# Gender Discrimination Against Women in Yaa Gyasi's Homegoing

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Abstract- Woman fights to be on the same footing with man. She suffers various forms of inequality caused by the social construction and the prejudice against her. Woman is thought to only function as a source of reproduction of human life. She is seen as another self to man and her position is basically lower than man's. Similar insight is highlighted in Yaa Gyasi's Homegoing. Throughout the novel, female characters are marginalized, victimized, demoralized, oppressed and subjected to sexual violence. Patriarchal societies in both Ghana and the United States keep women in a state of subordination. In addition to being brutalized, they are denied job opportunities which might help them become independent. The aim of the present study is to shed light on the problem of gender discrimination against women on one side and on the other side to emphasize the importance of giving women independence and of saving them from ill treatment so that they may contribute to the progression of their country as well as their own development.

Indexed Terms- Yaa Gyasi, Gender, Sex, Discrimination, Patriarchy, Violence

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Yaa Gyasi is a Ghanaian-American novelist. She was born in 1989 in Mampong, Ghana to a professor and a nurse. She moved with her family; father, mother and brothers, to America in 1991 and lived in Illinois and Tennessee, and from the age of 10, Gyasi was raised in Alabama. Being very shy, Gyasi turns to books like her closest friends. She was encouraged by receiving a certificate of achievement signed by a famous American actor for the first story she wrote.

At the age of 17, while attending Grissom High School, Gyasi was inspired after reading Toni Morrison's Song of Solomon to pursue writing as a career. Gyasi got a BA in English from Stanford University and an MFA from the Iowa Writers' Workshop. After graduation, she began her debut novel *Homegoing* that was inspired by a 2009 trip to Ghana. It was her first trip since leaving the country as an infant. After 7 years, her novel was completed and published in 2016. At the age of 26, she got multiple offers after the publishers' initial readings. She accepted a seven-figure advance from the American Publishing House Knopf. *Homegoing* has also won her three awards. One of them is the PEN/Hemingway award.

Homegoing is a book of "breathtaking sweep and emotional power." It is "extraordinary for its exquisite language, implacable sorrow, soaring beauty, and for its monumental portrait of the forces that shape families and nations, Homegoing heralds the arrival of a major new voice in contemporary fiction." (Shenolikar) It is one of the most important novels in our time since it "offers the realistic perspectives from a diverse range of characters in age, gender, culture, and time period. It is a heart-wrenching tale and provides context for a series of events that are all too often erased in school curriculums on American History." (Rubin)

Homegoing is important to read since it focuses on many vital themes which need to be discussed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The novel reveals "ambition, emotional heat, an instinct for story, and a willingness to play with form and character." But beyond these formal qualities, it has explored the horrible injustices of slavery to "the point of satiety" and "sharpens the sting of a trauma that we should never stop feeling." (Osana) It is a novel "at once epic and intimate, capturing the moral weight of history as it bears down on individual struggles, hopes, and fears." It is "an inspiration" and needs to be read to explore what happens when a gifted literary mind is paired to an epic task. Therefore, the

novel's characters "are so fully realized, so elegantly carved" (Owens). They are exceptional and lively as they show a range of individual motivations and dispositions. Very strong portrayals appear in the first half of the novel. A wide cast of family members for this novel are placed within their proper time period. In the second half, the writer used the socio-political climate to weave the narrative for those characters.

The writing style of the novel is unique and the language is so rich, precise and poetic that it provokes the reader's imagination. It is written in an unbroken line. (Owens). Each chapter is from the point of view of one character. Each new chapter focuses on a new protagonist. The Effia chapter is told from her point of view; the Esi chapter is told from hers; and so on till the final chapter. It is important to note that with each shift in point of view, one thing remains the same: the limited nature of that point of view, in that the narrative of each chapter focuses only on the inner lives, and memories of that chapter's protagonist. Louise Ling Edwards says, "Though each character only has a chapter dedicated to their story, the reader is submersed in their world and grasps each characters' motivations, burdens, desires, and heartbreaks." Also, the brevity of the tales leaves us craving more, wondering what happens after the snapshot of the characters' life given. (221) Thus, the chapters move chronologically without skipping generations.

