional values, such as the importance of virginity at the time of marriage, have been lost, and  
229 they condemn young people’s behavior for their lack of morality [51] (p. 964). These local debates  
230 reflect how in Benin, as in other parts of Africa, idioms of love and ‘affective propriety’ are used to  
231 express generational differences, or assert claims of power or ‘modernity’ [36] (p.15-16). But they  
232 also reflect a sense of loss and concern for what people perceive as ‘lack of moral guidelines’ in a  
233 context of rapid social change. During many conversations, people said with disapproval that  
234 ‘democracy’ and human rights had only caused ‘disorder’, a feeling that seems to be common in  
235 West Africa [7].

236 Pentecostal pastors are well aware of these debates and use their teachings about relationships  
237 to offer ‘new’ moral guidelines. Interestingly, these teachings often draw upon certain ‘traditional’  
238 values to give them Christian meanings. I now turn to explore Pentecostal teachings in relation to  
239 sexual and marital relations.

240

### 241 3. Teaching Women and Men to Manage Sexual Desire within the Church

242

243 Based on Biblical principles, Pentecostals prescribe the observance of chastity and fidelity  
244 towards God while single, and fidelity between partners once married. To achieve this, Pentecostal  
245 churches teach their congregations how to manage their sexual and marital lives in order to build  
246 Godly intended unions, and to lead a good Christian life. Single people are taught to practice

247 chastity and to restrain themselves from physical contact until the marriage takes place. However,  
248 once married, people are encouraged to enjoy their sexual union fully. Although teachings are  
249 directed at both men and women, women's teachings are more prominent. Whereas women's  
250 teachings focus on the management of sexual pleasure, teachings for men focus on the development  
251 of self-control.

252 Teachings for women start when they are young and single. Pentecostal young girls are  
253 encouraged to keep their 'hearts' and bodies pure. Abstinence before marriage holds some attraction  
254 for Pentecostal girls. Women consider that Pentecostal churches provide the education that many do  
255 not receive at home. In everyday contexts, people talk and joke openly but indirectly about sex.  
256 However, many women told me that they do not necessarily receive sexual education. Beginning  
257 marriage as a virgin to marriage does not mean that a Pentecostal girl arrives without knowledge.  
258 Prior to their wedding day, women who are engaged attend meetings for married women, where  
259 elder women advise them on matters related to their marital and sexual lives [21]. Although the  
260 importance of virginity could be considered a form of continuity with 'traditional' values, this is not  
261 necessarily the case. In the past, virginity was very important because it ensured that children born  
262 from a marital union belonged to the husband's patrilineage [37]. However, when a Pentecostal  
263 woman keeps her virginity, she is considered to gain God's favor and to receive his blessings in  
264 reward. Therefore, the honor of woman's virginity no longer falls upon her patrilineage or her  
265 husband's patrilineage. Instead, the blessings and honor fall upon her. Although the value of  
266 virginity is pursued, this is regulated under the authority of the church not the patrilineage.

267 Once a Pentecostal woman is married, she is encouraged to be sexually active and to fully  
268 enjoy the sexual union, as long as it happens within the marital bond. In contrast, among  
269 non-Pentecostal women in Benin, as in many parts of West Africa, the sexual act within marriage is  
270 mostly seen as an act of procreation rather than a pleasurable activity. Women are usually expected  
271 to put up with unsatisfying relations for the sake of looking after children and sex is seen as a duty  
272 that a woman must endure [51] (p. 966-967). Pentecostal women are told that once they are married  
273 the body of a wife belongs to her husband and the body of the husband belongs to his wife.  
274 Therefore, they should always be available to their husbands, and both partners are entitled to enjoy  
275 the sexual act. Moreover, if a woman knows how to please her husband, it will be easier for her to  
276 retain him and to maintain a monogamous household. In this sense, Pentecostal teachings reinforce  
277 the popular idea that men's infidelity is to be blamed on women's behavior and their incapacity to  
278 satisfy their husband's desires [13] (p. 558), [49] (p. 173), [50].

279 At the AoG church in Ipese, teachings on women's sexuality used to take place during the  
280 women group's gatherings every two weeks on Friday. The pastor's wife, maman Jasmine,  
281 organized talks (on topics, such as personal care and hygiene, seduction and sexual performance,  
282 among others) that helped women to live a Christian life. In relation to personal care, maman  
283 Jasmine encouraged women to look after themselves and to be attractive to their husbands. She gave  
284 advice in aspects of intimate health and encouraged women to approach midwives and nurses in  
285 case they had concerns about either their own sexual health or that of their husbands. She also  
286 instructed women in the art of seduction. For example, she advised women to cook their husband's  
287 favorite foods and to give variety to what they cooked. She encouraged them to show their affection  
288 by feeding their their husbands, placing the food in their mouths, removing the bones of their fish,  
289 and making sure that their husbands had a pleasant time while they shared their meal. Although

290 women are taught to dress very modestly in public, she advised them to reserve and wear revealing  
291 clothes in the bedroom. She also encouraged women to be the ones who approached their husbands  
292 to have sexual relations, instead of waiting for the husband's initiation. She finally advised women  
293 to soothe their husbands by offering their bodies whenever they were sad or angry. More  
294 importantly, women were taught to use their sexuality wisely in order to strengthen their marriage  
295 and bring their husbands closer to them. Maman Jasmine used to quote Proverbs 14:1 saying, 'the  
296 wise woman builds her house, but the foolish one pulls it down with her hands.' This way, they  
297 would prevent their husbands searching for, or justifying their extra-marital sexual liaisons.

