EXPLORING BISEXUAL AFRICAN WOMEN HETEROSEXUAL MARRIAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

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─Abstract ─

The 1994 political dispensation in the Republic of South Africa ushered in a new era of democracy which became a beacon of hope, coupled with the promise of freedom and equality for all South Africans, sexual minorities included. In this regard, South Africa became the first country in Africa to constitutionally and explicitly prohibit discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientations. Despite this legal protection, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) South Africans are still subjected to different types of violence, with majority of them forced to live secret lives, and branded as 'alternative sexualities.' The aim of this study was to explore bisexual African women's heterosexual marriages in South Africa. A qualitative research approach aided by phenomelogical research design was used. A snowball sample of five women was constituted. Data was collected using semi-structured face-to-face interviews, and analysed using Interpretive Phenomelogical Analysis (IPA). This study establishes that family disapproval of same sex intimacies, influences of Christianity and cultural upbringing, and marrying to be financially secure are reasons why African women who identify as 'lesbians' end up in heterosexual marriages. The study recommends the following: The South African (RSA) Criminal Justice System (CJS) should

strengthen protection of its citizens against all forms of violence to ensure that civil liberties enshrined in the Constitution are enjoyed by all, and in this regard by sexual minorities such as African lesbian women. Strict measures and penalties should be directed to homophobia and hate speech incidences. Public education on democracy should be deepened in a way that society eventually accepts the right of sexual minorities to be different.

Key Words: Democracy, Sexuality, Marriage, Heterosexuality, Homophobia

JEL Classification: Z10 General, Z18 Public Policy,

1. INTRODUCTION

This study used an intersectionality analytical lens to explore bisexual African women in heterosexual marriages in South Africa. This was done to determine factors leading to African lesbian women into heterosexual relationships, or instances where they stay within the bondage of heteronormativity. Historically, the 1994 political dispensation in the Republic of South Africa ushered in a new era of democracy which became a beacon of hope, freedom and equality for South Africans, including sexual minorities. Seminal researchers in this subject hail South Africa as a nation with the most progressive Constitution in the world; to others, it represents the rainbow nation (Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2015). These authors agreed that this country accommodates people of all races, religion or sexual orientation. Conversely, this seems to be far from reality as sexual minorities such as the LGBTIs of South African society are still engulfed by a strong parochial religious and cultural orientation that reinforces patriarchy and heterosexuality. This has triggered infringement of personal liberties of individuals of all genders, including lesbian women. Thus, the researchers submit that bisexuality is created due to a lack of space to live freely and express one's sexuality, hence the existence of bisexual African women in heterosexual marriages.

Furthermore, the South African apartheid era created a limited space for sexual expression. However, on the 4th of February 1997, South Africa's progressive law became effectively functional (Schaffer & Range, 2014). The South African Constitution came with the liberating catalogue of 'Human Rights,' which were meant to be a turning point from the era of rights abuses during apartheid and colonial eras. To this end, South Africa became the first country in the world to explicitly guarantee the rights of homosexuals through Article 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act (No. 108 of 1996), which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. This clause is enshrined in

section 9 (1-5) of the 'Equality' section, the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. The clause states:

"The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth" (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act [No. 108 of 1996] (hereafter referred to as the Constitution).

The attainment of this clause within the Constitution has been heralded as a victory among progressive members of the society. However, scholars of gender and sexual inclusivity agree that the celebration was premature as it only heralds the beginning of long battles for acceptance by the society at large (Naidoo & Karels, 2012; Nel & Judge, 2008; Tamale, 2013). The success in the enactment of the Bill of Rights within the Constitution came as a result of successful lobbying by the gay and lesbian community rather than just a mere reflection of the entire South African society.