Homegoing, an American classic work opens in what is now Ghana in the mid-1700s, and concludes in America in the present day. With simple syntax, the novel traces the family lines of two half-sisters; Effia and Esi, through generations, exploring the brutal pain of colonization, slavery, and unending racism, as well as the vivid and energetic hope for freedom, happiness, and familial love in both Ghana and America. (Rubin) Gyasi says, "I was going to write something set in the present that would have a flashback to eighteenth-century Ghana and the beginnings of the transatlantic slave trade. As I worked on it, I realised that I wanted people to see the ways that slavery and colonialism impacted societies over a large period of time." (Vaid-Menon)

The story of the two half-sisters occupies the first 2 chapters and every next chapter is about the next

descendant of Effia and then of Esi. Finally, the characters who have been separated in Ghana unite in their search for the sense of a true home. The descendants of Effia and Esi meet without recognizing their relation and find themselves at home with each other. The following words reflect the two-family branches of Effia and Esi; the former and her descendants who remained in Africa and the latter and her descendants who were enslaved and brought to America.

"You are not your mother's first daughter. There was one before you. And in my village, we have a saying about separated sisters. They are like a woman and her reflection, doomed to stay on opposite sides of the pond." (Gyasi 40)

In *Homegoing*, Gyasi tackles a lot of important themes but the focus of this research will be on gender discrimination against female characters. Before going further, I will clarify some concepts such as Gender, Sex, Discrimination, Patriarchy and Violence used in this study. Gender and Sex are two terms that may be used interchangeably although they have different meanings.

Gender is used to identify differences between men and women from a non-biological perspective. It is a social construct that is created by societies for males and females. It refers to the social roles, behaviors, expressions and identities of diverse people. It influences how they perceive themselves and each other, and how they act and interact. Gender based on the society's history and culture "is the social expression of, and the roles assigned to, gendered dichotomies of men and women." (Childs & Fowler 96) Zinsser defines gender as a "constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily difference." (54) This definition assures the social differences between female and male and that they prevent women and men from participating equally in all fields of life.

Sex is usually used to identify biological, anatomical differences between men and women. It is a biological makeup that differentiates males and females. It includes differences in gene expression, chromosomes, hormones and physical form.

(Muehlenhard) To understand gender, it should be separated from sex. Nfah-Abbenyi defines sex as "biological maleness or femaleness" and gender as "attributed and behaviors that are shaped by societies and culture that are appropriate for the male and female sex." (16) The nature, traditions and history of African societies favor men over women in certain fields of life. Women, in most African societies, primarily perform domestic roles as wives and mothers while men do other physical activities outside the house. Colonialism in Africa perpetuated the gender problem as it favored men above women, particularly in getting access to Western education, leading roles, and contributing to economic growth. (16)

Discrimination as a term appeared in the early 17th century. It is derived from Latin, discriminate. It is an attitude of deliberately distinguishing between groups related to certain interests. It involves restricting members of one group from opportunities or privileges that are available to members of another group. People may be discriminated on the basis of race, gender identity, sex, age, religion, disability, or sexual orientation. Discrimination tends to be carried out by the majority against the minority. Discrimination in society results from differences in people's religious beliefs, historical, sociological cultural and development.

Another discrimination is gender discrimination. It refers to the unequal treatment of members of one gender against those of another one. From a feminist and sociological view, gender discrimination means that the social system does not provide equal chances for men and women. The inequality between the sexes results in gender discrimination. (Sumi) Discrimination against woman is defined as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." (EIGE)

Gender discrimination is also "referred to as gender disadvantage, inequalities or disparities encompass a range of experiences and structural inequalities. These include the increased likelihood that women may hold positions of lower power in work settings and lower status in societies in which women are not protected against violence or are discouraged from pursuing an education and independent living." (Georgina) Gender discrimination is based on the patriarchy system which is deeply-rooted in African societies. It is structural and systematic against women "because of the everyday practices of a well-intentioned liberal society." It is not the result of the choices or policies installed by a few people in power, but rather due to the "unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols, in the assumptions underlying institutional rules and the collective consequences of following those rules." (Rebolledo)

Patriarchy refers to "the social system of masculine domination over women." It extols males' authority and supremacy over females in all fields of human endeavors such as economics, education, politics, and law. Thus, issues like physical, emotional, and verbal abuse, sexism, women trafficking, marital rape, and deprivation result from patriarchy. (Pilcher & Wheelehan 111) As a result, various social problems arose, restricting women's freedom and violating their rights. Women usually undergo painful experiences. They are helpless, weak and second class.