298 There was a very important personal reason why maman Jasmine took these teachings so  
299 seriously. She told me that at the beginning of her marriage with the pastor, it had been very difficult  
300 for her to be physically affectionate and sexually open. She had grown up in a polygynous  
301 household in Togo. Her father had seven wives, of which five lived in the same compound at her  
302 village of origin. She had grown up being exposed to the jealousies and discussions between  
303 co-wives. Her own mother had left the paternal compound to live in Lome. Therefore, the  
304 relationship between her parents was never close. She never knew what conjugal love was meant to  
305 be. She feared men's behavior, because she had witnessed domestic violence within her own  
306 household. Therefore, once she married, it was very difficult for her to be physically affectionate. As  
307 a result, the pastor often felt frustrated because he felt rejected. But mama Jasmine wanted to please  
308 God. She was determined to be a good Christian wife. She approached the wife of the pastor in her  
309 former church and this woman gave her advice and recommended books to read. Maman Jasmine  
310 educated herself by reading the kinds of books that Pentecostal churches produce on these topics  
311 and sell to their fellowship. One such book, written by a Christian counselor, is called *Le Banquet du*  
312 *Seigneur. Le Super Sexe* (The Banquet of the Lord. Super Sex). The title refers to the act of marital sex  
313 as a banquet, something that is meant to be enjoyable and originally designed by God for that  
314 purpose. After having put in practice the things that she had learnt, she noticed the difference that a  
315 good sexual union had done to her marriage. She knew that many women in the church could  
316 benefit from her own experience and that is why she invested herself in teaching women about their  
317 sexuality.

318 Teachings about the management of sexuality and disciplinary practices for women have a  
319 positive and affective quality. They shape women's emotions through the channeling of sexual  
320 desire and pleasure [20] (p. 354). Women need to practice abstinence when they are single, but in the  
321 marital context, the sexual union is meant to be both fully enjoyed and key to building a bond of love  
322 between husband and wife. Although these disciplinary practices place women under the authority  
323 of the church, they are presented and exercised in a way that holds a certain appeal to women.  
324 Therefore, women subject themselves voluntarily through 'technologies of the self' [52] that involve  
325 ways of dressing, self-care, and seduction. Women's teachings are complemented by those  
326 addressed to men. I now turn to explore the main features of men's teachings.

### 327 328 3.1 Teaching Men to Develop Self-Control

329  
330 Teachings directed to men focus on the development of self-control. In order for a marriage to  
331 be monogamous, Pentecostal men need to steer clear of the temptation to seek other women, and to  
332 avoid succumbing to peer or family pressures. These teachings contradict popular opinions and



333 notions of masculinity based on sexual performance, which predominate in patrilineal societies such  
334 as these [51] (p. 966). It is common to hear men say that polygyny is in African men's blood. They  
335 justify themselves saying that the desire for more than one woman is a natural need that they have to  
336 fulfill [49] (p. 166), and peer pressure encourages monogamous men to seek extramarital affairs [49]  
337 (p. 171). Pentecostal men acknowledge these difficulties. However, for them, their sense of  
338 masculinity is developed in their sense of self-control [53,54]. The Pentecostal men I talked to agreed  
339 that the only way they could manage to do this was by being filled with the Holy Spirit, which is  
340 achieved and cultivated through practices such as prayer and fasting.

341 For example, papa Daniel remembered the bad experiences he had while growing up in a  
342 polygynous household. He had witnessed the jealousy of his father's co-wives, the discord among  
343 their children, and subsequent accusations of witchcraft. Even before his conversion to  
344 Pentecostalism, he had decided that he wanted to be monogamous. He did not want to repeat what  
345 he had experienced as a child. Nevertheless, when he married, he had several secret 'girlfriends' and  
346 owned a flat where he used to entertain them. However, when he became born-again, he decided to  
347 leave this lifestyle behind.

348 One of the major life changes that he described after giving his life to Jesus was precisely his  
349 ability to leave his 'addiction' for women. He compared this to other addictions such as alcohol or  
350 tobacco. He portrayed peer pressure as having played an important role in his previous life, whereas  
351 his current life was one where he was able to withstand this pressure. One of the things that made  
352 him change his mind was that the church often preaches that men who have extramarital affairs are  
353 more prone to contract HIV, or to die due to spells put on them by the women with whom they  
354 sleep. He feared dying young, leaving his wife widowed and his children orphaned. He stressed that  
355 it was Jesus in his life that gave him this clarity of thought and the strength to change his lifestyle. He  
356 said,

357  
358 You see? Temptations are everywhere, in the job, at home, with friends, in the family [...] but the person who has Jesus is different to the one who doesn't have Jesus in his life. It also  
359 depends on the faith and the strength of the faith of each person [...] You always have  
360 temptations. It happens among members of the church, and even between pastors and their  
361 fellowship. But if you really know The One [Jesus] you have received, then you will be  
362 strong [...] Satan will tempt you to see if you are solid, if you can resist. But with prayer and  
363 fasting you can always resist, [temptation] will pass.