Moreover, societal pressures on gays and lesbians handled forced them into bisexual relationships which culminated in heterosexual marriages. In studying the literature and the past, the research reveals that White working class gays and lesbians in South Africa were more visible during the apartheid era while African lesbians and gays were muted, isolated and oppressed. They were not only suppressed because of their colour, but also because of their sexual orientation (Graziano, 2004; Gevisser & Cameron, 1995). Equally, when the African National Congress (ANC) took over the government in 1994, it saw the need to include sexual orientation in the Equality Section of the Bill of Rights of the new democratic Constitution, prompting da Costa Santos (2013) to argue that "the path to forging legal protections for lesbian and gay people in South Africa was characterised by a virtuous confluence of many factors." da Costa Santos (2013) further describes these factors as the struggle for freedom during the era of the apartheid system, and the way in which the ANC collaborated with gay rights movements to liberate not only black South Africans under a yoke of white minority rule, but also grant human rights to gays and lesbians.

Consequently, African lesbians are not accepted in their black communities, and their sexualities are read outside of blackness (Mavhandu-Mudzusi & Sandy, 2015). Although the South African Constitution guarantees freedom and rights for all, acknowledgement of Livermon's (2012) argument for a rethink of what democracy is means the nation's democracy should start in the communities. Livermon (2012:299) posits further that "for African Queers, equal, if not more, importance

must be paid to a notion of freedom that rests on forms of cultural belonging (family, community, culture, nation, and race) that retain their salience in the post-apartheid era and cannot be fully accounted for by the state." Reddy (2002) also argues that homophobia and hate speech threaten democracy and human rights.

This study highlights the constraining socio-economic environment on the fundamental human rights of African lesbians in South Africa, and challenges these rights so that there is indeed freedom for all. Besides, studies on bisexuality remain marginalised and under researched with most researchers seeking to understand sexuality on binary terms. Frequently, researchers study the LGBTI acronomy as homogenous whereas experiences of each member of the LGBTI community is idiosyncratic.

This study was motivated by the changing climate in South Africa where there is more visibility of LGBTI members. However, African bisexual women remain hidden and scared to come out. In black communities, people are still resistant to accepting, understanding as well as respecting same sex sexualities (Mavhandu-Mudzusi, 2015; McCormick, 2015). It should, therefore, be stated that the issue of lesbian women in heterosexual marriages with affairs with persons of the same sex is not a phenomenon that is nascent in Limpopo Province alone (Buxton, 2008)**.** The international community and South Africa are awash with instances where men discover their wives having affairs with other women (Blow & Hartnett, 2007). These cases seem to invariably lead to divorces where women, for instance, admit that they are sexually, emotionally and physically attracted to other women, and therefore, cannot continue to live a lie. Such marriages get dissolved while the new declarant continues in relationships with other women.

Subsequently, one can argue that there is a need to understand the implications of this behaviour of lesbians and how this impacts on their group identity. It would be interesting to establish African lesbian narratives and what they reveal about democracy in South Africa, explain what democratisation is as well as its manifestations in lesbian and sexuality politics. In short, the problem of this study is the double life led by some African women in heterosexual marriages. They do this in submission to the hegemony of heteronormativity and its subjugation of bisexual African women, which practice goes against the spirit and letter of the South African Constitution. The objective of this study is to revisit intersections of bisexual, political, social and economic factors to identify new emerging factors that influence the behaviour of black bisexual women.

The relevance of this study is corroborated by research conducted by Khuzwayo and Morrison (2017), which noted that studies on bisexuality remain marginalised

and under-researched, with most researchers seeking to understand sexuality on binary terms. Lynch and Maree (2013) also noted that whenever research on bisexuality is conducted, it is focused mostly on men. Hence, more South African research on bisexuality is needed, particularly among African women. These findings are also confirmed by Khuzwayo and Morrison (2017), who note that qualitative studies on bisexuals is mostly concentrated on North America, which makes research on African women bisexuals to be of paramount importance.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Experiences of bisexual African women have thus far been under-researched. In order to broaden researchers' understanding of the phenomenon, literature from South Africa was relied upon in this study.

