

CHAPTER FOUR

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS – THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES

“Semiotic approaches ... define masculinity as a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinity is, in effect, defined as not-femininity” (Connell 2001:33).

Whereas the previous chapter focused specifically on the representation of masculinity in Moreletapark, *kerksondemure* and *Doxa Deo*, this chapter considers the depiction of gender in the churches in broader terms. A discussion is provided of the manner in which masculinity and femininity are constructed in terms of one another in the visual material collected from the churches. I mainly refer to images portraying women or femininity and these are compared and contrasted with the images of men and masculinity discussed in Chapter Three. As explained in Chapter One, the method of contrasting masculinity and femininity in gender-based research is preferred by various scholars. This method is particularly relevant to a study in a semiotic framework, like the one undertaken in this dissertation, as this framework proposes that masculinity and femininity are constructed in terms of and in opposition to each other (Connell 2001:33). It is, therefore, by contrasting the construction of both that the individual constitution of each may be fully described. Furthermore, researchers are warned that the burgeoning focus on masculinities in academia could participate in the revival of patriarchal exclusion and marginalisation of women and their related issues (Collinson & Hearn 2001:150). This study heeds this warning by considering the representation of masculinity and femininity in tandem.

As men and masculinity are the chosen focus of this study, women and femininity are discussed here as a foil to masculinity and to highlight the construction of essential dominant masculinity and the perpetuation of essentialist ideas concerning gender. As women and femininity are not the focus of this study, the images in this chapter are not analysed in as much depth as those regarding men and masculinity. The images discussed here regarding femininity are also fairly stereotypical and do not differ substantially from mainstream representations of women and femininity. It is, therefore, unnecessary to unpack these images in detail as they are quite self-explanatory. As in the previous chapter, this chapter also includes images which are not discussed at length but

which are included for documentation purposes in order to provide a thorough picture of gender representation in the three churches. This chapter seeks to illustrate the manner in which the findings regarding the representation of masculinity in Chapter Three are underscored and emphasised by that of the representation of femininity, and describes the dramatic difference in portrayal between masculinity and femininity in the data. The discussion of femininity, as represented by Moreletapark, kerksondemure and Doxa Deo, shows precisely what masculinity is *not* conceptualised as and portrayed to be in these churches (Connell 2001:33). The representational practice of constructing masculinity as *not-feminine* is also common in the mainstream media (MacKinnon 2003:5-7).

In Chapter Three it was shown that men are portrayed as active campers, businessmen and fathers enjoying the outdoors with their children. Women, on the other hand, are shown as passive decorative objects, as symbols for spirituality and divinity and as mothers caring for infants. These themes of masculine and feminine representation could perhaps themselves be seen as binary constructs, as 'significant others'. Such a constitution of significant others in the three churches' visual culture is considered in the first two sections of this chapter, where the construction of masculinity and femininity is considered, firstly, regarding the nature of gendered ontology in the three churches, and secondly, regarding the visual conceptualisation of work and family. In the latter section of the chapter, I briefly discuss and problematise certain elements which are not represented in the visual data collected from Moreletapark, kerksondemure and Doxa Deo.

4.1 Gendered ontology

The visual data collected for this study visually foregrounds the male active–female passive gender binary (Mulvey 1975:11) and in so doing cements beliefs regarding biological essentialism. In Chapter Three, it was established that male gendered ontology is visually constructed in the three churches' material as physically active. In this section I illustrate that female gendered ontology is constructed on the opposite end of this gender pole as passive and decorative. The marketing material used for the women's ministries at the churches is especially complicit in this regard, as considered in the next section.

4.1.1 Pink is for girls, and blue is for boys

“... [she] should be soft, soft by nature, soft by word of mouth. If they are not soft, they simply do not have influence over a man” - SA rugby patriarch, Danie Craven (Grundlingh 1996:198).

Figures 45 to 50 represent material from Doxa Deo’s women’s ministry, Flourish. The first figure considered here (Figure 45) is the ministry’s logo. The word “Flourish” carries connotations of flowers flourishing, which are connected with femininity. According to Juan Eduardo Cirlot (2002:109), flowers are “symbolic of transitoriness, of Spring and of beauty”. Similarly, Kim Dennis-Bryan, Nicola Hodgson and Neil Lockley (2008:82) note that, “[f]lowers in full bloom are a symbol of nature at its glorious zenith. They reflect all that is passive and feminine and are associated with beauty, youth, and springtime, as well as spiritual perfection and peace”. Flowers, furthermore, have connotations of delicacy and prettiness and these associations are transferred onto women and femininity in this context. By likening women to flourishing flowers, this ministry and its visual material situates femininity as closer to nature, in Ortner’s (1998:29) terms – a signifying practice which aids in upholding gender binaries.

The myth of feminine beauty is supported through this use of flower imagery in association with femininity. In the rhetoric of the active–passive male–female binary, *appearing* is constituted as feminine versus *doing*, which is constituted as masculine. This binary is prominent in the data in this study, as becomes clear when contrasting the implied passivity in the representation of femininity to that of the heightened physical activity in the representation of masculinity. Naomi Wolf (1991:12) lays bare the workings of the beauty myth as follows:

The beauty myth tells a story: The quality called “beauty” objectively and universally exists. Women must want to embody it and men must want to possess women who embody it. This embodiment is an imperative for women and not for men, which situation is necessary and natural because it is biological, sexual, and evolutionary: Strong men battle for beautiful women, and beautiful women are reproductively successful.

On the logo, the line under the word “Flourish” reads in flowing font, “for real women”. It is unclear what this phrase implies in this context. Perhaps it implies that Christian women are “real women”, and as such should flourish. It could also imply that in order to be considered a “real woman”, one should flourish. At the bottom of the logo another phrase

appears: “to grow well & luxuriantly thrive”. This phrase repeats the theme of flowers growing and thriving as is implied by the ministry’s name, and also connects to ideas of luxury, opulence and abundance in its use of the adverb “luxuriantly”. This word may have certain materialistic connotations and one wonders at its exact purpose in this Christian women’s ministry context, as Christianity is known for forsaking worldly riches in favour of spiritual riches. Similarly, it is common knowledge that the Bible preaches against greed and vanity.



Figure 45: Doxa Deo’s “Flourish” ministry logo.

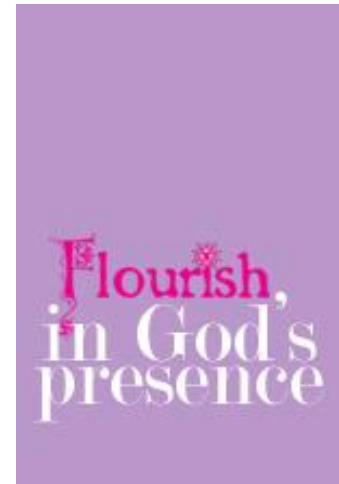


Figure 46: Doxa Deo “Flourish” ministry image.

The logo’s use of stereotypically feminine colours (vivid pink and purple) to signify gender, hints at underlying essentialist and biological determinist beliefs. The word “Flourish” appears in serif text, and is decorated with flowing, organic lines. A floral motif appears on the word’s ‘i’ tying in with the floral theme established in the ministry’s name. In the logo’s background one sees a graphic element, also reiterating the ministry’s floral theme, comprising more flowing lines and flower-like motifs. The logo is busy, cluttered and highly decorative and functions to associate decoration with femininity, which problematically objectifies women and femininity as decorative elements. Decoration is, however, commonly associated with femininity. Wolf (1991:75) describes the adornment of the female body as a great part of female culture. In Art History, femininity is also associated with decoration in the dichotomy between the ‘masculine’ fine arts and the ‘feminine’ applied and decorative arts (Broude & Garrard 1982:12). The use of decoration, especially to such an extreme extent as exhibited in Figure 45, is not found in the visual material portraying men and masculinity. These images tend to shy away from decoration and

graphic clutter, which is a stark contrast to the images depicting femininity. The text in Figure 46, a variation on the Flourish logo, reads: “Flourish in God’s presence”. The theme of flourishing flowers is thus emphasised here as well, but in this image God’s presence is cited as cause for women to flourish like flowers. In this line of thinking, God is to women as sunlight is to flowers. It is thus implied that spirituality is good for women.

The next image, Figure 47, advertises a worship event hosted by Doxa Deo’s Flourish ministry and shows the propensity for decoration. Feminine colours are again used in conjunction with cursive fonts. We assume the posture of the female figure’s body in this image is used here to imply connotations of worship, as she appears on an image meant to advertise a worship event. She seems to be praying, or to be enraptured in worship, bending backwards and turning her face up to the heavens. On the right side of the image a pink orchid appears signifying femininity and underlining the flower theme of the Flourish ministry. Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (2008:83) maintain that, “[i]n the West [the orchid] represents luxury, beauty and refinement, and is also a symbol of perfection. The spots on the orchid are thought to represent the blood of Christ”. The orchid in this image is used for these purposes, and its connection to Christianity is not coincidental. Above the orchid is a graphic element of organic swirling lines in pink, similar to the graphic elements in Figure 45.

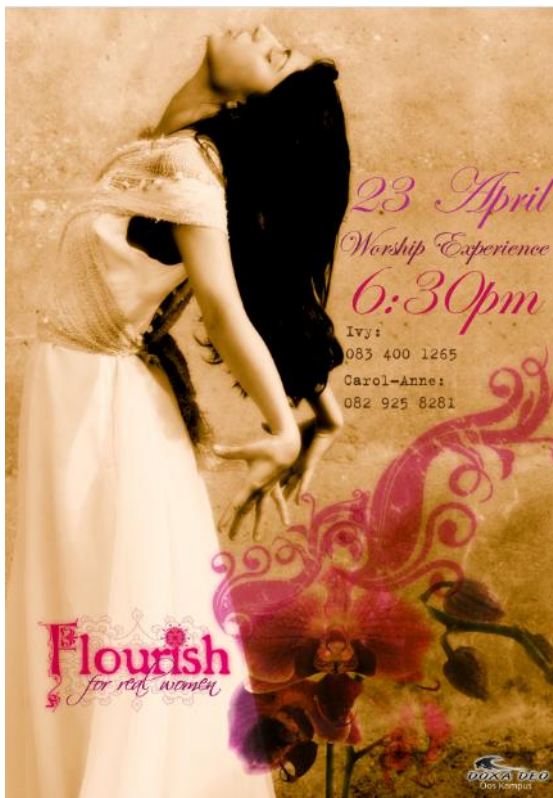


Figure 47: Doxa Deo “Flourish” ministry “Worship Experience” image.



Figure 48: Doxa Deo “Flourish” ministry “Bible Study” image.

The woman in Figure 47 is noticeably slim, has delicate facial features and long hair, rendering her feminine and attractive according to general Western standards (Brownmiller 1984:55). Her beauty and delicacy is further emphasised by the soft camera focus used in the photograph. She is feminised by the long, soft white dress she is wearing, which signifies purity, peace and serenity. Overall the image constructs femininity as delicate and 'pretty', using feminine colours, shapes, fonts and a photograph of an attractive and feminised woman. An emphasis on an attractive physical appearance is not found in the material representing masculinity in Chapter Three, and therefore appears to be a tendency associated with women and femininity.