As a system of social structures and practices, Patriarchy includes six elements: household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality and culture. Male domination is very pervasive in African society. The female is not regarded as a whole being; she is viewed as unfinished, physically mutilated and emotionally dependent. (Walby) Gender inequality is linked to the relationship of power between the sexes. Assuring this idea, McKinnon says, "Gender is a division of women and men caused by the social requirements of heterosexuality, which institutionalizes male sexual dominance and female sexual submission." (Qtd in Kramarae & Treichler174) This means that sexuality causes gender inequality since the differentiation between the genders gives the male the social power due to the penis he has and women, on the other side, suffer sexual submission because of the small space they own (the vagina).

Violence, in the feminists' concern, is identified "as a broad range of men's harmful behaviour toward women, including rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment." It is "a key mechanism in the subordination of women by men." (Pilcher and Whelehan191) It can be physical, sexual and Psychological. Physical violence encompasses all activities that affect a victim's physical well-being, whether they involve direct touch, the use of tools, or other comparable actions. Sexual violence refers to any coerced sexual behavior, such as sexual assault or similar acts that lead to sexuality. Psychological violence or emotional abuse, is characterized by harsh words or body language intended to degrade, curse, or mock. It has the potential to undermine the victim's sense of self-identity, dignity, and self-esteem. (Krantz & Garcia-Moreno 2005)

Coming to our main concern in this research, we find that gender discrimination is a devastating problem against women. In *Homegoing*, female characters like Maame, Effia, Esi, Ness and Abena suffer inequality. They are brutalized and controlled by men. In the novel, gender discrimination is combined with slavery, low, social status and violence. Violence is a systematically social practice rather than an individual moral flaw. It is a manifestation of social injustice because it is directed towards women just because they are women. (Heldke & O'Connor)

From the very beginning of the novel, men control the fates of Maame and her two daughters and treat them violently. Maame is Effia and Esi's biological mother. She had been a house girl for Cobbe Otcher. He raped her and made her pregnant with Effia. However, the night she gave birth to Effia, a fire raged through the Fante village, and Maame had been able to escape to her old village.

Effia is Maame's first daughter. She was harassed physically and mentally by Baaba, leading to the first example of the gender inequality she faces. Effia is born on the night of a raging fire in Fanteland to Asanteland. As she grows up, her father's wife, Baaba, is extremely cruel to her and abuses her, while her father, Cobbe Otcher treats her tenderly. Baaba is resentful of taking care of a daughter that is not her own. She beats Effia very often. Effia is faced with the

consequences of her society's culture, and of being born a beautiful Fante woman.

The cultural expectation of a Fante woman is reflected in the depiction of Effia's life. At the age of twelve, she begins to blossom into a young woman. Once the body of Effia goes through puberty and her breasts grow, which she described as "two lumps that sprung from her chest, as soft as mango flesh", the presumption is that "first blood would soon follow", that Fante women would begin to menstruate. Men, then, are expected to offer gifts to entice a woman's parents into accepting a marriage proposal. "The men of the village" did with Effia and asked "Baaba and Cobbe for her hand." (Gyasi 5) Moreover, when a white British man visits the compound, Cobbe leads him around the village and tells him: "Here, in this village...each wife has her own hut. This is the hut she shares with her children. When it is her husband's night to be with her, he goes to her in her hut." (Gyasi 6)

When Effia hopes to marry the next chief of the village, Abeeku Badu and her father welcomes, Baaba conspires to have her marry the British colonist, James Collins. Baaba plots this to rid herself of Effia. She tells people that the girl is evil and cannot have children. She tells Effia to keep her menstruation a secret and then contrives to have her marry James Collins who is the newly appointed governor of the Cape Coast Castle.