2.1 Intersectionality of bisexual African women identities in heterosexual marriages in South Africa

The embodiment of literature on experiences of bisexual women has been under-researched, let alone the spiritual, cultural or political identities that inform bisexual women to get into heterosexual marriages. Researchers had negated researching experiences of bisexual individuals by focusing on the LGBT community in the entirety (Graham, Bostwick, & Hequembourg, 2014; Lim & Hewitt, 2018). This did not help in looking into factors that have caused African women to end up in heterosexual relationships. Some scholars argue that bisexuality itself is non-existent: you can either be gay or lesbians (Dworkin, 2006; Barringer, Sumerau & Gay, 2017; Monro, Hines & Osborne, 2017). With their respective submissions, the researchers think that bisexual individuals are people who are not ready to come in the open about their sexual orientations. Rust (2002) further argues that bisexuality is a combination of homosexuality and heterosexual attraction towards same gender as well as different gender individuals. Nonetheless, with all these disparate views of bisexuality, between the 1960s and 1980s, the movement toward greater bisexual awareness and acceptance began to come to fruition (Donaldson, 1995; Rust, 2002; Milani & Kapa, 2015), and by the 1990s, bisexuality was starting to be addressed in both research and practice. Notably, before an interrogation of spiritual, cultural and political factors influencing behaviours of African women leading them into heterosexual marriages, we briefly explain what is meant by intersectionality. Intersectionality has been articulated to understand the mutual ways in which discursive and structural elements of race, gender, class and sexuality intersect to create unique experiences based on social location and complex relationships of power and oppression (Parent, DeBlaere & Moradi 2013). Intersectional analysis is used to approach various social identity categories and ways in which individuals

that have multiple marginalised identities are often marginalised within their own group politics as well as by the larger social structure. Social identities may include but are not limited to age, gender, race, nationality, ability or class. The intersection of these identities creates various relationships of power and structures of order. This is collaborated by research Rodrigues, Lytle and Vaughan (2013), who note that intersectionality is derived from Combahee River Collective, a black feminist group which focused on the intersection of race, sex, sexual orientation, socio-economic status and other identities that influence their political identity in the battle against oppression.

One scholar argues that in order to use intersectionality well, one has to fully understand the question: Who is included and what role does inequality play, and what are the similarities? (Cole, 2009). Bisexuals have always been excluded from the larger group of LGBTI, hence they remain under-researched (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2000). In this study, intersectionality was adopted to explore African women's heterosexual marriages in South Africa. The researchers' goals were based on an attempt to address ways in which intersecting identities often create conflict between and within groups for a richer and more thought-out transgressive politics as well as a dynamic understanding of the social world. The intersection of identities dwells on various social factors. For example, the impact of religions, cultures and political factors.

3. METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study, whose ethical clearance was granted by Turfloop Research and Ethics Committee (TREC) of University of Limpopo (UL) on 02 October 2019, adopted an Interpretative Phenomenological research design. The researchers sought lived experiences of African bisexual women and the plurality of identities that influence their everyday experiences in post-apartheid South Africa. The use of this research design and methodology allowed the researchers to analyse and interpret experiences, identities, attitudes, feelings, perceptions and behaviours of participants; it further allowed them to understand participants' point of views (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997).

In order to understand how married African bisexual women interpret their identities and experiences and to explore how location affects their understanding of their identities, the researchers selected participants through snowball sampling. The process of accumulating a sufficiently large sample through contacts and references is called snowball sampling (Durrheim and Painter (2004). Overall, five (5) participants formed part of the study to reach saturation in this subject. The

target group was Eight (8), with Three (3) withdrawals, citing personal reasons such as personal identity. Each participant signed a consent form after the researchers explained it line by line to them. The selection criteria were that participants were African women in heterosexual marriages who identified themselves as lesbians. They also needed a matric certificate as the minimum qualification so that they may participate in English during the interviews.

Data was collected through face-to-face semi-structured interviews. The collected data was analysed using IPA. This allowed the researchers to analyse and interpret experiences, identities, attitudes, feelings, perceptions and behaviours of research participants. The researchers were further able to understand participants' point of views using the IPA framework (Brynard & Hanekom, 1997). As initial indicated, the results were qualitatively analysed using the IPA. The initial stage involved close reading and listening of the transcripts a number of times. Thereafter, the researchers made notes about their observations and reflections of the interview experiences. In the second stage of analysing data, the researchers focused on transforming notes into emerging themes. Finally, the last stage involved looking for connections between emerging themes, grouping them together according to conceptual similarities and providing each cluster with a descriptive label (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012)

As earlier confirmation refers, the researchers obtained consent from participants to audio-record the interviews. The transcripts were shared with participants to ensure accuracy of the data collected in order to build trustworthiness around the data. Then followed the process of data analysis. Research participants were asked questions such as: did you know of your sexuality before you married your husband? When did you realise that you were also attracted to women? Why did you get married? Does your family know about your sexuality? Do you think you would leave your husband one day?