Although presumably in worship, the woman's body is posed unnaturally and it might be argued that this pose emphasises her feminine figure in profile as it accentuates her breasts, face and long hair, thereby objectifying her. Similarly, the shawl wrapped around her shoulders and waist also draws attention to her upper body. The veil is a device used in Art History to signify chastity and modesty (Hall 1974:318) and paradoxically draws attention to what it is concealing. The myth of feminine beauty is supported in this image, but it is also connected to spiritual experience, as a beautiful woman is shown as overcome in worship. Beauty and its main carrier, femininity – in the visual rhetoric of this image – become a symbol for spirituality. This connection between beauty, femininity and spirituality is a common theme, as I will argue, which runs through almost all the figures regarding femininity. Although both men and women are portrayed as worshiping in the data for this study, male figures are not objectified, or employed in a manner which symbolises spirituality. The practice of using femininity to represent spirituality is essentialist and so is the practice of hosting gender-segregated worship events, which implies that men and women worship and experience spirituality in essentially different ways. The gendering of Christian activity and ministry is common in Moreletapark, *kerksondemure* and *Doxa Deo's* visual material (see 2.3), and their men's and women's ministries are branded according to stereotypically gendered colours and images.

The Flourish ministry Bible Study advertisement image (Figure 48) uses the same photograph of a woman as in Figure 47. In Figure 48, however, an extreme close-up of the female figure's shoulders and face is employed, perhaps unintentionally referring to the scriptural detail into which the Bible Study sessions will delve. This extreme close-up is in itself an objectifying visual code as it further concentrates on her features, her hair and the delicacy of the shawl. As is the case with the worship event advertised in Figure 47, the Bible study opportunity advertised in Figure 48 is pertinently shown to be a Bible study for

women. Again one sees the gendered segregation of Christian activity, resting on essentialist notions that men and women study the Bible differently. More problematically, it could be argued that, in this instance, the gender segregation of Bible study implies that different sets of spiritual knowledge are meant for each sex – perhaps taking on a gendered view of knowledge itself. Gender segregated activity in the churches in this study is also common where the men’s ministries are concerned. In Doxa Deo’s case, and in contrast to the Flourish women’s worship event (Figure 47) and bible study (Figure 48), discussions were hosted for men only, it would appear, regarding success and work in the corporate world (Figures 12 and 13).

A further two images from Flourish show similar elements as discussed above. A registration form (Figure 49) for an unnamed Flourish ministry event employs the same feminised visual rhetoric at work as in Figures 45 to 48. Feminine colours are used again, in conjunction with cursive fonts, swirling organic lines and visual motifs such as leaves and flowers. In Figure 49, a pink butterfly is also included as motif, carrying connotations of femininity. According to Cirlot (2002:35), the butterfly is also “an emblem for soul and of unconscious attraction towards light”. Moreover, Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (2008:83) believe that, “[t]he butterfly’s miraculous cycle of metamorphosis links it with transformation, resurrection, and the soul. It also signifies happiness and beauty”.



Date of Event:
7 May 07

Flourish
for real women

Registration Form

Name: _____

Telephone: _____

e-mail: _____

*For more information,
please contact
Ivy Sutton - 083 400 1265*

DOXA DEO
Oos Kampus

Figure 49: Doxa Deo “Flourish” ministry event registration form.



Figure 50: Doxa Deo “Flourish” ministry “White Christmas” event image.

Figure 50 is an image used to advertise a Flourish ministry Christmas function, called “White Christmas”. It is unclear whether the event was open to both men and women. The Flourish logo features prominently at the top right of the image. White is the predominant colour used in this image, presumably to emphasise the “White Christmas” theme of the event in line with the Northern hemisphere cliché, holding connotations of purity and peace in the festive season. The “White Christmas” image mainly provides information on the event and is somewhat less feminised than Figures 45 to 49 in its use of restrained fonts and colours.¹ Attendees are instructed to wear white to the function. If one assumes the event will be attended largely by females, then the image of women in white dresses is conjured up mentally, similar to that shown in Figures 47 and 48 and later in Figures 69 and 70. The phrase at the bottom of the image reads: “Celebrating ...life ...each other and our God”. It is significant that this phrase indicates that the women at the event would celebrate one another. This notion makes pertinent reference to relationships amongst women, a type of reference which is not common in the visual material regarding masculinity. Firstly, one could argue that this is owing to the fact that male to male relationships are often inhibited by the threat of appearing homosexual (Whitehead 2002:159). Secondly, women are commonly stereotyped as being better at emotional relationships than men, which might be the reason why one sees an emphasis on female to female relationships in this study, rather than on male to male relationships.

It is worth noting that while Doxa Deo’s women’s ministry is so heavily branded (Figures 45 to 50), the church’s men ministry is not given a visual identity comparable to that of Flourish. Apart from two images discussed in Chapter Three regarding corporate masculinity (Figures 12 and 13) which one assumes advertise events connected to a men’s ministry, no other images regarding a men’s ministry were collected as part of the data from Doxa Deo. In general Doxa Deo appears to be less preoccupied with visually articulating masculinity than they are with femininity. This can also be seen in their non-representation of fatherhood. The most striking difference between Doxa Deo’s Flourish materials (Figures 45 to 50) and their corporate masculinity images is the use of colour. Figures 12 and 13 are rendered in blue and black, whereas the Flourish figures are mostly rendered in pink and purple. This practice of using stereotypical masculine and feminine colours borders on the gendered encoding of commodities (McKay *et al* 2005:281), which

¹ The only figure in this image is that of a penguin, which appears to be dancing. Although not a traditional image associated with Christmas, one may assume that the image of a penguin is used in connection with the theme of a white (winter) Christmas, as penguins are known to thrive in snow. The fact that the penguin is dancing is perhaps also employed here to signify celebration. The event is thus perhaps intended as an end-of-year festive celebration. On close inspection, it is apparent that the penguin image used here is an exact copy of the image used on the poster for the animated film *Happy feet* (Miller, Coleman & Morris 2006).

is common in mainstream advertising – a practice which also objectifies both men and women as products for sale. Other signifying practices which stereotype masculinity and femininity, apart from colour use, are also visible when comparing Doxa Deo’s images. The Flourish images are stereotypically decorative and make use of flowing graphics, whereas the design of men’s corporate images is more static and bold.

Figure 51 represents *Waardevormer Baniere* (Value-forming Banners) which hang in Doxa Deo’s church buildings. Although these banners are not connected to the Flourish ministry, they do visualise a specific belief regarding femininity in the church. These coloured banners each portray a different facet of Doxa Deo’s activity and focus as a congregation: church, arts, media, social services, sport, education, business and government. Of the eight banners only the arts banner portrays a human figure, which is shown as a female dancer, and connects femininity with art and with having a good physique. As in the Flourish “Worship Experience” image (Figure 47), the female figure in the arts banner in Figure 51 is posed in a manner which accentuates her feminine form and shows off her feminine facial features. One can argue that the female figure is used as a decorative element, similar to the decorative elements, such as a cross, a microphone, a soccer ball, a keyboard and coins used in the other banners. Visually, the female figure in the arts banner is used for similar decorative purposes as the inanimate objects in the other banners, thereby, literally, objectifying her. This tendency to objectify female figures as decorative is also commonly present in the Flourish materials and judging from these and Figure 51, Doxa Deo’s gender ideology appears to be essentialist and biologically determined.



Figure 51: Doxa Deo *Waardevormer Baniere* (Value-forming Banners).

kerksondemure employs branding tactics for both its men’s and women’s ministries. Material for the men’s ministry, *Adam Bediening* (Adam Ministry), was discussed in

Chapter Three as Figures 22 and 27. Material from kerksondemure’s women’s ministry, *Vonkelvroue* (Sparkle Women), is similar to that of Doxa Deo’s Flourish ministry in that it also uses stereotypical feminine colours, shapes and female figures. The *Vonkelvroue* logo (Figure 52) is less feminised and decorative than the Flourish logo (Figures 45 to 50), but pink is also the preferred colour to signify femininity. The name of this ministry also has certain essentialised feminine connotations. The word “*vonkel*” (sparkle or bubble), has connotations of beauty, shining, being precious, happiness and vitality, and is connected with women and femininity in this context. As with the exact meaning of “Flourish” as a ministry name, it is not quite clear what the meaning of *Vonkelvroue* is in this case. It could imply that the women in the ministry ‘sparkle’, so to say, or that Christian women should ‘sparkle’. The myth of female beauty is as prominent in this ministry’s name as it is in Doxa Deo’s women’s ministry’s name. The term “*vonkelvrou*” is commonly used in Afrikaans to denote a woman who shines out above the rest. The popular Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, gives a *Vonkel Vrou* [sic] award to ten women who made remarkable contributions to the entertainment industry (Rapport Vonkel Vroue 2010). In the Afrikaner context, this term therefore also carries connotations of female achievement.²



Figure 52: kerksondemure “*Vonkelvroue*” (Sparkle Women) ministry logo.

In the *Vonkelvroue* ministry logo, the “v” in the pink slanted word “*vonkel*” has lines radiating from its right leg, making it seem, in the context of this logo, that the “v” is glittering. This logo’s feminised connotations and implied myth of the importance of feminine beauty is accentuated when compared to the bold red design of the *Adam Bediening* (Adam Ministry) logo (Figure 22). According to its design, Christian men are not expected to ‘sparkle’ or to appear beautiful, but to be bold, strong and physically active (see Chapter Three). One wonders why kerksondemure did not simply name their women’s ministry *Eva Bediening* (Eve Ministry) citing the first woman on earth, according to Christian lore, in line with the reference the *Adam Bediening* makes to the first man on

² The choice of this name also represents an intertextual reference to the fictitious *Vonkelvrou* award held by the character *Matrone* (Matron) in the popular Afrikaans soap opera, *7de Laan* (Odendaal 2000-2012).

earth. Perhaps the idea of Eve holds too many negative connotations owing to general beliefs about her part in the Fall of Man, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Like the kerksondemure *Adam Bediening* programme (Figure 27), the *Vonkelvroue* ministry also created a year programme for 2008 (Figure 53). Figure 53 reveals a great deal about kerksondemure’s beliefs about women and femininity. Apart from green, the other colours in Figure 53 represent feminine colours, akin to the other women’s ministry figures in this section. The dove in this image symbolises peace in Western belief, and in a Christian context it also symbolises hope and promise by God,³ as well as the Holy Spirit.⁴ The faces of three radiantly smiling women appear, visualising the *vonkel* (sparkle) theme of the women’s ministry through their apparent happiness and the accentuation of their beauty. These female faces are grouped closely together, signifying the assumed closeness of female relationships. The fact that the dove and the female figures appear together in the same visual space also connects femininity to the associations which the dove image holds, such as peace, hope and spirituality.



Jaarprogram 2008

Radikaal anders soos Jesus...

DATUM	FUNKSIE	TEMA	SPREKER
20 Februarie	Afskopfunksie	Ek leef bewustelik in algehele afhanklikheid (In pas met die Vader).	Paul Willemse
16-18 Mei	Kamp	Alles tot die eer van God ... leef in God se krag.	Verrassing!
23 Julie	Winterlofprysing	Hy gee Homself.	Johan Claassens
9 Augustus (Vrouedag)	Ma & dogter piekniek	Maak my woorde 'n lieflike geur... Sy woorde gee krag	Mandie du Plooy
6 September	Lente tee	Leer my om te vergewe... Hy vergewe.	Charlie Dicks
7-9 November	Vrouekamp	... Hy wys ons God.	Verrassing!
26 November	Afsluitings-funksie	Skyn U lig deur my.	Gotfried Schiele ... kers-klokkespel met 'n boodskap...
22 November	Seniorfunksie	Dankie vir die krip, die kruis en die kroon.	Francis & Elizabeth Fourie ... Kersblyspel...