Luckily, Effia and James Collins develop a good deal of satisfaction for each other. They have an affectionate marriage. Before Effia is married, Baaba gives her a black stone pendant. Then, she moves to live in the Cape Coast Castle. While being in the Castle with her husband, Effia notices that the white men around her see that the black women exist solely as sexual objects and call them "wenches" while the word "wife" is reserved for "the white women across the Atlantic" since they are meant to be married. (Gyasi 17)

Moreover, Effia experiences the beginning stages of colonialism when she lives at the Castle. She discovers that there are women in the dungeons to be traded as slaves. Unfortunately, Effia's half-sister Esi is among the imprisoned women below her but Effia does not

know. As a woman, she knows that she has no power to change her own circumstances or those of the trapped women. When Effia asks James, "What's below?" and James responds violently without respect, "cargo". Effia pulled away from him and stared back into his piercing eyes. "But how can you keep them down there crying, enh?" she said. "You white people. My father warned me about your ways. Take me home. Take me home right now!" (Gyasi 21)

Even though Effia can hear and smell the horrible situation that these trapped female slaves are in, she has no power or authority to do anything about. When she confronts her other female friends who are wives to other men in power there, they fall silent, eventually informing her that she does what her husband says. This is another example of the emotional abuse and the extreme lack of power the women possess in this time, being followed by the concept of them being considered property to the men in power.

Though Effia tries to show some resistance, this lack of power causes her to be at least somewhat involved in the slave trade. This unwilling and unconscious betrayal of her half-sister Esi, who is sold from the castle in which Effia lives, haunt Effia's branch of the family for seven generations to come. Surely, Effia does not like James Collins' participation in the slave trade. Psychologically torn, she thinks to leave the castle and return to her village. Though she is horrified, she knows that she cannot go back to her village because of Baaba's cruelty. So, she continues with James Collins and struggles to feel truly to him. She has a son, Quey, from him.

Effia only returns to her village years later when she hears her father is dying. When Effia is at her father's deathbed, her brother, Baaba's son, Fiifi reveals things she does not know. She comes to know that she is not actually Baaba's daughter. Her real mother, Maame, had been a house girl for Cobbe, and ran away the night Effia was born. The black stone given to her by Baaba is really from Maame. Effia makes sure to pass down the black stone pendant left for her by Maame, which will serve as a reminder of both her descendants' heritage and the crimes committed by their ancestors. Hence, as a black woman, Effia "experiences different societal expectations, and thus a unique oppression." (Crenshaw144)

Esi also suffered gender discrimination. She suffers physical and sexual violence. Esi is Maame and Big Man's daughter and Effia's half-sister. She is born after Maame escapes being enslaved in Fanteland. Esi grows up in an Asante village and sees how her village profits from capturing and selling slaves. She doesn't think much about it until she is captured herself by warriors from the village of one of her slaves, Abronoma. Esi is then sent to the Cape Coast Castle and is packed into the castle's dungeon with many other women. At that very time, her sister, Effia, lives a life of luxury upstairs.

Esi is subjected to terrible conditions inside the women's prison of the Cape Coast Castle. She watches how women are starved, abused and have their babies taken away. From the moment Esi is captured, she experiences a lot of oppression. After three weeks, while in the dungeon with so many women, she finds it difficult to breathe as "the waste on the dungeon floor [is] up to Esi's ankles." After that, a few soldiers walk in, and one soldier starts sexually assaulting one of the women. The soldier grabbed a woman pushed her against the wall. "His hands found her breasts and then began to move down the length of her body ... until the sound that escaped her lips was a scream." (Gyasi 47)

Another soldier drags Esi out of the room, she tries to struggle but "the lack of food" and "the wounds from the beatings" leave her too weak to resist (Gyasi 48). He brings her to his quarters above the dungeons. She is "so unused to light" that blinds her. He rapes her, and afterwards "he [looks] horrified, disgusted with her. As though he were the one who had had something taken from him. As though he were the one who had been violated.... He looked at her like her body was his shame." Esi realizes that "the soldier had done something that even the other soldiers would find fault with." Esi cannot bring herself to care. She has "not stopped bleeding since that night. A thin trickle of red traveled down her leg. (Gyasi 48)

At a time, Esi feels hopeful and that people have some faith when the British Governor James gives her a kind and pitying smile. It had been so long since she had seen someone smile. Yet when that same officer takes her out of the dungeon to rape her, she understands that the smile of a white man means nothing. Esi always

looks sad. she has learnt, however, that "white men smiling just meant more evil was coming with the next wave." (Gyasi 49) Thus, the other slaves call her "Frownie... because she never smiled." (Gyasi 68)

Moreover, to keep the black stone pendant given to her by Maame, Esi swallows it lest the British officers will take it from her. Once in the dungeon, she finds the stone in her waste and buries it. However, she is unable to retrieve it before she is forced onto a slave ship. This shows how the slave trade will rob Esi's descendants of their memory and heritage. She is shipped off soon and becomes pregnant afterwards.