364  
365  
366 Resisting temptation is a matter of choice that every Pentecostal has to make and, as papa  
367 Daniel said, everyone is equally exposed. Similarly, the pastor at the AoG in Ipesé admitted that  
368 leading a monogamous lifestyle was not easy, but it was possible, and a man could learn how to do  
369 it. I once commented that it must be difficult to lead a monogamous life, especially when polygyny is  
370 the norm and most of people have grown up in polygynous households. He agreed, but also said  
371 that a person's upbringing does not determine her choices. That is why, he said, it is important to be  
372 filled with the Holy Spirit, and lead a life of constant prayer and fasting, which are essential to  
373 develop self-control. In the case of men, self-discipline, self-control, and being sexually satisfied with  
374 their wives are key elements that allow men to lead a monogamous lifestyle, but more importantly,  
375 they constitute the elements by which Pentecostal men develop their sense of manhood, spiritual

376 strength and power [53] (pp. 264-65), [54] (p. 225). Therefore, most men no longer need to define  
377 their masculinity based on the criteria that non-Pentecostal men do, such as sexual performance.

378 Teachings directed to women and men establish disciplinary regimes that shape intimate  
379 relationships between men and women. In their efforts to build monogamous unions, Pentecostals  
380 focus their attention on building bonds of love and affection between partners [18,19], [20] (p. 31). In  
381 doing so, they also seek to address certain dissatisfaction with polygynous unions, where emotions  
382 such as jealousy and rivalries between co-wives tend to dominate. These teachings demonstrate that  
383 we cannot understand Pentecostal ethical practice in the area of sexuality without paying attention  
384 to people's relational and affective ties [29] (p. 20). Teachings on marriage, the management of  
385 sexuality and channeling of desire are essential to achieving a good Christian life. Although  
386 monogamy provides certain advantages such as avoiding jealousies in the household, there is also a  
387 downside: when a couple cannot conceive a child. I now turn to explore the challenges and the  
388 ethical dilemma of infertility and childlessness.

389

#### 390 **4. The Challenges of Infertility among Pentecostals in the Republic of Benin**

391

392 Cross-cultural studies of infertility have demonstrated that this condition is often experienced  
393 as 'disruption to the anticipated course of life' [34] (p. 388, 390), [33,55], and people develop different  
394 cultural strategies to cope with and make sense of it [34,55]. In a social context like the southeast of  
395 Benin where having a large progeny is important, its opposite, childlessness, bears a great stigma.  
396 Although the consequences of infertility affect women and men, it is women who tend to bear most  
397 of the negative consequences [33,34,55].

398 In Benin, parenthood is a marker of adulthood. As a sign of respect, when a person has a child,  
399 she will be called mother or father followed by the name of their eldest child or their eldest male  
400 child. Those who are unable to conceive are far less respected than those with children; their opinion  
401 is hardly valued or taken into account at family reunions. This is particularly difficult when a  
402 woman is the first wife of a man, since her position within her husband's family is devalued. Women  
403 are severely criticized for being 'barren' and not fully accomplished, as well as very often becoming  
404 targets of witchcraft accusations. However, men do not carry the same stigma. When a couple is not  
405 able to conceive, a man compensates for the lack of offspring by trying to conceive children with  
406 other women. Although women are often seen as being victims of their husbands' infidelities, what  
407 is less often mentioned is the way in which extended families and peer groups pressure men to  
408 engage in sexual encounters outside of the marital bond.

409 The importance of fertility is such that people engage in different methods to secure  
410 offspring, from traditional remedies to Pentecostal prayers. Some people consider that Pentecostal  
411 churches are highly efficacious. In some cases, people convert after having obtained the gift of  
412 fertility from God but this is not always the case. Once women are pregnant, Pentecostals  
413 accompany them in prayer. Miscarriages or hemorrhages during childbirth are attributed to the  
414 work of spirits. Deaths that happen during childbirth are considered some of the most spiritually  
415 dangerous; therefore, it is a moment when women need the most protection via the use of prayer.  
416 However, sometimes, Pentecostal prayers do not work. Unanswered prayers pose serious challenges  
417 to those who cannot conceive. Counter-intuitively, it is probably Pentecostal men who find it more  
418 difficult to cope with infertility compared to Pentecostal women [24] (p. 42). I will now show some of  
419 these difficulties with reference to the case of Florent and Pelagie.

420 At the time of my fieldwork, Florent was a man in his mid-thirties and Pelagie was a woman  
421 in her late twenties. They were married and attended with commitment the AoG church in Ipepe.  
422 Florent, in particular, was a member of the church committee and helped as a Fon translator. During  
423 the five years of their marriage, they had not been able to conceive a child. He indirectly attributed  
424 their fertility problems to family jealousy. His wife had been diagnosed with blocked fallopian tubes,  
425 a condition that in this context is explained as caused by witchcraft. It is believed that relatives 'tie' a  
426 woman's fallopian tubes through 'occult' procedures to prevent a woman from conceiving, and to  
427 block the couple's future. People frequently prayed for the couple for them to be delivered from  
428 malign forces. Pelagie often fasted and prayed alone or in company of other women, especially the  
429 pastor's wife.