BEPLANDE AKTiwITEITE VIR 2008

- Bediening van die seniors van Rusoord.
- Belydenis aflegging
- Matriekdiens
- Laerskooldiens

Vonkelvroue

Vonkelvroue

IN AKSIE

2008

Ons Visie
Ons Missie

Vonkelvroue in Aksie is kerksondemure se dames organisasie wat saam hande neem om deur die loop van die jaar verskeie geleenthede te bied aan die dames van die gemeente en omgewing om saam geestelik te groei en vrouwees te geniet.

Hier is ons visie en missie wat ons vertrekpunt is vir elke geleentheid wat ons reël:

Om op 'n skeppende wyse uit te reik na vroue om hulle geestelik en emosioneel op te hef en te bemagtig, terwyl ons God se naam groot maak. Ons wil dus 'n verskil in hulle lewens maak en lewensverandering meebring.

Om God 'n realiteit in die lewens van ons vroue te maak, hulle te bereik deur die gebruik van ons gawes en talente. (Maar dit alleen biddend, op ons knieë en in Sy krag.)

kerksondemure
churchwithouthwalls

Figure 53: kerksondemure “*Vonkelvroue Jaarprogram 2008*” (Sparkle Women year programme 2008).

³ This belief arises from the Biblical tale of a dove bringing hope of life in the form of an olive branch to Noah after the devastation of the earth by God’s wrath.

⁴ The Holy Spirit is believed to be one component of the Holy Trinity, which descended on Christ in Biblical tales in the form of a dove.

On the left side of Figure 53, the year programme contains various items according to date, function, theme and speaker. Not all the items on the programme are necessarily significant to this analysis of gender representation, but some warrant discussion. Two camps are advertised on the programme. In the case of the first camp, it is not clearly stated here that it is a women's camp, but this matter is clarified by a *kerksondemure* announcement pamphlet (*Oktober Dankbaarheidsmaand Weekblad* 2008b:3), which clearly refers to this specific camp as a women's camp. The second camp which *Vonkelvroue* have on their calendar is more clearly named "*Vrouekamp*" (Women's Camp). The phenomenon of women's camps or retreats is present in all three churches and is discussed in more detail later in this section.

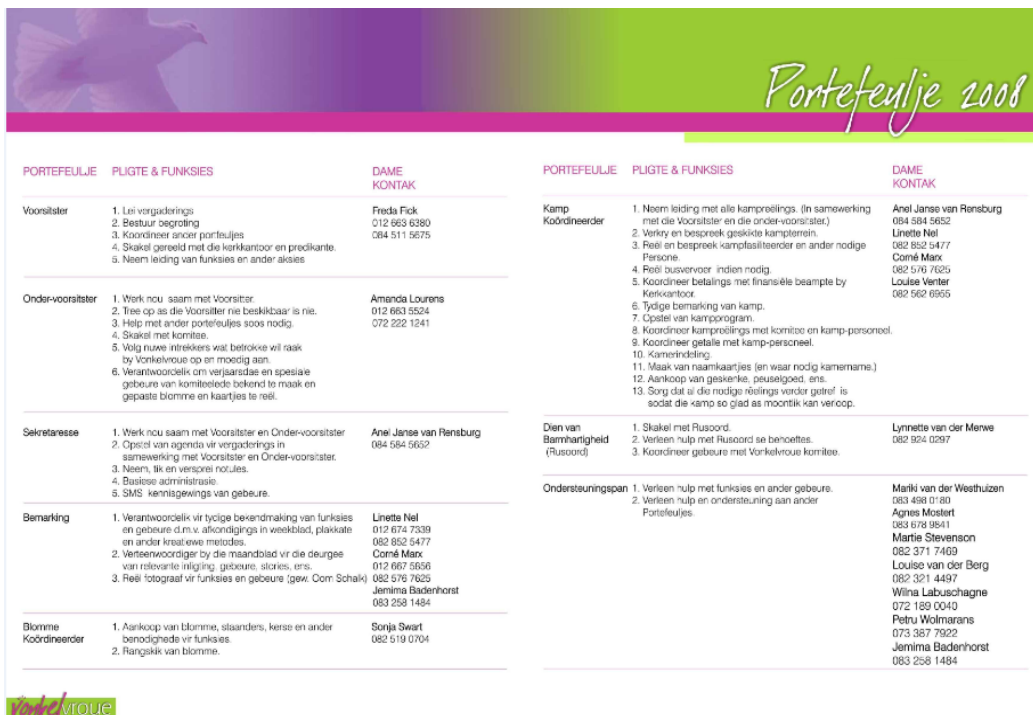
One notices that for all eight items on the programme, only one has a female speaker, Mandie du Plooy, for the "*Ma & dogter piekniek*" (Mother and daughter picnic). This implicates a certain ideological bias as to which gender is considered to have sufficient authority to speak at the women's ministry events. This overwhelming use of male speakers not only emphasises male authority in the church's context, but also seems incongruent with the essentialist tone of the various women's ministries in this study that stress unique and specific female spiritual experience. It seems contradictory that male speakers are selected to address women in this context. One is not sure whether the "*Winterlofprysing*" (Winter Worship) event is intended for women only, but as it does not appear on the *Adam Bediening* programme in Figure 27, it is perhaps safe to assume so. Like the Doxa Deo Flourish ministry "Worship Event" (Figure 47), the gender segregation in worship appears to be rooted in essentialist beliefs that men and women worship in different ways. The mother and daughter picnic on 9 August, which is national Women's Day in South Africa, is clearly meant for mothers who have daughters, and does not give the more gender neutral option of a mother and child picnic as the Adam-child camp (Figure 27) does. Some emphasis is, therefore, placed on essentialist same sex socialisation between women and girls. A picnic is also associated with the preparation of one's own food before the event. The three churches' visual material reveals that women in the churches in this study are commonly employed to host church events and prepare refreshments.

The "*Lente tee*" (Spring tea) is an activity which can be contrasted with the "*Adam-ontbyt*" (Adam breakfast) events at *kerksondemure*. Using the term "tea" feminises the spring function, as it holds feminine connotations if used in this manner as in more traditional women's events, such as a stork tea or a kitchen tea. A Christmas function is hosted by

Vonkelvroue for the elderly. It is worth noting that, according to their programme in Figure 27, the *Adam Bediening* does not feel compelled to host a comparable event for the elderly. This notion subtly stresses women's traditionally expected roles as servants and caregivers, in this instance providing care to old people. After the items on the programme, a list of "*Beplande Aktiwiteite vir 2008*" (Planned Activities for 2008) appears, which lists "*Bediening van seniors van Rusoord*" (Serving of seniors in Retirement Village), "*Belydenis aflegging*" [sic] (Confirmation of faith, commonly done by grade 11 and 12 children in the Dutch Reformed Church), "*Matriekdiens*" (Matric church service) and "*Laerskooldiens*" (Primary School church service). Judging from the fact that these events all involve the elderly and children, these are not events that the women of *Vonkelvroue* will be attending themselves, but will be hosting, and quite likely be catering for.

These listed activities are an example of the tendency to have women organise functions and prepare food for church events. Again, no such activities are planned on the *Adam Bediening* programme, thereby implying that serving and caregiving are activities consecrated to Christian women, effectively relegating church women to the status of a 'glorified' events co-ordination collective. This tendency is stereotypical, in the sense that women are subordinated to domesticated roles in the church context, and is highly problematic when one considers the low numbers of women in leadership positions in these three churches. Men are not utilised for such domestic purposes in the churches' visual culture, but are confirmed as heads at home, at work and in the church. This construction leaves no space for female leadership, except in service to others and in quasi-domesticated roles in women's ministry contexts. Women are, therefore, conceptualised as "Angels in the House", as was the practice in the Victorian era, graciously and unobtrusively committing themselves to domestic cares (McDowall 2011).

Similar ideas regarding the gender roles of women in the church as discussed above feature in the "*Vonkelvroue Portefeulje*" (Portfolio) for 2008 (Figure 54), which indicates the members of the ministry's management committee and their duties and responsibilities. The ministry's task of hosting functions is accentuated in this portfolio, with references made to: leading functions; marketing functions; organising a photographer for functions; buying flowers, candles and other necessities for functions; and creating flower arrangements at functions. No such portfolio is available for the *Adam Bediening*, but owing to the industrious nature of the *Vonkelvroue* ministry's activities, it might be safe to assume that they support the men's ministry in organising its functions.



Portefeuljie 2008

PORTEFEULJIE	PLIGTE & FUNKSIES	DAME KONTAK	PORTEFEULJIE	PLIGTE & FUNKSIES	DAME KONTAK
Voorster	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lei vergaderings 2. Bestuur begroting 3. Koördineer ander portefeuljes 4. Skakel gereed met die kerkkantoor en predikante 5. Neem leiding van funksies en ander aksies 	<p>Freda Fick 012 663 6380 084 511 5675</p>	Kamp Koördineerder	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neem leiding met alle kamproeilings. (In samewerking met die Voorster en die onder-voorstel.) 2. Werky en bespreek geskiede kampterrein. 3. Reël en bespreek kamplasiiteerder en ander nodige persone. 4. Reël busvervoer indien nodig. 5. Koördineer betalings met finansiële beamppte by kerkkantoor. 6. Tydige bemarking van kamp. 7. Opstel van kampprogram. 8. Koördineer kamproeilings met komitee en kamp-personeel. 9. Koördineer getalle met kamp-personeel. 10. Kamerindeling. 11. Maak van naamkaartjies (en waar nodig kamemama.) 12. Aankoop van geskenke, peuselgoed, ens. 13. Sorg dat al die nodige reëlings vorder goetref is sodat die kamo so glad as moontlik kan verloop. 	<p>Anel Jansse van Rensburg 084 584 5652 Linette Nel 082 852 5477 Corné Marx 082 576 7625 Louise Venter 082 562 6955</p>
Onder-voorstster	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Werk nou saam met Voorster. 2. Tree op as die Voorster nie beskikbaar is nie. 3. Help met ander portefeuljes soos nodig. 4. Skakel met komitee. 5. Volg nuwe intrekkers wat betrokke wil raak by Vonkelvroue op en moedig aan. 6. Verantwoordelik om verjaarsdae en spesiale gebeure van komiteedele bekend te maak en gepaste blomme en kaartjies te reël. 	<p>Amanda Lourens 012 222 1241</p>	Dien van Barmhartigheid (Rusoord)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Skakel met Rusoord. 2. Verleen hulp met Rusoord se behoeftes. 3. Koördineer gebeure met Vonkelvroue komitee. 	<p>Lynette van der Merwe 082 924 0297</p>
Sekretaresse	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Werk nou saam met Voorster en Onder-voorstster 2. Opstel van agenda vir vergaderings in samewerking met Voorster en Onder-voorstster. 3. Neem, tik en versprei notules. 4. Basiese administrasie 5. SMS: kennisgewings van gebeure. 	<p>Anel Jansse van Rensburg 084 584 5652</p>	Ondersteuningspan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Verleen hulp met funksies en ander gebeure. 2. Verleen hulp met ondersteuning aan ander Portefeuljes. 	<p>Markie van der Westhuizen 083 498 0789 Agnes Mostert 083 678 9841 Martie Stevenson 082 371 7409 Louise van der Berg 082 321 4497 Wilma Labuschagne 072 189 0040 Petru Wolmarans 073 367 7922 Jemima Badenhorst 083 258 1484</p>
Bemarking	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Verantwoordelik vir tydige bemarking van funksies en gebeure d.m.v. afkondigings in weekblad, plakate en ander kreatiewe metodes. 2. Verantwoordelik by die maandblad vir die deurgee van relevante inligting: gebeure, stories, ens. 3. Reël foto's vir funksies en gebeure (gew. Corné Schalk) 	<p>Linette Nel 012 674 7339 082 852 5477 Corné Marx 012 667 5656 082 576 7625 Jemima Badenhorst 083 258 1484</p>	Bloemne Koördineerder	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aankoop van blomme, sitstanders, kerse en ander benodighede vir funksies 2. Rangskik van blomme. 	<p>Sonja Swart 082 519 0704</p>

vonkelvroue

Figure 54: kerksondemure “*Vonkelvroue Portefeuljie 2008*” (Sparkle Women Portfolio 2008).