The profile of participants as shown in Table 1 reveals that they are still in heterosexual marriages even though they self-identify as lesbians. Participant 'A' was still maintaining a sexual relationship with her husband and refers to him as '*the kindest man ever*.' Participant 'B' was no longer sexually active with her husband. Study participant 'C' was in a long-distance marriage, her husband works in another country, but when he does come home, they do get intimate.

Table1: The profile of research participants

Participant	Self-identity/identify	Age	Location
A	Bisexual	34 years old	Limpopo
B	Bisexual	36 years old	Gauteng
C	Bisexual	29 years old	Bloemfontein
D	Bisexual	36 years old	KwaZulu Natal
E	No label	29 years old	Gauteng

Source: Researchers emphasis

Participant 'D's' situation is somewhat different. Her husband died in a car accident, and she remained with her in-laws after his death. But she is secretly dating women. Lastly, study participant 'E,' was very scared to talk to researchers because of fear that her identity might be revealed. In people's eyes, she is living her best life with her loving husband, while she details how she is suffocating and her desire to be held and kissed by a woman.

4. DATA PRESENTATIONS

Bisexual African women in heterosexual marriages represent a more complex component of the family union in South Africa. Whilst a lot has been researched about family and LGBTI families, little is known about bisexuals in heterosexual marriages (D'Augelli, Rendina, Sinclair, & Grossman, 2007; Giammattei & Green, 2012; Kimmel, 2014). Through life stories of selected African bisexual women in South Africa, this study has been able to gather the following themes.

4.1 Marrying for financial challenges and poverty

In our quest to discover why bisexual African women stay in heterosexual marriages in South Africa, participants revealed that financial difficulties and poverty makes them to stay within the confines of heterosexual marriages. This is an antithesis of findings made by Peplau, Cochran and Mays (1997) as corroborated by Stephens (2018), that LGBT members are likely to choose their partners based on personal characteristics as opposed to physical attributes and economic concerns. However, this study indicates that African women in heterosexual marriages marry for financial security, while they have known since they were teenagers that they were attracted to other women. Furthermore, participant D had this to say:

"I and my partner (lesbian) we are involved in extra marital affair because we cannot be together... according to her own narrative, she is married, and have a husband and kids. She is still in the marriage because of poverty. I mean the husband does everything for her. She is not working, she has no plans, and she dropped out of school at a very early age, so she is very dependent on this man. So, for her leaving the marriage it would mean she will suffer. So, she will stay because she thinks of all the things this man has done for her." **(Participant D, Bisexual, 36).**

These perceptions are consistent with the intersectionality theory, which offers an explanation and understanding of why African women stay in heterosexual marriages for survival, due to social-economic factors such as poverty and marginalisation. This indicates that despite one's wish to follow passion and sexual orientation, the need for financial security can be a determining factor. Intersectionality has been articulated to understand the mutual ways in which discursive and structural elements of race, gender, class and sexuality intersect to create unique experiences based on social location and complex relationships of power and oppression**.**

4.2 Fending off family disapproval of same sex intimacies

Children who were raised in a nuclear African family face problems of fulfilling family expectations of marrying into heterosexual marriages. Due to African girls' reluctance to come out to their families and friends, they end up becoming bisexuals. Patriarchal beliefs and their reinforcements that when a woman grows up she should marry a man, have children, take care of the home and the husband, African women participants argue that they are following the heteronormative script.