430 During a conversation, Florent shyly confessed that this situation had been a great challenge  
431 to his Christian life. He tried to avoid going to his town of origin, because he did not want to hear  
432 criticism. His maternal aunts insisted that he took another wife. He said, 'I love my wife very much  
433 and hearing these comments makes me feel very sad. Besides, it is a sin! Christians are supposed to  
434 attach to one woman and become one flesh.' His wife Pelagie faced similar criticism and difficulties,  
435 as do other women who cannot conceive. She struggled to come to terms with her situation,  
436 however, maintaining virtuous behavior was for her the means to earn God's favor and sustain her  
437 marriage. It was clear that they loved each other. They expressed to each other affection, in the ways  
438 that were taught and encouraged at church. For example, whenever they gave a testimony in front of  
439 the assembly they held hands or, in festive occasions, they wore outfits made of the same fabric.

440 When I asked Florent in which ways this experience had challenged his Christian life, he  
441 said, 'In Benin, a person is not complete if they don't have children. When you die and you don't  
442 have children, people say that you just die like that! You don't have a future; you don't have  
443 someone who will be called 'your son'. Nobody will bury you and represent you after your death.' I  
444 asked if he was concerned about it, and he added:

445  
446 I don't care much about my burial. They can throw my corpse away and let it rot. Those who  
447 don't know Jesus are those who worry about the corpse. We Christians know that the flesh  
448 is just flesh and it will disintegrate. What matters is the soul that goes to heaven.

449  
450 In this case, he was not concerned about the funeral ceremony *per se* or what would happen  
451 if nobody gave him a proper burial. However, he was concerned about not having someone who  
452 would be called 'his son', someone who would bear his name after his death, or would inherit the  
453 house he had built: elements that in this context index the permanence of a patrilineage. When I  
454 asked him how he dealt with this situation, he said, 'I just pray'. He also tried to convince himself  
455 that this was not really important. He said, 'For people, the honor of this world is what matters most  
456 [...] I think God will give me a child and if He doesn't, I cannot worry about this honor.' Florent was  
457 confronted with uncertainty and moral dilemma: to give in to family pressures or to remain loyal to  
458 his wife. He critically reflected about his situation and tried to find an explanation for why he was  
459 facing this challenge. In this case, judgment and discernment were important in his ethical practice  
460 [28] (p. 472). Florent had decided to subject himself to the moral code of the church and to practice  
461 self-discipline through prayer and self-control. This gave him and his wife a sense of hope. In cases  
462 of infertility, it has been suggested, people develop cultural strategies to reframe their

463 understandings of the self and the world [34]. The 'Judeo-Christian ethic' does so, it offers 'shifts in  
464 vision' that enable people to reframe their understanding of themselves and to re-establish certain  
465 sense of continuity [34] (p. 401-402). This happened in the case of Florent and Pelagie.

466 Florent and Pelagie had chosen to live their lives according to the moral guidelines of the  
467 church. Among non-Christian unions, the lack of children justifies the dissolution of a marriage.  
468 However, Pentecostal men and women cannot seek divorce in these situations. Those who cannot  
469 conceive are encouraged to become stronger in their faith, and to use this experience as an  
470 opportunity to get closer to God. As a result, Pentecostals shift the focus of the marital union away  
471 from its merely reproductive capacity and the patrilineage and, instead, place stronger emphasis on  
472 its affective role. Thus, in principle, the centrality of the patrilineage becomes secondary. However,  
473 as I will explain later, this shift is not always achieved. Moreover, because Florent and Pelagie had  
474 chosen to focus on cultivating their marital union and relationship with God, they received strong  
475 support from the church, particularly in the form of prayers and social recognition. They were  
476 considered good Christians. Their social relations within the church offered essential support in  
477 moments of struggle, and eased their efforts to abide to a moral framework. These relationships gave  
478 them a sense of social continuity that counterbalanced the 'disruption' in their patrilineal  
479 relationships.

480 The way in which Pentecostals experience these kinds of moral challenges and the kind of  
481 choices they make are influenced by a person's gender and his or her position within the patrilineage.  
482 For example, Pentecostal women who cannot conceive are usually treated with dignity within the  
483 church and their self-worth is not necessarily questioned. However, things tend to be more difficult  
484 for men. Monogamy limits men's opportunities to secure at least one male offspring and to secure  
485 the permanence of their patrilineages. Florent's anxiety in relation to his death is a clear example of  
486 this struggle. It is not insignificant that he expressed concerns in relation to his death. In Benin,  
487 people who die without having a child are considered to have lived a futile life, no matter how  
488 wealthy, famous, talented or successful they might have been. It is during funerals that most  
489 members of the lineage are reunited, where people judge others as to whether or not they lived life  
490 to the full, and managed to become 'successful' in life [46] (p. 362). His testimony conveys a  
491 negotiated acceptance of his condition and certain assimilation of Pentecostal ideas of the afterlife.  
492 However, his hesitation and concern for not having someone that would be called 'his son' after he  
493 passed away, conveyed concern for not having someone that would ensure the permanence of his  
494 patrilineage.