Moreletapark also has gender-branded men’s and women’s ministries. The website banner for the men’s ministry, simply named “*Mannebediening*” (Men’s Ministry), was discussed in Chapter Three as Figure 34. Figure 55 is the website banner for Moreletapark’s women’s ministry, also generically titled “*Vrouebediening*” (Women’s Ministry). Like the Doxa Deo and kerksondemure’s women’s ministries’ material, Moreletapark also employs feminine colours in their *Vrouebediening* banner, as well as flowers (arum lilies) and decorative graphic elements, shown as coloured splatters and stars. On the right side of the banner, an extreme close-up of a woman’s face is portrayed, which also appears to be a common practice in all the churches in this study in the production of the women’s ministry material. In contrast, extreme close-ups of men’s faces are not commonly found in the material representing men and masculinity analysed in Chapter Three, thereby indicating that this objectifying signification practice is reserved for the depiction of women and femininity. In Figure 56 the tendency to associate femininity with serving others and hosting functions as seen in *Vonkelvroue*’s Year Programme (Figure 53) and Portfolio (Figure 54), is visualised in fairly literal terms. Moreletapark’s “*Gasvryheidsbediening*” (Hospitality Ministry) website banner uses exactly the same photograph of lilies as is used in the *Vrouebediening* banner (Figure 55), making it clear which gender is ideologically associated with practising hospitality.



Figure 55: Moreletapark “*Vrouebediening*” (Women’s Ministry) website banner. (Vrouebediening 2008).



Figure 56: Moreletapark “*Gasvryheidbediening*” (Hospitality Ministry) website banner. (Gasvryheidbediening 2008).

As previously mentioned, the phenomenon of women’s camps and retreats does appear in the visual material of all three churches, but differs from the men’s camps (see Figures 28 to 30, 32, 41 and 42). In the visual material for these men’s camps, to reiterate, men are framed as actively and adventurously enjoying the outdoors and wilderness. The previously discussed information on Moreletapark’s *Vrouebediening* activities in Chapter Two indicates that the ministry hosts large camps for women, but no visual material specifically related to these camps was available for collection with the data of this study. Visual material for the women’s retreat hosted by Doxa Deo (Figure 57) and the women’s camp hosted by kerksondemure (Figure 58) is discussed below.

It is not pertinently stated anywhere in Figure 57 that the women’s retreat is presented by Flourish ministry, but as the image employs virtually the same feminised visual rhetoric as the other Flourish images, it might be safe to assume that Flourish is involved. Femininity is once again connected to spirituality through the title of the retreat, “Divine Exchange”, implying communion with God, and perhaps also between women. This women’s excursion in Figure 57 is specifically called a retreat, which holds spiritual connotations in a Christian context. The use of the term ‘retreat’ instead of ‘camp’, in this context, might imply that women are too delicate for the physical discomfort of camping. This idea is further visualised by the fact that a woman’s raised leg appears in the figure, exposing white trousers and a foot wearing a high heeled pink sandal – clearly not the appropriate choice of attire for the ruggedness of the wild outdoors. Myths of feminine delicacy, need

for luxury, spirituality and beauty are supported in this figure. The feminised nature of Doxa Deo's women's retreat image is highlighted when contrasted to the Sabie men's camp image (Figure 32), which connects men with masculinised rugged wilderness and outdoorism. The use of the concept 'retreat' for a women's breakaway, therefore has passive connotations, as opposed to the use of 'camp' for a men's breakaway, which has active connotations.

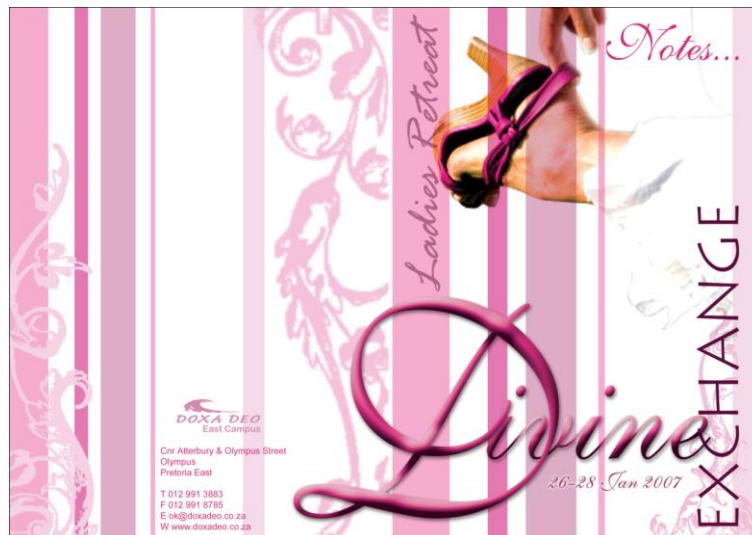


Figure 57: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry "Ladies Retreat" image.

The final women's camp image is from kerksondemure's *Vonkelvroue* ministry (Figure 58). The same colours, images and basic layout are used for this camp flyer as for Figures 53 and 54 and therefore carry the same associations. Some actual physical action in the wilderness is hinted at in Figure 58, as the camp is held at Ukutula Adventure Site near Brits, which is in the bushveld. In this flyer, as in the Doxa Deo retreat image, no mention is made of children, which stands in contrast to the common reference to father and child camps from kerksondemure and Moreletapark. One could argue that children are 'not allowed' on these women's excursions in order to give mothers a break from their everyday duty of providing primary childcare. Conversely, one could argue that father and child camps are so common in the churches precisely because men are not as involved in childcare as women are, as is suggested by the visual material in this study. The church might, therefore, feel compelled to facilitate relationships between fathers and their children, as for example through kerksondemure's Adam-child camp.

kerksondemure's *Adam Bediening* presents a camp, based on Eldredge's (2001) book, referred to as the "Wild at heart" camp (see Figures 27 and 29). One notices that *Vonkelvroue* does not name either of their camps a "Captivating" camp (the 'for women' book by Eldredge and his wife). I would argue that this results from the fact that *Captivating* (Eldredge & Eldredge 2005) never reached the levels of popularity in South African Christian circles which *Wild at heart* (Eldredge 2001) did. One might assume that *Wild at heart* enjoyed such immense popularity in South African Christian culture owing to the so-called crisis in masculinity, especially in white and Afrikaner circles.



Figure 58: kerksondemure "Vonkelvroue" (Sparkle Women) ministry camp flyer.

A feature article about the *Vonkelvroue* camp discussed above appears in the *ksm* magazine of July 2008 (Figure 59), entitled: "*Radikaal Vonkelvrou*" (Radical Sparkle Woman). This article confirms suspicions that the women at this camp did not engage in physical activity, even though the camp was held at an adventure site. From the article it seems that the women mostly engaged in seminars, teachings, Bible study and sharing in small groups. The closest they came to the wilderness was through a visit to a lion camp,

where they played with cubs and young lions. A religious essentialist theme for the camp is also noted in a phrase which reads when translated: “To radically be a woman, spouse and mother, just like God expected from us and continues to expect today”. Through this statement an emphasis is placed on passive, female, domesticated and servant roles.

netwerk vir lewe

RADIKAAL Vonkelvrou

Dit was net die begin van 'n baie geseënde naweek in die teenwoordigheid van die Heilige Gees.

Die tema van ons kamp was in pas met ons jaartema: Om radikaal vrou, eggenote en moeder te wees, net soos God dit van die begin af van ons verweg het en steeds verwag (Genesis 2-3).

Ons het 'n heerlike, basiese program gehad wat Louie Giglio se DVD "How Great is our God" ingesluit het sowel as 'n besoek aan 'n leeskamp waar ons die voorlesing gehad het om met welpeles en jong leusas te kon speel. Ons het ook baie kreatief geraak en mosiekkruise gemaak. Ons het die Here geloof, geprys en aanbid onder leiding van Rejeanne en Lenani van die kunstbediening.

Dit was "awesome"!

Maar die hoogtepunt van ons naweek was Saterdagmiddag. Die teenwoordigheid van die Heilige Gees was absoluut en letterlik asemrowend... in kringe het ons gesit met pragtige serpe as hoofbedekking, kerse wat brand op 'n gedekte nagmaaltafel en sagte musiek van Michael W Smith in die agtergrond... Ons het beweeg op heilige grond! Soos Jesus sy dissipele bedien het met die eerste nagmaal, het ons mekaar bedien en dit saam geniet. En soos Jesus sy dissipele se voete gewas het, het ons ook die geleentheid gehad om mekaar se voete te was en mekaar te seën.

Ek weet nie eers hoe lank ons besig was om mekaar te bedien nie, maar ons was Jesus vir mekaar. Sekere van ons het antwoorde ontvang op vrae wat ons lankal vra, party van ons is bemoedig. Ander is vertrous en iemand het rus gevind en kon vergewe.

Ons kamp was 'n reuse sukses. Nie omdat die kos heerlik was of omdat die kamers so gerieflik was nie. Nie omdat ons mat leeuwelpeles kon speel of omdat alles vlot verloop het nie. Nee, omdat die Here, ons "awesome God", ons wou sien bo ons grootste verwagtinge. En Hy het! Al die eer aan die Here!

Kyk uit vir ons volgende kamp wat gaan plaasvind vanaf 6 tot 8 November 2008. Vir meer inligting kontak my gerus by anelvri@gmail.co.za of 084 584 5652

Anél Janse van Rensburg

SIFRA Vroedvroue in diens van Jesus en die Gemeenskap

Marise van Onselen

Welma Lubbe

"Nuwe prentjies in die huis is 'n heerlike vooruitsig terwyl jy swanger is, maar dit kan heeltemal 'n ander storie wees wanneer die bondeltjie vreugde eers gearriveer het en die mamma en pappa baie minder slaap kry as gewoonlik. Ongelukkig kom hierdie nuwe toevoeging nie met 'n handleiding nie en die bondeltjie vreugde kan maklik in 'n bondeltjie vrese verander."

SIFRA verryk na die vroedvroue van wie Exodus 1:15-21 vertel. Ons eie vroedvroue (geregistreerde verpleegkundiges en gevorderde vroedvroue) wil graag 'n soortgelyke rol speel vir die gemeenskap van kerksondemure as deel van die Netwerk vir Gesinne.

Vrydagmiddag klier ons saam met enige nuwe mamas (en pappas en grootouers), deel raad en weeg babas. Ons gee ook voeding, dseke, trane en ook oor "kangeroersorg" en selfs ook "Waar pas pappa in?"

Mamas kan enige tyd tussen 13H00 en 15H00 kom inloer, maar op gelyke weke sal die fokus meer op voltermyn babas (mamas wat met babas tussen 36 en 39 weke swanger was) en ongelieke weke of mearlinge, prematura en ander spesiale sorg babas (mamas wat minder as 36 weke swanger was).

Elke eerste Saterdagoggend van die maand bied SIFRA ook seminare aan vir ouers (en grootouers). Saterdagseminare fokus op verskeidenheid temas vir ouers voor en na die geboorte van hul baba. Ons hoop graag grootouers uit om ook die seminare by te woon want inligting het baie verander in die laaste paar jaar en oumas is 'n baie belangrike bron van ondersteuning, veral vir nuwe ouers.