In *Homegoing*, gender inequality is combined with slavery. Females were often taken in as slaves to be forced to be housewives or mothers to many children with many different wives. In custody of slave plantations, women were often raped. They were forced to carry the pregnancy of the plantations owner's children. Ness is a clear example for this.

Ness is the child Esi conceived after being raped by the British man at the castle. She was born a slave in the United States. Ness's life shows the horrible brutality of the slave trade. Her story shows the ultimate way oppressors try to control the oppressed. Like many enslaved children and parents, Ness was separated from her own mother at a young age. Ness is forced to work in the fields at a young age and remains shattered at the plantation in Alabama.

At the beginning of the chapter called Ness, she has just arrived at a new slave owner's plantation from her old master's. Ness's experiences on both her old plantation and her new one show that she is abused, and subjected to sexual violence. She leads an unhappy life. A lot of grieving memories often come to her mind. She always remembers her mother's bedtime stories. They were ones "about what Esi used to call 'the Big Boat.' Ness would fall asleep to the images of men being thrown into the Atlantic Ocean like anchors attached to nothing: no land, no people, no worth." (Gyasi 68)

The relationship between Ness and the slave plantation is horrible. She describes it as "Hell." (Gyasi 71) The metaphor of Hell assures the brutal conditions and ill-treatment that Ness as an African is subjected to. Gyasi

describes Ness's life at the first planation as, "In Hell, the sun scorched cotton so hot it almost burned the palms of your hands to touch it. Holding those small white puffs almost felt like holding fire, but God forbid you let one drop." (Gyasi 74)

Moreover, the rapport between Ness and her master is furthered by her fear. She only refers to him as "the Devil" that "shows no mercy...[Ness] is beaten until the whip snaps off her back like pulled taffy...some nights, they feared that the Devil is watching them as they lie." (Gyasi 81) The awful expression displays the savagery that white people inflicted to their slaves – something that has not been forgotten by the blacks. These feelings do not go away easily, and although slavery is gone the distrust and terror of authoritative whites still remains.

As a slave, Ness is abused both physically and emotionally. The scars that cover her body are clear proofs. She did nothing to earn those scars. The scars make her unable to become a housewife to be far away from working in the hot fields. Though the owner, Tom Allan Stockham, thought Ness was too pretty to work in the field and had Ness dress in the house slave uniform, Tom was horrified by the scars all over her body and sent her to work in the field after all. The scars are a physical manifestation of how trauma repeats itself and is often inescapable. In addition, the fact that Tom refuses to look at the scars and makes Ness work in the fields indicates that he simply does not want to see the horrors and evil of slavery.

Ness keeps to herself and does not interfere in others' affairs. However, when she comes to work on a new plantation, she gets into trouble once again, for defending one of the slave girls. Ness understands that innocent people do not deserve violence or harsh treatment for simple mistakes. She resists and risks being punished herself for standing up for Pinky. Her work at the plantation bonds her with the non-speaking Pinky. Pinky, too, has been separated from her own mother thanks to the horrors of slavery, though through death instead of forced physical separation.