"The thing is I do not have feelings for guys, but I have strong feelings for girls, but I'm confused. Yes, but my family pushes me to be in love with boys not girls. I do not love my husband and I do not know how to tell him." **(Participant C, Bisexual, 29).**

After engasekho ndaqala ndathi as from am going back to my normal life. ndafumana umntu well kowokuqala kwabheda but kwabamnandi kakhulu bcz this is me. Abantu nje abaclose kum endibethembile abaziyo ekhaya no1 iparents ngabantu bakudala ngeke ba understande i choose ukuthi laba abambalwa abaziyo ba enough. **[Loosely translated to English as follows:]** (*After my husband died, I thought I would go back to my normal life, dating women. Yes, I found someone,*

the relationship did not go well, but I was happy because I could finally be myself. People close to me, and people I trust know. My parents are from the older generation, they will never understand, so I just decided the fewer people know, the better") **[Participant A, Bisexual, 34].**

The other participant had this to say in this regard:

"Yes, I have dated women before because of my family values and beliefs they do not accept such at all. It is hard because I am lying to everyone around me literally. I have not put a label to myself. The truth is I do not know what the hell I am. I am literally fighting my sexuality, the only thing I know is I am extremely attracted to women." **(Participant E, no label, 29).**

Research on the African continent by Khuzwayo and Morrison (2017) supported the findings of this study as the two scholars reveal that coming out as a lesbian in an African context was dangerous due to the complex nature of the African family value system. Coming out of young black lesbian women would risk them being chased out of the house or lose any form of support that they may have been receiving from their families. This is because homosexuality in general is seen as un-African, taboo, import from the west, satanic and as a result of former colonial masters enforcing their agenda on the African continent. Mavhandu-Mudzusi (2015) and McCormick (2015) also confirmed this finding when they argue that African people in most communities are still resistant to accepting, understanding as well as respecting same sex sexualities, rendering anyone who does not conform to heterosexuality as belonging outside of African culture.

4.3. The influences of religion and cultural upbringing

Mavhandu-Mudzusi and Sandy (2015) also noted that the church as an institution took on the role of policing black sexuality as a discursive space where sexual values of white society were both rejected and absorbed. This perception was collaborated by findings of this study. Participant B summed up her experiences by stating the following:

"My father gets paid from the church. He also took in his sister's kids, so when we grew up, we were 8 kids, 5 from my parents and 3 were dabawo's (Aunt) kids. So, there was a rumor in church that I am lesbian, and they threatened to remove my dad from his position if I do not stop. So, I thought of my siblings, I am the second child. So, I had 3 more siblings that needed to finish school with his money and 2

cousins. So, I told my girls to stop coming home. I could only date openly after I moved to my place." **(Participant B, Bisexual, 34).**

Most African families are devoted Christians who believe homosexuality is a sin; so instead of disappointing parents by living as lesbians, African women opt to marry men, and fulfil their parents' wish and cultural norms. These are strong patriarchal societies that demonise relationships of LGBTIs. Rodriguez (2006) also revealed that bisexual women who participated in their study did not reveal their sexual identity to their family members or friends. The non-disclosure was reinforced by the need to protect family dignity in the eyes of the society. In this study, some parents went to the extent of finding Christian priests who can pray for them against the evil spirit they thought their children were possessed with. Participant B's experiences revealed the following narration:

"My mom says I told her about marrying a girl when I was 6, I do not remember that. But I remember when I was 16 and she called a prayer woman to come pray for me. Every Wednesday they were there praying for me. I also went to Christian schools, so I thought maybe what I am doing is a sin, because they were praying for me." **(Participant B, Bisexual, 34).**

These findings are endorsed by Khuzwayo and Morrison (2017), who stated that most young women did not know why they were attracted to girls and were not aware of other sexual possibilities. This prevented them from expressing their sexuality. This led them into starting relationships with males when they were attracted to females because this was the most normal and universal thing to do. As confirmed by findings in this study, the notion that everyone must be in a heterosexual relationship was reinforced by the church's belief. Interviews by Khuzwayo and Morrison (2017) highlighted that churches or religious beliefs reinforced heterosexual relationships, while at the same time attributing negativity to other sexual orientations. Moreover, catholic schools also promoted heterosexual marriages. This made it difficult for African young women to understand their sexuality and/or reveal their feelings and passions.