Vir verdere advies en besprekings kontak gerus vir Marise van Onselen op haar sel by 082 325 4342.

4 - ksm Julie 2008

Figure 59: kerksondemure “Radikaal Vonkelvrou” (Radical Sparkle Woman) feature article in *ksm* magazine, July 2008. (Janse van Rensburg 2008:4).

Another feature article appears on the same page as the *Vonkelvroue* camp story in Figure 59, namely an article on midwives, entitled: “SIFRA Vroedvroue in diens van Jesus en die Gemeenskap” (SIFRA Midwives in service of Jesus and the Community). The SIFRA⁵ article seems to be strategically paired with the *Vonkelvroue* camp article and functions to connect femininity with primary childcare – a signifying practice which is common in the data from all three churches and is discussed later in this chapter.

⁵ SIFRA is said to refer to the midwives referred to in Exodus 1:15-21 (SIFRA Vroedvroue 2008:4).

A feature article in *focus* magazine about Doxa Deo's *Metamorpho* gap-year ministry (Figure 60) does little to associate women with the outdoors to some extent. Although women are portrayed in this apparent outdoor adventure situation, they are shown to be notably more passive, smiling for the camera and reading from the Bible, than their active male counterparts, who are exerting themselves in team activities and dripping with mud.



Figure 60: Doxa Deo “*Genade – Die Habitat vir Groei*” (Grace – the Habitat for Growth) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Coveiro 2008:20-21).

Against the background provided in this section regarding the essentialist and stereotypical portrayal of gender in the three churches, the following section considers how praying or worshiping men and women are depicted. The section offers a brief discussion of the correlations between the findings in this chapter thus far and those in a related study (Viljoen & Koenig-Visagie 2011) and also further explores the connection between beauty, spirituality and femininity.

4.1.2 Men and women at worship

The active–passive gender duality is not only common in material generated by Moreletapark, kerksondemure and Doxa Deo for their men’s and women’s ministries, but also appears in other examples. Both men and women are shown as praying or ‘at worship’, but even this seemingly neutral depiction of a common Christian activity is marked by essentialist tendencies. Praying and worshipping men are shown to be much more active and dynamically portrayed than their passive and static female counterparts. Women are often shown to be sitting down while worshipping,⁶ whereas men are shown standing. Figure 61, a website banner for Moreletapark’s prayer and worship ministry, *Tehila Huis van lof- en aanbidding* (Tehila House of prayer and worship⁷) provides an example of a female figure sitting down while worshipping. This image can be contrasted with images of men worshipping while standing up, as, for example, in Figure 35 that depicts a man standing in a wheat field with outstretched arms, staring up into heaven. In Figure 61, the female figure’s arms are raised above her head, which is a visual code commonly used to signify worship or prayer in religious contexts. She is identified as female and also somewhat feminised in this context through her long hair.



Figure 61: Moreletapark “*Tehila Huis van lof- en aanbidding*” (Tehila House of prayer and worship) website banner. (Tehila huis van ... 2008).

Similarly, the female figure in Figure 62 (the accompanying image for a feature article in Doxa Deo’s *focus* magazine) is also sitting down. This is deduced from the visibility of her upper thighs, indicating that her legs are bent in a kneeling position. Her arms are outstretched with her palms facing upwards. She is represented inside the magazine as the female counterpart of the male figure on the cover of this issue (Figure 35) referred to above. As both the women in Figures 61 and 62 are portrayed as feminine, slim and

⁶ It is acknowledged that this is not the case in Figure 47, which represents the Flourish worship event.

⁷ Presumably the house of prayer referred to here is a chapel or room in the church building consecrated for prayer.

delicate, a connection appears to form between female beauty and the act of worship, similar to that between female beauty and spirituality. To a certain extent the nature of femininity and beauty in the data in this study is portrayed as almost angelic, representing women as ‘beautiful angels’. Another praying female figure represented as sitting down is found in Figure 63, a feature article on the “CIP-Wêreld-konferensie” (CIP-World Conference) “Children in Prayer” event. This purple layout depicts the figure of a girl in white clothing sitting at a table praying with a Bible open in front of her. Through this image femininity is associated with passivity and spirituality, as even though the conference is for children, an image of a girl was selected to embody prayer.

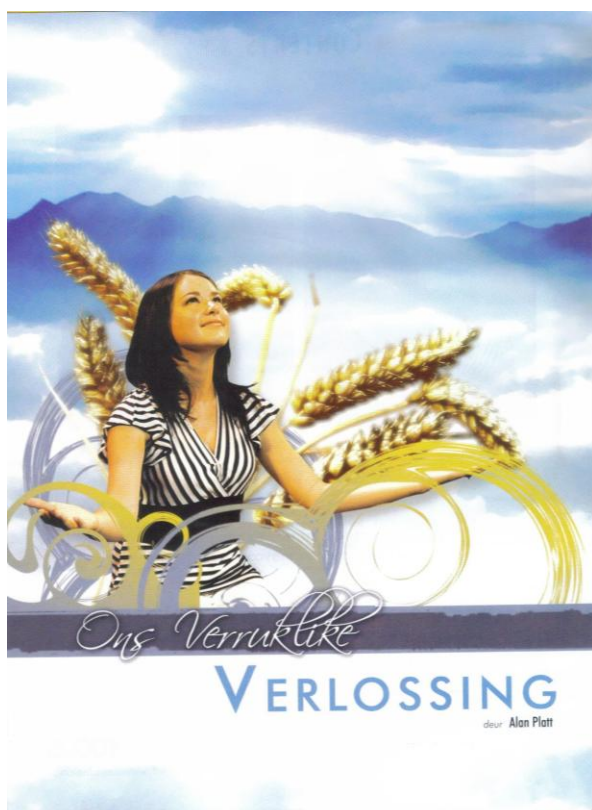


Figure 62: Doxa Deo “Ons Verruklike Verlossing” (Our Enraptured Salvation) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Platt 2008a:4).



Figure 63: Moreletapark “CIP-wêreldkonferensie” (CIP-World Conference) “Children in Prayer” feature article in *Op pad* magazine, August 2008. (Tempel & Van Niekerk 2008:14).

Figure 64 represents a brochure for Doxa Deo’s campus expansion building project, entitled *Hoeksteen* (Cornerstone). The cover shows a male figure who appears to be standing in front of a building with his arms outstretched. The rest of the cover is also designed as masculine with brown, green and yellow colours and “*Hoeksteen*” written in bold capital letters. The positioning of the male figure’s body in this image is visually

similar to arrangement of Christ's body in crucifixion portrayals (see Figures 65 and 66, for example), for which there are various examples from Art History, especially from the study of crucifixion iconography (Raw 1990; Schiller 1972:88-161). This visual similarity between the crucified Christ's body and a male body in this image functions to connect masculinity with godliness on an iconographic level (also compare to Figure 35, and Figures 5 and 6 to some extent). There are, nevertheless, notably fewer examples of male figures worshipping than female figures, an occurrence which underlines the fact that women are more closely associated with spirituality in the three churches. However, whereas women represent spirituality in general, men embody godliness.

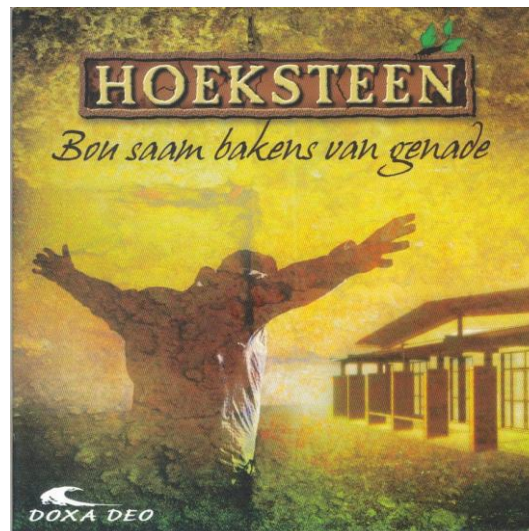


Figure 64: Doxa Deo “Hoeksteen” (Cornerstone) brochure.

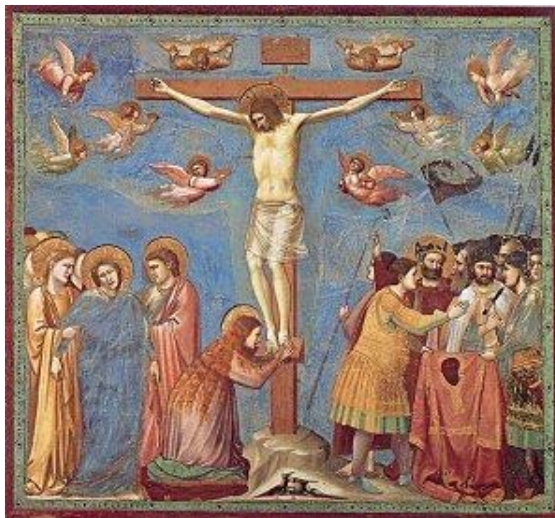


Figure 65: Giotto, *Crucifixion*, c. 1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. (Adams 2002:475).

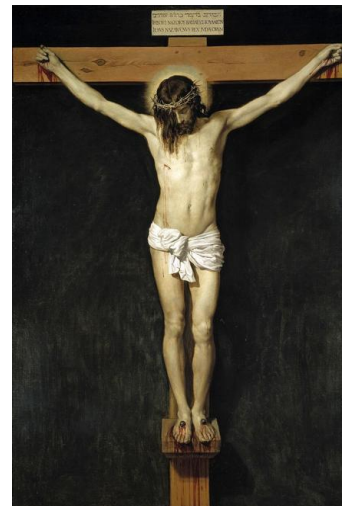


Figure 66: Diego Velázquez, *Crucifixion*, 1630s. Oil on canvas, 2.48 x 1.69 m. Museo del Prado, Madrid. (Adams 2002:698).

Another feature article in Doxa Deo's *focus* magazine (Figure 67) depicts various male figures standing while praying or worshipping. This bold masculine layout in blue, black and white (similar to Figures 12 and 13), shows a group of men huddling in prayer at the top right of the image. Judging from their bodily proximity, one assumes that they are standing. At the bottom left corner another group of male figures are shown standing in worship with raised arms, again mimicking crucifixion iconography. Unlike their slim, delicate and beautiful worshipping female counterparts, these male figures are of average build and are regular-looking, middle-aged, middle-class white men. Masculinity, appearance and worship are, therefore, not connected in the same way as is apparent with female figures in this study. Figure 67 also provides one of the few examples from the visual data in this study of an image that accentuates male to male relationships, especially spiritual relationships.



Figure 67: Doxa Deo “*Manne ‘n perfekte afdruk*” (Men a perfect imprint) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Krüger 2008:24).

The findings discussed above regarding gendered ontology in the visual data from the three churches correlate to the findings of an analysis of gender in popular Christian book covers (Viljoen & Koenig-Visagie 2011). In the analysis of the covers of *Wild at heart* (Eldredge 2001) and *Captivating* (Eldredge & Eldredge 2005) the active male–passive female binary is found to be prominent as well. *Wild at heart's* cover (Figure 68) shows a lone silhouetted male figure hiking, who appears to be jumping from boulder to boulder, conquering nature in his outdoor adventure. The use of silhouettes in portraying male figures is more common in figures representing men and masculinity in this study than in figures representing women and femininity. I maintain, that this practice testifies to the fact that male figures and male bodies are not objectified to the same extent that female figures and bodies are. The title of the book indicates wildness and connects the book with the ethos of the mythopoetic men's movement, as well as ideas of male physical activity and adventurism. Connections to mythopoeticism, physical activity and adventurism are also found in the data in this study, especially in the figures in Chapter Three which portrays men's camps. The text on the *Wild at heart* book cover is set in a bold serif font in capital letters. This confirms my finding that such bold lettering, especially capital letters, are commonly used in images portraying Christian men and masculinity, as considered in Chapter Three. In contrast, flowing cursive lettering as on the cover of *Captivating* (Figure 69), is often used in images depicting Christian women and femininity, as previously considered in this chapter. Behind the word "Captivating" on this cover, a graphic element of swirling lines is used, similar to those used in the Flourish ministry material by Doxa Deo (Figures 45 to 50 and 57).