Pinky becomes inseparable from Ness. Pinky has been mute since her own mother died. Pinky whose job is to collect water from the creek to bring back to the plantation is punished for no fault of her own. One day,

the Stockham children run into Pinky, spilling her water, and the boy, Tom Jr., insists she apologize. Though Ness tries to apologize on Pinky's behalf, Tom Jr. threatens to beat her with a cane until Ness grabs it from his hand and he falls to the ground. Seeing what has happened, Tom threateningly says he will deal with Ness later. That night, while fearing Tom's punishment, Ness dreams about her time in Hell. (Gyasi 76)

Moreover, the owner of the plantation uses the system of slavery for his benefits. He forces Ness to marry a man named Sam, Gyasi writes, "for reasons of insurance." (77) Sam had just been brought over from Africa and was strong and angry and refused to learn English. However, Ness takes the blame for his mistakes. Though she did not destroy the cabin, she was beaten for it by the owner, the Devil, while she is lying. ... and "then she is kicked to the ground." (Gyasi 77)

When Ness and her husband Sam tried to escape from the torture of the owner, they were brought back to Hell, where Ness was whipped until she could not lift her head and made to watch as Sam was lynched. Gyasi writes, "Ness was on the ground, dust covering her sores. She could not lift her head, so the Devil lifted it for her. He made her watch. He made them all watch: the rope come out, the tree branch bend, the head snap free from body." (Gyasi 83) Thus, Ness was driven to paranoia by these beatings, which creates a distrust and fear of her white tyrants.

An extra example is Abena. She endures oppression and gender discrimination because of her low, social position. Abena is an unmarried twenty-five-year-old woman. She is "unheard of, in her village or any other on this continent or the next." (Gyasi 124) Described as beautiful, she is the daughter of James (Effia's grandson) and Akosua (a poor young Asante girl). Abena is resentful of her father's bad luck. Since her father is not wealthy, she cannot marry and thus she is treated like an old maid and a mistress. "But there were only a few men in her village, and none of them wanted to take a chance with Unlucky's daughter." (Gyasi 124) Moreover, Abena was certain that she must have inherited the thing that had earned her father his nickname.

"They called him the man without a name. They called him Unlucky. And now his troubles had followed her. Even her childhood best friend, Ohene Nyarko, would not take her as his second wife. Though he would never say it, she knew what he was thinking." (Gyasi 124)

Abena knows that even her childhood best friend, Ohene Nyarko, will not take her as his second wife because she is not worth the bride price. Abena's thoughts affirm once again the rigid stereotypes and expectations placed on women, as at twenty-five years old, she thinks she is old to be unmarried, and that no one would ever want her. The society still demands that Abena be bought with a bride price, almost like another form of ownership though they want to marry for love. Ohene cannot marry her if his yams do not grow. He says that he will marry her after his next big harvest. He asks her to be patient and adds,

"my parents always used to say that I shouldn't marry a woman whose clan I didn't know. They said you would bring nothing but dishonor to my children, if we had children at all. ... I will marry you as soon as my land tells me that I am ready to marry you." (Gyasi 133)

On hearing these words, Abena begins to cry. Ohene's words reveal how the burden of the society's marriage structure falls on the women, as Abena can only wait for Ohene to marry her and has very few other viable options in the society. This echoes her mother Akosua's path, as she also simply had to wait for James to return for her.

However, due to her social position, Abena is sexually active outside of marriage. She has love affairs with Ohene. She becomes pregnant and has a daughter, Akua, from him. Seeing that she is eventually abandoned during her pregnancy by her fiancé, she resists and travels to the missionary church in Kumasi to raise her daughter. Once there, however, she is killed by the missionary who tries to baptize the child and accidentally drowns her.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, from the above discussion it is clear that the female characters suffer from gender

discrimination and inequality. Throughout the novel, women are brutalized, marginalized, oppressed and subjected to slavery and physical, sexual and psychological violence. Traditional culture and colonialism often play prominent roles in oppressing women. Men often benefit from these hard conditions at the expense of women. However, the women in a way or another remain determined and strong characters. They resist not to be broken by their masters and maintain a fierce sense of self throughout their suffering. Inequality and violence against women are not because of ill practices of individuals but they are structural and systematic. The author of the novel shows that though slavery, racism and female oppression may have ended years ago, they still exist today. Equality between the sexes still remains a distant ideal because most people do not accept the changes. Certain and effective actions need to be taken about discrimination against women because of their gender and skin colour. Women need more respect and not to be looked down upon because of their sex. Women should be given importance and their share in decision making should be taken into consideration as they are competent enough to give valuable suggestions. They want to be described as whole beings and be judged accordingly. They are so active in performing duties whatever they are for their society. Even if it comes to laborious tasks, women perform them whole heartedly.

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