495 Many men, however, do not manage to overcome the dilemmas of infertility. They end up  
496 giving in to family pressures and committing 'adultery'. I now turn to explore these moments of  
497 moral failure, and the way in which discipline and redemption play a crucial role in shaping moral  
498 change.

499  
500  
501

## 5. Sin, Discipline, Redemption and Moral Change in Benin

502 Whenever a member of the AoG church commits a 'major' sin, such as adultery, they are  
503 required to confess in front of the assembly and are subjected to a period of discipline. A person's  
504 public confession usually takes place during the Sunday service. The person usually explains the  
505 conditions in which such 'sin' happened and manifests her repentance. After the confession,

506 members of the assembly pray for the person, to ask for God's forgiveness. During the period of  
507 'discipline' the person sits at the back of the church and is suspended from her positions of  
508 responsibility within the church. The length of this period can vary from one month to one year,  
509 depending on each individual case, or until the person has demonstrated complete change in her  
510 behavior. When a person concludes the period of discipline, she is reincorporated to her former roles  
511 and into the life of the church. Most Pentecostal churches in Benin have the same kind of disciplinary  
512 practices.

513 During my fieldwork, there were two cases of adultery committed by men. None of these  
514 men decided to marry a second wife. If this had happened, they would have been expelled from the  
515 church. Because these two men repented, they were subjected to discipline. One of them was papa  
516 Elodie, whose period of discipline lasted for more than one year. Papa Elodie used to be a very  
517 devout Christian and an active member of the AoG in Ipele. When I first arrived in Benin, papa  
518 Elodie did not live with his wife, he had a concubine and lived with her in another town. After a few  
519 months he returned to Ipele to live with his wife, he repented and started a period of discipline.  
520 Papa Elodie had one thing in common with Florent: he did not have a male child. He was the father  
521 of a young girl with his official wife, who after the birth of their first child could no longer conceive  
522 any more children. During one of my conversations with his wife, she confessed that this had caused  
523 an enormous strain in their marriage, especially in relation to her in-laws. Her husband's parents  
524 had put a lot of pressure on them to conceive a male child. Papa Elodie was also a successful  
525 merchant and spent large periods of time away from home. It is common that men with strong  
526 economic positions, like papa Elodie, receive strong peer and family pressure to take other wives  
527 [49] (p. 167). This must have happened to papa Elodie.

528 Pentecostal discipline is harsh and committing adultery not only means gaining God's  
529 disfavor but mainly losing face among church members. Therefore Pentecostal men think twice  
530 before giving in to family and peer pressures, especially if they have achieved a position of  
531 respectability within the church. However, having or not having descendants, especially male, has a  
532 strong impact on how men in Benin position themselves in relation to the rest of their kin, and how  
533 they establish themselves as respectable men. In this case, both Florent and papa Elodie were  
534 well-respected members of the church, but each of them decided to respond differently to the same  
535 moral challenge. One possible reason might be that Florent did not have the same position within his  
536 lineage as papa Elodie. Florent was not the eldest son of his father. In contrast, papa Elodie was the  
537 eldest male child and a successful businessman, qualities that make him eligible for succession after  
538 his father's death. When a man is the eldest male of his father's children, the pressure from the  
539 patrilineage tends to be stronger. It is very likely that a person's position within her family,  
540 patrilineage and other circles in society influence a person's moral failure. We see here again, a  
541 tension between the imperatives of the patrilineage and those of the church.

542 The assimilation of Pentecostal moral behavior and the tensions that arise when a convert is  
543 confronted with the imperatives of opposing moral values is not exclusive of Pentecostals in Benin.  
544 Robbins [26,27] describes how the Urapmin Pentecostals of Papua New Guinea experience moral  
545 dilemma in quite significant ways, to the extent that they approach most of their lives as a moral  
546 torment. Drawing on a Weberian view of social values, Robbins suggests that society is constituted  
547 of different spheres, such as the economic, political, esthetic, erotic and intellectual [27] (p. 298),  
548 which are hierarchically organized and each one having a dominant value that governs it. Where

549 there is harmony within and between spheres, there exists what he calls a 'morality of reproduction',  
550 in which most of the moral action happens unquestioningly in everyday life. However, conflict  
551 between or within these value spheres lays the ground for a 'morality of freedom' and choice, where  
552 'people become consciously aware of choosing their own fate' [27] (p. 299-300). When a society such  
553 as the Urapmin are confronted with a changing hierarchy of values caused by rapid social change,  
554 moral conflicts arise because the old or previously predominant values assert their importance in  
555 face of the new or formerly subordinate ones [27] (p. 302). The Urapmin live in a constant moral  
556 conflict because they have to choose between two different cultural logics with conflicting  
557 predominant values: one of Christian individualism that prioritizes individual salvation and one of  
558 Urapmin relationalism that prioritizes the creation and maintenance of social relationships. While  
559 Christianity has changed ideas in many domains, it has not completely done so in the domain of  
560 what Robbins calls 'social structure', in other words, it has not completely changed cultural ideas on  
561 how society should be organized and how relationships should be carried out [27] (p.306).