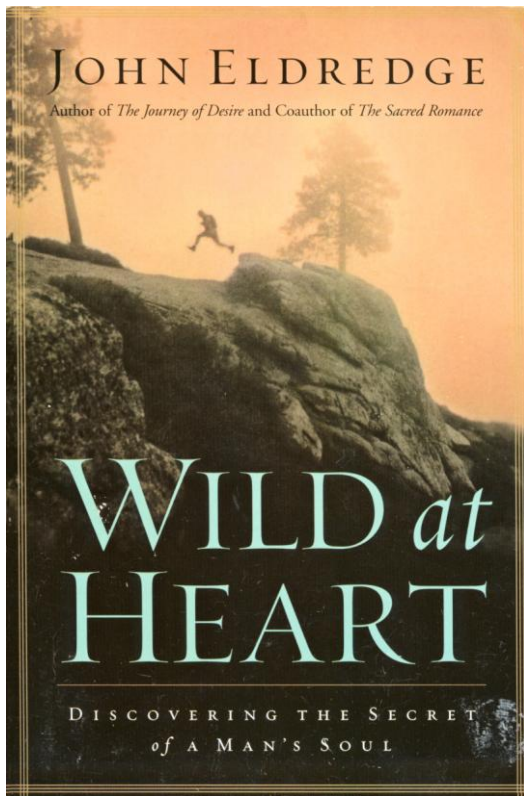


Figure 68: *Wild at heart* book cover. (Eldredge 2001).

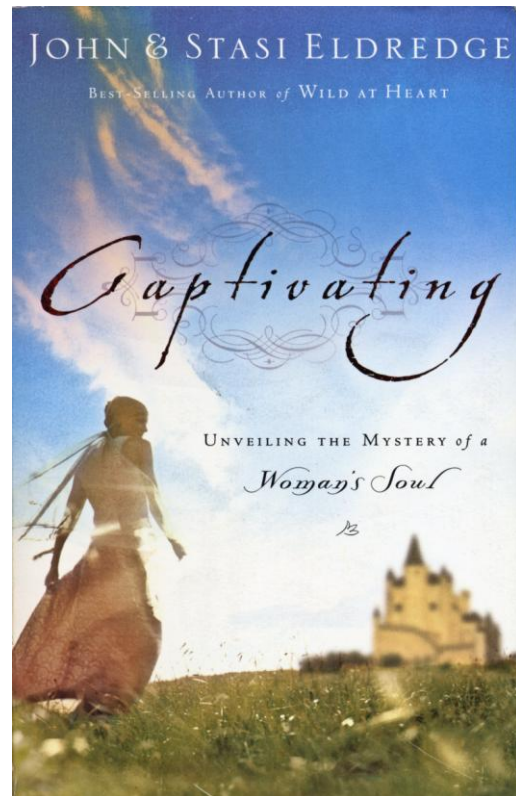


Figure 69: *Captivating* book cover. (Eldredge & Eldredge 2005).

Captivating's cover shows an ethereal and translucent female figure, close to nature, strolling through a field towards a fairytale castle in the distance. As opposed to the silhouette of her male counterpart on *Wild at heart's* cover, one sees more detail of the female figure. One notices that she is wearing a billowing white dress, like the women in Figures 47 and 48, and what appears to be a scarf around her head. Her slim female form is visible as a decorative element in the design, as she is dressed in a flowing skirt with floral patterns. This practice of using female figures as decorative elements, or to portray femininity in conjunction with decoration, is also common in the data in this study, as already suggested. The light on the cover seems to be shining through her, giving her a translucent, transient appearance and connecting her with spirituality, as is commonly done with female figures in this study. She is materialised as part of (not conquering) a dream-like landscape with a fairytale castle. The connection of fairytale myths with adult Christian femininity is considered infantilising, but seems to be a common trend in Christian popular culture. The topic of the infantilisation of Christian women is returned to later in this section.

In a painting (Figure 70) of a woman displayed in Moreletapark's foyer, a female figure is depicted in a strikingly similar fashion to the female figures in the Flourish images (Figures 47 and 48) and on the *Captivating* cover (Figure 69). The woman in Figure 70 is shown wearing a white dress with flowing scarves blowing in the breeze, with her arms stretched out to the back. She is smiling with her eyes closed and her face is tilted upwards. She has long hair and soft facial features. Like Figure 47, this female figure's posture accentuates her feminine form, exposing her neck, chest and waist. One could argue that the use of female figures in this consistent manner, on the *Captivating* cover, in this painting and in the Flourish images, points to the existence of a type of visual iconography of spirituality as feminine. The white dresses depicted on these female figures also conjure up angelic associations, as previously mentioned. Furthermore, the female figures used in this iconography appear ethereal and otherworldly.

The use of flowing clothing further supports the notion that spirituality is personified as feminine in Christian visual culture. Wind in Christian mythology is a significant element, in that the Holy Spirit is described as a wind in the Bible. The flowing clothing in these images implies that wind, and therefore the Holy Spirit, is present with these women. Figure 71 is the layout of a feature article in *Doxa Deo's focus* magazine and shows a close-up of a female figure's face in profile. Similar to the visual codes found in Figures 47, 69 and 70, her blond hair is blown back in the wind and her arms are outstretched to the back, so indicated by her raised shoulder and a section of her upper arm showing from her shirt. Her face is lifted upwards and her eyes are closed, perhaps in rapturous transportation. In Figure 71, the layout visually associates "divine intimacy" (which can be understood to mean spiritual intimacy with God in this context) with femininity.



Figure 70: Moreletapark painting in the church's foyer.⁸



Figure 71: Doxa Deo “Divine Intimacy” feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Bruwer 2008:7).

Two more examples connect femininity to spirituality. Figure 72, a layout for a feature article in *focus*, depicts a female figure with her face tilted up, mouth slightly open and eyes closed. Her hands are lifted and her palms are open, facing upwards. Large drops of water appear to be falling from the sky, and from the title of the article, “*Genade in Oorvloed*” (Grace in Abundance), one assumes that these drops are intended to symbolise God’s grace. It is clear from the data in this study that female figures are more likely to be employed in connection with abstract spiritual concepts,⁹ such as grace (in Figure 72), intimacy with God (Figure 71) and trust (Figure 73). In Figure 73, an extreme close-up is portrayed of a female figure’s face, accentuating her facial features. Her eyes are closed in what one can assume is prayer. The manner in which the female figures are represented in Figures 72 and 73 is similar to that of the female figure in *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* by Gianlorenzo Bernini (Figure 74) and carry the same connotations of spiritual ecstasy and devotion. This iconography of female spiritual ecstasy is also visible, to some degree, in Figures 9, 47, 70 and 71.

⁸ The artist’s name, as well as the creation date of this painting is unknown.

⁹ The signifying practice of employing female figures as personifications of “desiderata and virtues” is explored in depth by Marina Warner (1985:xix).



Figure 72: Doxa Deo “Genade in Oorvloed” (Grace in Abundance) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Platt 2008b:4).

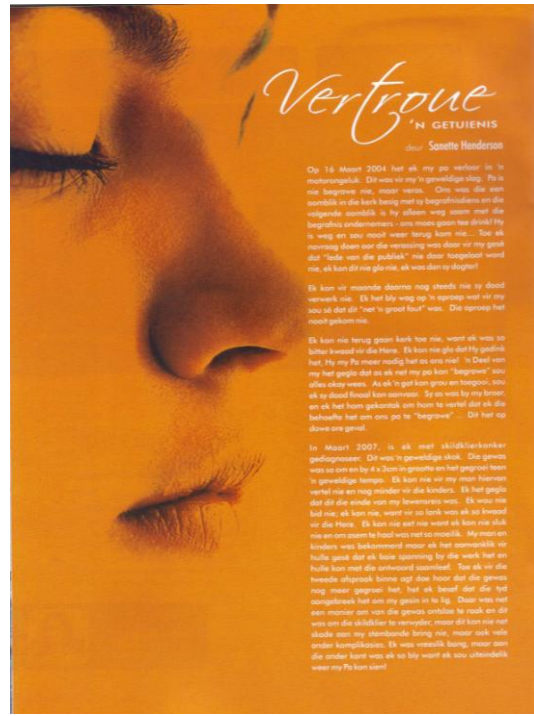


Figure 73: Doxa Deo “Vertroue ‘n Getuienis” (Trust a Testimony) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Henderson 2008:20).



Figure 74: Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, 1645-1652. Marble, 3.51 m high. Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. (Adams 2002:669).

A possible explanation for the close association between femininity and spirituality can be found in the separation between church and state, and the public–private gender dichotomy. I believe that just as religion is driven out of the public sphere into the private sphere, the feminine is also pushed out of the public sphere into the private sphere. An interesting conflation occurs between religion and the feminine, which results in the female becoming symbolic of the spiritual or the religious in the specific context of the representation of gender by the three Afrikaans corporate churches.

I briefly return to the issue of the infantilisation of Christian women referred to previously. Both Figures 75 and 76 provide examples of this phenomenon in Christian culture. As on the *Captivating* book cover (Figure 69), which depicts a woman walking towards a castle, Figures 75 and 76 embody the fantasy myth of fairytale. Figure 75 features a soft focus illustration of a female figure, who is feminised by her long, wavy hair and a dress or cloth is wrapped around her body. Her arms are crossed in front of her, tightly securing the cloth over her chest, accentuating her form. A fairly large part of her bare chest is exposed. She has delicate facial features and is of slight build; her eyes look demurely downwards. A doorway appears behind her, looking out on what appears to be a medieval town.

The fairytale element in Figure 75 is accentuated by the text which appears on the bookmark as well as its design. The text starts with a phrase which is commonly associated with fairy tales, namely, “Once upon a time ...”. As in traditional volumes containing collections of fairytales, the first letter of the paragraph is decorated ornately in swirling organic lines. In the middle of the “O”, a pink orchid appears, similar to that shown on the Flourish “Worship Experience” image in Figure 47. This image connects fairytale myth visually with adult femininity, as it is a bookmark for Doxa Deo’s women’s ministry. Such a connection between fantasy tales and adult masculinity is nowhere to be found in connection with men and masculinity in the figures discussed in Chapter Three.

The most problematic aspect of the tendency to connect adult Christian femininity with fairytale myth is its infantilising potential, which relegates women to the subordinated status of children. This is quite literally visualised in Figure 76, which depicts a small girl in an image for Doxa Deo’s Flourish ministry’s conference. Women, in this context, are embodied in the image of this little girl. She is dressed in a soft dress with pink flowers, has long blonde hair and a crown of flowers in on her head. One could argue that she is meant to look like a ‘little princess’ in this image and is highly feminised. A pink butterfly also appears in the lower right corner of the image. Judging from Figures 75 and 76, the

Doxa Deo Flourish Conference materials have strong connotations of fairytale and female childhood experiences.



Figure 75: Doxa Deo “Flourish Conference” bookmark.