4.4 Family responsibility as a reason to stay in heterosexual marriage

In this study, results indicated that as African bisexual women get attached to men in marriages, it becomes difficult to get out of it as children get involved. Husbands financially support these children, and leaving these marriages is not an option. This situation is summarised well by participant A. When she was asked whether she would consider leaving her husband, she stated the following:

"Eish, right now I cannot give you a straight answer of yes or no. I am not ready. A ke ready cause he took me from nothing until here. He has been here for me all the way. I had just lost my boyfriend, the father of my first child, and he was there, and raised my first child since she was four years' old. My brother is finishing this year and I have been applying for engineering jobs in Limpopo Province. I hope to get employment and I take my kids and go. But if that fails. A divorce will not be an option." **(Participant A, Bisexual, 34).**

The vulnerability of women and their immediate responsibility of taking care of their families restricted them from leaving heterosexual marriages. This indicates that making a sexuality choice outside accepted heterosexual marriages may not be as easy for African bisexual women as things such as family responsibility should be well thought out. Patriarchal societies have always given the responsibility of taking care of the family to the son-in-law. Cultural values state that when a man marries a woman, he has married her whole family. This is what drove other lesbian girls to consider being bisexuals but living in heterosexual marriages.

5. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Evidently, most African lesbians lead a double life forced upon them by a myriad of factors, amongst which are compulsory heterosexuality and marrying for financial security and to escape poverty. There are a number of studies in South Africa that attest to the fact that poverty in South Africa is gendered and racialised. The findings of this study add another dimension to what already exists, which is that poverty forces African lesbian women into marriages of convenience. This denies them their identity and their right to dignity, which is guaranteed by the South African Constitution.

Findings further indicate that African lesbian women live in heterosexual marriages and continue to cheat their partners with other women. This kind of double life spells danger for the women concerned because should it be discovered, violence may ensue. This poses a serious contradiction on the right to sexual orientation enshrined in the South African Constitution. Maybe we need to consider the redefinition of democracy that 'rests on forms of cultural belonging' because homophobia and hate speech threaten democracy in general, and the rights of sexual minorities enshrined in the South African constitution in particular.

This study problematised and questioned the definition and notion of democracy. It calls for African communities to embrace same sex sexualities because by not doing this, they totally promote the invisibility and experiences of African bisexual women. The study also seeks to contribute towards efforts to dismantle patriarchy

that perpetuates heteronormativity, which is a way of 'pushing' women to stay in heterosexual marriages while they are in love with other women. From this study, the researchers noted and understand economic, social and political factors and their impact on African women's lives, who sacrifice their lesbian and bisexual identities in order to be financially secure and to take care of the rest of their families. The findings of this study further reveal that bisexuality as a sexual orientation is not always considered a valid sexuality. They help to bring awareness and to counter the narrative that bisexuality is not a valid sexuality, that as argued by scholars, a person is either gay or lesbian. It is evident from research participants that bisexuality is a valid sexuality seeing that African women are attracted to both their husbands and other women.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study concludes the personal narratives of selected participants of living as a bisexual in the post-apartheid era. It is an ongoing study on the lives of black bisexual women in South Africa. The study has shown that class as ascribed by one's socio-economic position in life can determine whether one can stay or go out of a heterosexual relationship. This could show that although they know their identity early, due to the financial difficulties, black bisexual women would remain attached to their husbands. Despite knowing their choices, poverty and lack of financial security could make an African lesbian to become bisexual and live with this sexual orientation. African families tend to reproduce themselves. Children born from African families with strong views on heteronormativity tend to pursue the latter at the expense of their real identity. This results in personal dissonance and unhappy marriages that end up in divorce. In most instances, heterosexuality is reinforced by religion and other cultural norms and practices. Lesbian women initially subscribe to these, but nature eventually forces them out of the closet. In situations where lesbian women eventually have children with their husbands, they find it difficult to walk out of such arrangements because of the attachment that children develop to their fathers.

This study recommends that South African law enforcement agencies should strengthen the protection of its citizens against all forms of violence to ensure that civil liberties enshrined in the Constitution are enjoyed by all, and in this regard, by sexual minorities such as African lesbian and bisexual women. It further recommends that homophobia and hate speech should be declared criminal activities punishable by South African law and the judicial system. Finally, this study recommends that public education on democracy should be deepened in a way that society eventually accepts the right of sexual minorities to be different.

The researchers recommend that future studies should zoom into bisexuality and not treat the LGBTI community as a homogenous group.

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