562 Pentecostals in Benin also live in a context where we could say the hierarchy of values has  
563 been disrupted as a result of social change. The experiences of moral questioning that I have  
564 explored here demonstrate the tension that exists between the values and authority of the  
565 patrilineage and those of the church. Despite changes derived from conversion, the value of  
566 reproduction and the principles of seniority maintain a central role in shaping the imperatives of  
567 social relations in Benin. However, not every Pentecostal experiences moral conflicts to the same  
568 extent or degree. What shapes experiences of conflict and the moral choices they make depend to a  
569 large extent on a person's specific social position within her patrilineage. Therefore, moral conflicts  
570 need to be understood in relation to a person's generational context, gender, and her position within  
571 the patrilineage. These conflicts need to be understood in relation to a person's individual position  
572 within the broader social structure and her negotiations of different spheres of value.

573 Although, moral failure constitutes an individual experience it also has a collective  
574 transformative potential. When a person confesses publicly, members of the assembly learn the  
575 intimate details of people's lives, leaving them exposed to gossip and public surveillance. It is a  
576 shameful experience, and one could think that it works as a form of coercion [20] (p. 355). However,  
577 this is not exclusively the case. Public confession plays an important role in shaping the dynamics of  
578 secrecy and disclosure according to a specific moral framework [10,21]. In many Pentecostal circles  
579 in Africa, making public what is hidden is seen as a form of 'deliverance': it counterbalances  
580 'traditional' forms of spiritual power rooted in secrecy. These are also contexts where words and  
581 speech are conceived to be powerful vehicles that bring about the 'realization of the subject, more  
582 than just being an expression of intentions and motivations' [10] (p. S436). Moreover, for a person to  
583 make a public confession, she must first admit her fault and repent. This means that before a person  
584 can recognize certain behavior as sin, she must have already internalized certain moral criteria. This  
585 assimilation of moral behavior takes place gradually, from the moment of conversion, as a person is  
586 socialized into the life of the church, participates in teachings, such as the management of sexuality,  
587 and practices disciplines of the self, such as prayer and fasting, as I described above. In turn, the  
588 enforcement of disciplinary techniques after a person has committed sin and repented can be seen as  
589 ways in which people, collectively, have the opportunity to rethink and later reinforce what they  
590 have learnt as part of the new value system. Disciplinary practices such as public confession, prayer  
591 and fasting, are techniques by which people can 'work on the self' [56] to reinsert themselves into a

592 new moral life. By doing so, they reinforce the importance of the new values to themselves and,  
593 through their own experiential example of shame and redemption, to others.

594

## 595 **6. Conclusions**

596

597 In this article I have presented the way in which Pentecostal churches teach their  
598 congregations to manage their sexual lives. These teachings play an important role in the project of  
599 building Christian monogamous marriages and shaping Christian moral selves. Young people are  
600 taught to practice fidelity towards God by remaining abstinent before marriage, whereas married  
601 people are prescribed sexual exclusivity and fidelity towards their partners. In the case of married  
602 couples, Pentecostals place a strong emphasis on teaching women to please their husbands sexually  
603 and men are taught to exert self-control. In this process of shaping and channeling sexual desire  
604 people embody a moral behavior through practices of the self, such as prayer and fasting, which  
605 help a person be filled by the Holy Spirit that in turn makes possible this self-control.

606 However, in this society where having numerous children is highly valued, sexual fidelity is  
607 hard to maintain when a couple cannot have children. Therefore, this represents one of the areas  
608 where Pentecostals in Benin face numerous dilemmas, which sometimes constitute important  
609 challenges to their Pentecostal life particularly for men. Pentecostal ethical practice also offers an  
610 opportunity to re-establish certain continuity to the personal and social disruption of infertility. This  
611 was demonstrated with the case of Florent and Pelagie. Nevertheless, not every Pentecostal decides  
612 to abide by it, such as Papa Elodie. Both cases reveal that the way in which a person faces moral  
613 choices depends on the social position she occupies, her gender, generational context and personal  
614 choice. Moreover, they reveal that sexual reproduction continues to hold prominence in people's  
615 marital relations. Although there exists certain continuities in values, such as reproduction, this does  
616 not mean that the authority of the patrilineage remains unchanged. The authority of the church  
617 plays an important role in molding these values.

618 Whether a person commits sin through adultery or premarital relations depends on matters  
619 of honor, her prestige, social position and personal choice. Moral dilemmas and failures also have  
620 the potential to reshape prominent values. After having failed to live up to the principles prescribed;  
621 a person can also work on the self. In this case, repentance, confession, and discipline by the church  
622 served the purpose of re-inserting the person into the new moral system, but also reinforced publicly  
623 a stronger sense of morality among its members. Moral dilemmas therefore have an important  
624 transformative potential.

625

626 **Acknowledgments:** I would like to thank The National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT),  
627 Mexico, for the generous grant that allowed me to complete this research.

628

629 **Conflicts of Interest:** The author declares no conflict of interest.