Figure 76: Doxa Deo “Flourish Conference” image.

Regarding the nature of gendered ontology, the following notions emerge from the discussion in this first section of the chapter. In accordance with the theory regarding men and masculinity, masculinity is often constructed as “not-feminine” (Connell 2001:33). This practice is clearly visible in the data in this study, as the poles of gender identity are kept far apart as essentially masculine and essentially feminine. This is especially shown through the representation of women and femininity discussed in this section, which stands in opposition to that of the representation of men and masculinity analysed in Chapter Three. A negation of femininity (Bartowski 2004:51) is evident when the findings in Chapter Three are compared to those in this section.

In this section it was shown that stereotypically feminine elements are often employed by the three churches in conjunction with women’s activities in the church. Such elements include the use of feminine colours (pink and purple), organic swirling lines, decorative graphic elements and flower and butterfly motifs. These elements stand in contrast to the masculine colours and bold and static design of the figures in Chapter Three.

Femininity and beauty are also associated with spirituality in this study's data, as was argued throughout this section. Apart from an association between femininity, beauty and spirituality, subordinated and domesticated female roles are also concentrated on, such as caregiving, preparing food, playing hostess and serving others. These roles are contrasted with men's roles portrayed in the three churches, which are rarely domesticated and mainly in the public realm. It also became evident, through various references to gender segregated Christian activities, that men and women experience their spirituality in different ways. It can be argued that such essentialist and biological determinist ideas are upheld as ideological positions on gender throughout the material used in this study. These beliefs also support myths of the importance of feminine beauty, the domesticated nature of femininity, and the gendered nature of calling and spiritual experience.

4.2 Family matters

This section illustrates how the essentialist and biologically determinist positions so prominent in the nature of gendered ontology in the visual culture of Moreletapark, *kerksondemure* and *Doxa Deo* are also applicable to issues of occupation and family. First, consideration is given to the relation of femininity and masculinity to childcare, as well as to the types of occupations represented in relation to each. The connection between the types of work performed by men and women and their relation to children is also examined. Second, male to female relationships, as they are conceptualised in the churches' visual culture, are discussed.

4.2.1 Work and children

Men are more prominently portrayed in the churches' images as having a profession outside the home than women. The notion of corporate masculinity and the myth of the male breadwinner feature strongly, as was discussed in relation to Figures 12, 13, and 19 to 21. When considering the relationship between Western mainstream gender beliefs and Christian gender beliefs, one is faced with a chicken-egg scenario. It is often difficult to tell which set of beliefs came first and which influences the other the most. I believe that it is safe to assume that they both inform one another – to which extent would be another question. The myth of the male breadwinner, which is also commonly depicted in the mainstream media, is integrally linked to the Christian idea of male headship, but as previously noted, it is basically extinct in practice (Brittan 2001:52), with most middle-class families having to depend on dual income. Its influence and representation remain

persistent, however. In contrast, women are frequently represented as mothers, or as caregivers of small children in the visual material collected from Moreletapark, kerksondemure and Doxa Deo.

Figure 77 is an image for Doxa Deo's "Babes with Babies" meetings. As in most other images regarding women and femininity in this chapter, beauty and femininity are strongly connected in this figure. One sees the use of an attractive female model in this image in the top left corner. In turn, beauty and femininity are also linked to childcare, as this beautiful model is portrayed together with the photograph of a baby.



Figure 77: Doxa Deo "Babes with Babies" image.

This figure is one of the few figures in this study where blue is used in connection with femininity. The name of the meetings also contributes to the association between beauty, femininity and childcare, as the term "babe" is used as slang to refer to an attractive woman. The term "babe", however, also contributes to the infantilisation of women, as "babe" is another term used for "baby". The logo for the meeting is also feminised, with "Babes" written in cursive. The left side of this image is decorated by figures and graphic elements. On the right side of the image, one notices that two out of the three weekly meetings are on weekday mornings, indicating that most mothers who attend these meetings are not otherwise occupied on weekday mornings.¹⁰ As there are no comparable

¹⁰ It is acknowledged that some mothers do work part-time in order to generate an income and care for their children at the same time. It could, therefore, be that some of the Doxa Deo mothers work part-time and are still able to attend the meetings on weekday mornings.

“Hunks with Babies” meetings for men at Doxa Deo, one might argue that this image implies that the men in Doxa Deo are the ones who have paid occupations and that women are tasked with the day-to-day activities of infant care. The myths of the female as primary childcare provider and the male as breadwinner are, therefore, reflected in this image.

Apart from being portrayed as mothers with infants, women are also frequently depicted in connection to activities concerning children (see Figures 79-81 and 83-86). Figure 78 is a flyer for a seminar hosted by *kerksondemure*, which features child-rearing expert, Hettie Brittz¹¹ (wife of popular Afrikaans Christian musician, Louis Brittz), entitled “*Kweek Kinders met Karakter. Kweek Gesonde Gesag*” (Cultivate Children with Character. Cultivate Healthy Authority). The background of this image is green with a flower and leaf motif. Pink and blue fonts are used for the text, as well as both cursive and bold fonts. This practice seems to strike a balance between the feminine and masculine appearance of the image. The same could be noted regarding Figures 79 and 80. Creating such a balance between the visual femininity and masculinity of an image, could result from a desire to appeal to parents of children of both genders.

Figure 78 is not highly feminised, but because a woman is the speaker and a photograph of her is featured in the top right corner, femininity is visually associated with child-rearing. There is, however, no indication that the seminar is intended for women only. The times of the seminars are in the evenings on weekdays, thereby allowing working parents (in this context presumably fathers) to attend. Hettie Brittz is a professional speaker and as such would charge a fee for presenting the seminar. It could therefore be that the seminar is scheduled in the evening in order to attract the highest possible number of paying attendees, through which the church can successfully cover the cost of the seminar. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that for this event a female speaker is employed as the authority on child-rearing. Male voices are not often heard on this topic in the data in this study.

¹¹ Hettie Brittz runs a ministry and business based on her expertise independently from *kerksondemure*.



Figure 78: kerksondermure “Kweek Kinders met Karakter. Kweek Gesonde Gesag” (Cultivate Kids with Character. Cultivate Healthy Authority) seminar flyer.

A row of photographs appears at the bottom of the flyer. The first one features four children’s faces, the second one a little girl painting at an easel, the third one a family running along the beach and the fourth one shows two little boys. A male figure is represented in the third photograph and is presumably the husband and father in the context of the family represented here. What is noteworthy, however, is that the father is represented as playing with his family in this photograph, which is significant according to the literature on fatherhood and male involvement in childcare. As mentioned in Chapter Three, men are mostly involved in the ‘fun’ parts of parenting, such as in play, leaving the day-to-day ‘dirty work’ of primary childcare up to women. In this regard it is notable that in the data of this study, only one figure is found where a father is represented as holding a small baby (Figure 44). Images of fathers and their children in this study more frequently show fathers engaging in adventure and play with their children, especially through camps.

Figure 79 provides another example of the signifying tendency of the churches in this study to portray female figures in connection with children. A flyer for kerksondermure’s *Mini-Kinder-Oesfees* (Mini-Children’s Harvest Festival) shows a photograph of a female

figure with an illustration of a donkey. The flyer is for children’s entertainment on a Sunday morning during the congregation’s Harvest Festival, presumably to keep children busy in order for their parents to socialise. The entertainment to be provided is a show by “Auntie Alwena and pals” with the beloved donkey *Dizzie Waarheid* (directly translated as “It’s the Truth”). This image is also one of the few in which blue is used in conjunction with a female figure. Regardless of the fact that this image’s layout is blue and that there is a balance between feminine cursive and masculine bold fonts, the notion of children’s entertainment is feminised through Auntie Alwena’s photograph.

An example of the tendency to represent female figures in connection with children’s entertainment is also found in Figure 80. Soekie from “*Radikids*”, a Christian children’s music group, is featured on an event flyer from *kerksondemure*. The event is intended for parents and the theme which is hinted at is to inspire parents to have a life-altering effect on their children, but one assumes that some children’s entertainment is also involved. More pink is used in this lively layout than in Figures 78 and 79, but yellow and green also feature prominently. Although the event is aimed at parents, the image does have a childlike aesthetic, as can be seen from the paint splash motifs in the flyer’s background. Like Hettie Britz’s seminar, the event is held in the evening on a weekday, thereby having the same implications as discussed in Figure 78. Even though the flyer is mostly gender-neutral, the photograph of Soekie functions to connect children’s entertainment and femininity.



Figure 79: kerksondemure “Mini-Kinder-Oesfees Alwena en Pëllies” (Mini-Children’s-Harvest Festival Alwena and Pals) flyer.



Figure 80: kerksondemure Soekie from “*Radikids*” event flyer.

Figure 81 represents a feature article in *ksm* magazine on the children's holiday programme hosted by *kerksondemure*. The layout has photographs around its edges depicting various activities which children engaged in during the holiday programme; femininity is again associated with childcare and children's entertainment in various ways. The phrase "*Vakansieprogram 2008*" (Holiday Programme 2008) is written in pink capital letters and the layout's background also shows hues of pink, soft yellow and orange. From the photographs around the edges it seems that women were mostly involved in hosting the holiday programme, although children of both sexes are portrayed almost in equal numbers. At the top left corner of the layout, above the phrase "*Vakansieprogram*" a photograph of three young women with two elderly women¹² is shown. In the next two photographs to the right a woman in black is shown teaching a lesson in front of a class of toddlers. At the bottom left corner of the layout women are depicted dishing up food for the elderly, once again referring to a woman's role as caretaker and servant, not only of children, but also of others.

No adult male figure is depicted in the layout of this article (Figure 81). In the text it is also revealed that mainly women were involved in the programme. Visits and talks from various women are described in the article, namely: Auntie Dienie, a South African missionary in Russia; Roelene Muller, a missionary in Thailand, with her son Janneman; and Erich and Lizette Posthumus. Apart from Erich and Janneman, no other participation of males is discussed in the article. From the material in this study it appears that women are connected to children in general, not just their own, whereas men seem to be connected only with their own children.

¹² As part of the programme, the children took food to the old age home *Harmonie Oord* (Harmony Resort) in Sunnyside, Pretoria.



Figure 81: kerksondemure “*Vakansieprogram 2008*” (Holiday programme 2008) feature article in *ksm* magazine, July 2008. (Vakansieprogram ... 2008).

Male participation in another type of camp related to children is referred to in Figure 82, a feature article about kerksondemure’s Family Camp in the October 2008 issues of *ksm* magazine. The title of the article is “*Weesgerus Gesinne ‘kook’¹³ by gesinskamp ...*” (Rest assured families ‘rocked’ at family camp). The longest part of the article’s layout is taken up by various photographs, from what one assumes are the Family Camp’s activities. The photographs show adults and children engaging in various fun activities, such as eating, swimming and water antics as described in Chapter Three. Most of the adults depicted in the photograph in this layout are men, who are depicted with children in relation to play, as opposed to their female counterparts, who are mainly depicted in the data in terms of routine childcare. This finding is, therefore, congruent with the related literature, which

¹³ The word “*kook*” (directly translated as “cook”) here is used as Afrikaans slang for doing something well and enthusiastically. Its colloquial English equivalent could perhaps be “rock”.

finds this to be a common trend in contemporary fatherhood (LaRossa 1995:451). This article is also written by a man, Carl du Preez, and this instance represents one of the only times a male voice is associated with children in this manner. This and the abundant presence of male figures also solidify the myth of heightened male physical activity and adventurism and connect this to fatherhood, as depicted in the context of a family camp.