## 630 **Abbreviations**

631 The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

632 AoG: Assemblies of God

## 633 **References**

- 634 1. Jennifer S. Hirsch and Holly Wardlow. "Introduction." In *Modern Loves. The Anthropology of*  
635 *Romantic Courtship and Companionate Marriage*, edited by Holly Wardlow and Jennifer S.  
636 Hirsch. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006, 1-31.
- 637 2. Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas (eds.) *Love in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago  
638 Press, 2009.
- 639 3. Jennifer S. Hirsch and Holly Wardlow. *Modern Loves. The Anthropology of Romantic Courtship*  
640 *and Companionate Marriage*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- 641 4. Jean Comaroff. "The Politics of Conviction: Faith on the Neo-Liberal Frontier." *Social Analysis*  
642 53 (2009): 17-38.
- 643 5. Dena Freeman. *The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Development: Churches, NGOs and Social*  
644 *Change in Africa*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- 645 6. Paul Gifford. *Ghana's New Christianity. Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy*.  
646 London: Hurst & Company, 2004.
- 647 7. Charles Piot. *Nostalgia for the Future. West Africa after the Cold War*. Chicago and London: The  
648 University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- 649 8. Ruth Marshall. "Power in the Name of Jesus." *Review of African Political Economy* 52 (1991):  
650 21-37.
- 651 9. Birgit Meyer. "'Make a Complete Break with the Past.' Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity  
652 in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (1998): 316-349.
- 653 10. Eileen Moyer, Marian Burchard and Rijk van Dijk. "Editorial Introduction: Sexuality,  
654 Intimacy and Counselling: Perspectives from Africa." *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 15 (2013):  
655 S431-S439.
- 656 11. Birgit Meyer. "Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic  
657 Churches." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 447-474.
- 658 12. Rijk van Dijk. "Pentecostalism, Cultural Memory and the State: Contested Representations  
659 of Time in Postcolonial Malawi." In *Memory and the Postcolony. African Anthropology and the*  
660 *Critique of Power*, edited by Richard Werbner. London and New York: Zed Books, 1998,  
661 155-181.
- 662 13. Rekopantswe Mate. "Wombs as God's Laboratories: Pentecostal Discourses of Femininity in  
663 Zimbabwe." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 72 (2002): 549-568.
- 664 14. Pierre-Joseph Laurent. *Les Pentecôtistes du Burkina Faso. Mariage, Pouvoir et Guérison*. Paris:  
665 IRD-Karthala, 2003.
- 666 15. A. Ojo Matthews. "Sexuality, Marriage and Piety among Charismatics in Nigeria." *Religion*  
667 27 (1997): 65-79.
- 668 16. Astrid Bochow and Rijk van Dijk. "Christian Creations of New Spaces of Sexuality,  
669 Reproduction, and Relationships in Africa: Exploring Faith and Religious Heterotopia."  
670 *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 325-344.
- 671 17. Linda van de Kamp. "Public Counselling: Brazilian Pentecostal Intimate Performances  
672 among Urban Women in Mozambique." *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 15 (2013): S523-S536.
- 673 18. Linda van de Kamp. "Love Therapy: A Brazilian Pentecostal (Dis)Connection in Maputo." In  
674 *The Social Life of Connectivity in Africa*, edited by Mirjam de Bruijn and Rijk van Dijk. New  
675 York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 203-225.



- 676 19. Rijk van Dijk. "Counselling and Pentecostal Modalities of Social Engineering of  
677 Relationships in Botswana." *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 15 (2013): S509-S522.
- 678 20. Tola Olu Pearce. "Reconstructing Sexuality in the Shadow of Neoliberal Globalization:  
679 Investigating the Approach of Charismatic Churches in Southwestern Nigeria." *Journal of*  
680 *Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 345-368.
- 681 21. Naomi Haynes. "Change and Chisungu in Zambia's Time of Aids." *Ethnos* 80 (2015): 364-384.
- 682 22. Vinh-Kim Nguyen. "Counselling against HIV in Africa: A Genealogy of Confessional  
683 Technologies." *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 15 (2013): S440-S452.
- 684 23. Maria Frahm-Arp. "Singleness, Sexuality, and the Dream of Marriage." *Journal of Religion in*  
685 *Africa* 42 (2012): 369-383.
- 686 24. Tola Olu Pearce. "Cultural Production and Reproductive Issues. The Significance of the  
687 Charismatic Movement in Nigeria." In *Religion and Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective*,  
688 edited by S. Ellington and M. Christian Green. London: Routledge, 2002, 21-50.
- 689 25. Julia Pauli. "Creating Illegitimacy: Negotiating Relations and Reproduction within Christian  
690 Contexts in Northwest Namibia." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 408-432.
- 691 26. Joel Robbins. *Becoming Sinners. Christianity and Moral Torment in Papua New Guinea Society*.  
692 Berkley: University of California Press, 2004.
- 693 27. Joel Robbins. "Between Reproduction and Freedom: Morality, Value and Radical Cultural  
694 Change." *Ethnos* 72 (2007): 293-314.
- 695 28. Girish Daswani. "On Christianity and Ethics: Rupture as Ethical Practice in Ghanaian  
696 Pentecostalism." *American Ethnologist* 40 (2013): 467-479.
- 697 29. Girish Daswani. *Looking Back, Moving Forward. Transformation and Ethical Practice in the*  
698 *Ghanaian Church of Pentecost*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.
- 699 30. Matthew Engelke. "Past Pentecostalism: Notes on Rupture, Realignment, and Everyday Life  
700 in Pentecostal and African Independent Churches." *Africa: The Journal of the International*  
701 *African Institute* 80 (2010): 177-199.
- 702 31. Liana Chua. *The Christianity of Culture: Conversion, Ethnic Citizenship, and the Matter of Religion*  
703 *in Malaysian Borneo*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan: New York, 2012.
- 704 32. Sitna Quiroz. "Relating as Children of God: Ruptures and Continuities in Kinship among  
705 Pentecostal Christians in the South-East of the Republic of Benin." The London School of  
706 Economics and Political Science (LSE), London 2013.
- 707 33. Olenja Joyce Kimani Violet. "Infertility: Cultural Dimensions and Impact on Women in  
708 Selected Communities in Kenya." *Journal of the Pan African Anthropological Association* 8  
709 (2001): 200-216.
- 710 34. Gay Becker. "Metaphors in Disrupted Lives: Infertility and Cultural Constructions of  
711 Continuity." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 8 (1994): 383-410.
- 712 35. Martin Lindhardt. "Introduction. Presence and Impact of Pentecostal/Charismatic  
713 Christianity in Africa." In *Pentecostalism in Africa. Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity*  
714 *in Postcolonial Societies*, edited by M. Lindhardt. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- 715 36. Lynn M. Thomas and Jennifer Cole. "Thinking through Love in Africa." In *Love in Africa*,  
716 edited by Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009,  
717 1-30.

- 718 37. Nathaniel Akinremi Fadipe. *The Sociology of the Yoruba*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press,  
719 1970.
- 720 38. Douglas J. Falen. "Polygyny and Christian Marriage in Africa: The Case of Benin." *African*  
721 *Studies Review* 51 (2008): 51-74.
- 722 39. Adrian Hastings. "A Variety of Scrambles: 1890–1920." In *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*,  
723 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- 724 40. Catrien Notermans. "True Christianity without Dialogue. Women and the Polygyny Debate  
725 in Cameroon." *Anthropos* 97 (2002): 341-353.
- 726 41. Philippe Antoine. "The Complexities of Nuptiality: From Early Female Union to Male  
727 Polygamy in Africa." In *Demography: Analysis and Synthesis, a Treatise in Population Studies*,  
728 edited by G. Caselli, J. Vallin and G. Wunsch. Elsevier: Academic Press, 2006, 355-371.
- 729 42. Ester Boserup. *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.
- 730 43. Jack Goody. "Polygyny, Economy and the Role of Women." In *The Character of Kinship*, edited  
731 by Jack Goody. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, 175-190.
- 732 44. Claude Meillassoux. *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Community*.  
733 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- 734 45. Jane I. Guyer. "Wealth in People and Self-Realisation in Equatorial Africa." *Man* 28 (1993):  
735 243-265.
- 736 46. William B. Schwab. "Kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba." *Africa: Journal of the*  
737 *International African Institute* 25 (1955): 352-374.
- 738 47. Taiwo Makinde. "Motherhood as a Source of Empowerment of Women in Yoruba  
739 Culture." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 13 (2004): 164-174.
- 740 48. Karin Barber. "Money, Self-Realisation and the Person in Yoruba Texts." In *Money Matters.*  
741 *Instability, Values and Social Payments in the Modern History of West African Communities*, edited  
742 by Jane I. Guyer. Potsmouth and London: Heinmann and James Currey, 1995, 205-224.
- 743 49. Daniel J. Smith. "Managing Men, Marriage, and Modern Love: Women's Perspectives on  
744 Intimacy and Male Infidelity in South-Eastern Nigeria." In *Love in Africa*, edited by Jennifer  
745 Cole and Lynn M. Thomas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 157-179.
- 746 50. Douglas J. Falen. *Power and Paradox. Authority, Insecurity and Creativity in Fon Gender*  
747 *Relations*. New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2011.
- 748 51. Andrea Cornwall. "Spending Power: Love, Money and the Reconfiguration of Gender  
749 Relations in Ado-Odo, Southwestern Nigeria." *American Ethnologist* 29 (2002): 963-980.
- 750 52. Michel Foucault. "Technologies of the Self." In *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, edited by Paul  
751 Rabinow. New York: The New York Press, 1997, 135-140.
- 752 53. Martin Lindhardt. "Men of God: Neo-Pentecostals and Masculinities in Urban Tanzania." *Religion*  
753 45 (2015): 252-272.
- 754 54. Adriaan S. van Klinken. "Men in the Remaking: Conversion Narratives and Born-Again  
755 Masculinity in Zambia." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42 (2012): 215-239.
- 756 55. Marcia C. Inhorn. "Interpreting Infertility: Medical Anthropological Perspectives." *Social*  
757 *Science & Medicine* 39 (1994): 459-461.
- 758 56. Jarrett Zigon. "Within a Range of Possibilities: Morality and Ethics in Social Life." *Ethnos* 74  
759 (2009): 251-276.
- 760

761

© 2016 by the authors; licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons by Attribution (CC-BY) license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