Figure 82: kerksondemure “Weesgerus Gesinne ‘kook’ by gesinskamp...” (Rest assured families “rocked” at family camp...) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008. (Du Preez 2008:5).

In the same issue of *ksm* magazine a feature article on kerksondemure’s MOPS (Mothers of Preschoolers) (Figure 83) is provided. MOPS is an independent organisation, which offers support and information to mothers with small children, but has close ties with kerksondemure, as one notices that their logo appears in Figure 80 as one of the sponsors for the “Soekie from *Radikids*” event. The layout of this article is in soft yellow with light blue borders. The butterfly-motif, which appears in the right border, is used as a

symbol for the delicacy and beauty of femininity in the data in this study (see Figures 49 and 76). In the bottom border of the layout there are five photographs. The first depicts a woman holding a baby, the second shows women sitting around a table eating with their children, and the third portrays women sitting around tables, presumably in a seminar. The fourth and fifth photographs each depict a baby. Femininity and childcare are strongly linked in this layout. The various activities and talks at the MOPS meetings, as described in the article, are intended to make women better mothers, by equipping them to be “*knap vroue*” (bright and efficient women), as this is, according to the article, a characteristic needed in women to raise children in contemporary times.



Figure 83: kerksondemure “MOPS-sondermure” (MOPS without walls) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008. (MOPS-sondermure 2008:7).

Like most events and meetings for mothers with small children, the MOPS meetings are every second Wednesday morning, excluding the participation of mothers who work full-time and also indicating that most mothers are available during weekday mornings, implying that they do not work. From the name of the organisation it is clearly indicated that the meetings are for mothers only, thereby excluding fathers from what appears to be very informative sessions on parenting. This practice of excluding fathers from basic childcare is complicit with certain essentialist beliefs in parenting, whereby the role of women as mothers is given more importance than men’s role as fathers (Marsiglio & Pleck

2005:251). From the text in Figure 83, it is clear that mainly women are used as speakers at the MOPS meetings; only one male speaker, Carl du Preez, is mentioned.

Figures 84 and 85 also correlate femininity with childcare. Figure 84 contains a feature article in Moreletapark’s *Op pad* magazine, entitled “Die CMR-Moreletapark” (The CSC-Moreletapark). In this context CMR stands for *Christelike Maatskaplike Raad* (Christian Social Counsel) and profiles Moreletapark’s own four social workers. Childcare, on a formal level, is associated with femininity in this layout as all four social workers are women. In a brochure for Moreletapark’s CSC (Figure 85), one sees the same connection of femininity to social work and child care. The colours used are also stereotypically feminine.



Figure 84: Moreletapark “Die CMR-Moreletapark” (The CSC-Moreletapark) feature article in *Op pad* magazine, September 2008. (Van Emmenis 2008:9).



Figure 85: Moreletapark CMR brochure.

A similar theme of formal childcare and femininity is conveyed in Figure 86, a feature article in *ksm* magazine of September 2008 on foster parents in kerksondemure's area. Foster care is visually associated with femininity in the layout for the article, which contains a photograph of a female figure, a social worker, as its only image.



Figure 86: kerksondemure “Maak hart oop vir pleegouers” (Open heart for foster parents) feature article in *ksm* magazine, September 2008. (Maak Hart Oop ... 2008b:5).

Except for Figure 44 (containing a male holding a baby on a Moreletapark baptism brochure), only one other image of a male figure holding an infant is found in Doxa Deo's *focus* magazine as part of the layout of a feature article entitled, “*n Lewe van liefde*” (A life of love) (Figure 87). In this predominantly red layout, a white male figure is shown holding a black infant in his arms, and he is gazing adoringly at the child's face. This image could have been an example of the depiction of a father in positive, primary childcare roles, but the context described in the article makes it clear that than man depicted here is not the child's father. The article is about love, and seems to foreground charitable love through a quotation from the legendary Mother Theresa. One therefore assumes that the male figure in this image is engaged in charity work in a poor black community, judging from the state of the building behind him. Furthermore, mixed race relationships are rare in Pretoria East,

where both the Brooklyn and East Campuses of Doxa Deo are based, and because of this one would not assume that the white man is the black baby's father¹⁴ (also see Figure 41).

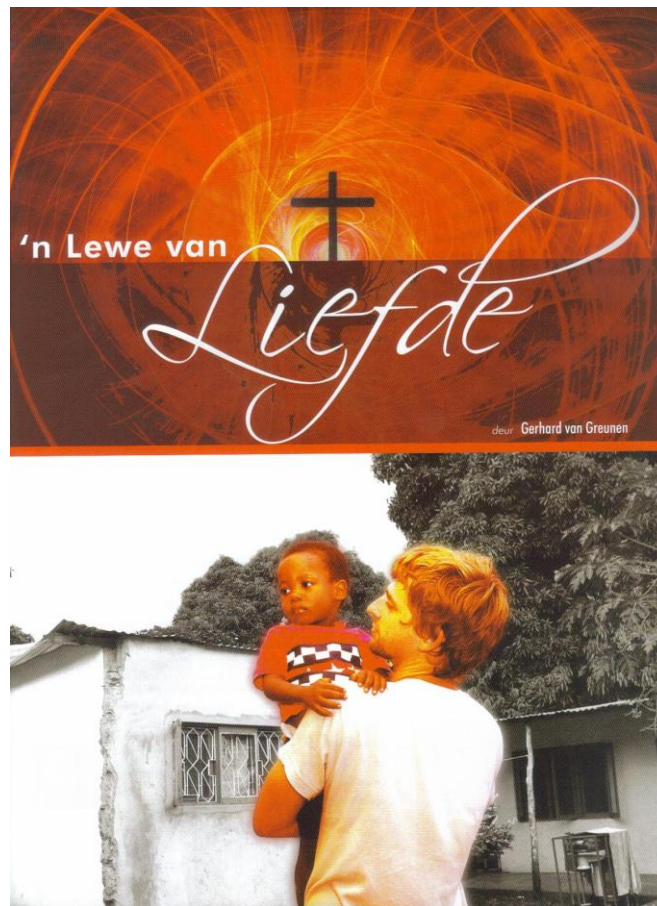


Figure 87: Doxa Deo “*n Lewe van liefde*” (A life of love) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Van Greunen 2008:12).

Judging from the discussion above, as well as that on professional occupation and leadership in Chapter Three, there appears to be a division between the types of occupations held by men and women represented in this study. In accordance with the strong breadwinner ideology in these churches, men having a professional occupation outside the home is prioritised over women having such an occupation. I would also argue that owing to this prominent breadwinner ethos, the lack of representation of men as primary caregivers in this study is justified, as they are presumably absent in order to provide materially for their families. Representations of working women in the data in this

¹⁴ In the data in this study, where figures of races other than white are depicted, the context is mostly that of charity work. I shall return to this problematic tendency towards the end of this chapter.

study show that they are employed as social workers (Figures 84 to 86), midwives (Figure 59), speakers on child-rearing (Figure 78) and entertainers and caretakers of children (Figures 77, 79 to 81 and 83). These occupations are all related to children, and could be argued to be an extension of women's domestic mothering roles at home. Such 'female' occupations stand in opposition to 'male' occupations, which are portrayed and conceptualised as in the public domain outside the home, mostly the corporate realm of business and professional employment, and in no way related to childcare. It was noted in Chapter Three that where women are shown in relation to corporate culture, they are defeminised and abstracted as silhouetted figures (Figures 20 and 21), implying that femininity is somehow out of place in this masculine milieu.

Crisis in Masculinity literature asserts the existence of the disenfranchised corporate man (Clare 2000:7), but Christianity seeks to reassure men that they can regain power both at work and at home, through recourse to ideologies of male headship and breadwinning. This phenomenon is seen in the Promise Keepers movement (Faludi 2000), as well as in the representations of corporate masculinity in the churches participating in this study. This move to reassure men of their authority occurs perhaps as an antidote to BEE and feminism, or to reaffirm gender stereotypes in the workplace and family. Collinson and Hearn (2005:292), however, emphasise the fact that men's public corporate work is often reliant on the support received from domestic work performed by women. Similarly, Pleck (2004:65-66) highlights the demands often made on wives by their husband's jobs. The role of women in men's public lives is described by Whitehead (2002:123):

Despite their plasticity, these and similar symbols of 'successful' twenty-first century (Western) adult manhood now stride out across a global male subconscious, with each country and continent having its own particular exemplar of this self-made man, rich beyond avarice, and, in some instances, more powerful than the Caesars who ruled Rome. Again, the domestic, private realm of the female exists within these images, but rarely intrudes to disrupt or question, being enlisted only to reinforce a public image of (hetero)sexual potency and/or fatherhood.

Faludi (2000:253) problematises and politicises the issue of women not having employment outside the home in a Christian context. She believes that there exists a danger of women being happier and more fulfilled at work than at home (Faludi 2000:253), which challenges Christian beliefs in the domesticity of women. She also describes how work has different meanings for men and women. When women work, they find it uplifting, as they are "exceeding the bounds of traditional feminine expectation"; for men, work is mandatory and "employment [is] just the expected baseline for traditional manhood"

(Faludi 2000:253). Women labour to assert themselves as individuals, but men do so “just to stay on the team” (Faludi 2000:253).

Economic empowerment is a woman’s way out of her domestic servitude – an idea also asserted by De Beauvoir (2010:105-106). In the Promise Keepers movement, Christian women are told that they will be tempted in the workforce, lose their home identity and identity in Christ and succumb to rampant consumerism (Faludi 2000:240, 254). Men are, of course, seen as immune to these vices. Similarly, female consumption power, related to higher disposable incomes, is also a threat to masculinist power. Faludi (2000:260) describes how the Promise Keepers leaders told men to, “take charge of the family’s worship acquisition and consumption activities”, as part of their headship and spiritual leadership duties. It may be argued that this statement contests the feminising aspects of consumer culture, as well as the feminisation of Christianity.

From a different, more secular perspective, having a stay-at-home-mom is considered to be a status symbol in wealthy families (Codrington & Grant-Marshall 2011:124). The presence of a housewife indicates that her husband is rich enough to afford that his wife does not have to work. This might be the case in the affluent areas in which *kerksondemure*, Moreletapark and Doxa Deo are located. Nevertheless, the representation of women as primary caregivers with such little emphasis on their working situation does not reflect a greater cultural shift in mothering practices in Western society, whereby women combining their mothering duties with employment outside the home has become more socially acceptable (LaRossa 1995:450).

4.2.2 Love is marriage

Where men and women are depicted together they are frequently portrayed as a couple, involved in a romantic, heterosexual relationship. The first example of the representation of a heterosexual couple in a romantic moment was discussed in relation to *kerksondemure*’s *Adam Bediening* (Adam Ministry) programme (Figure 27). Figures 88 to 93 provide further examples of this representational tendency.

Figure 88 is the programme for *kerksondemure*’s 30 Plus ministry on their website. It appears as though the female figure is pressing her cheek against the male figure’s head in an intimate gesture in this image. From their physical closeness one deduces that they are romantically involved. One wonders why this image is used for the 30 Plus ministry,

which is inclusive of all people aged 30 and above, not necessarily only those who are involved in romantic relationships; it could imply that the church assumes that most people in their thirties are in romantic relationships. Moreletapark does, however, have a ministry dedicated to (heterosexual) romantic relationships, in the form of their *Aksie 2+* (Action 2+) ministry, the website banner of which is shown in Figure 89. In the blue and green banner a male and female figure are represented in close proximity, leading one to assume that, as in Figure 88, they have an intimate relationship. One could argue that the prominence of images such as these upholds the myths related to heterosexual love.

Sien hier onder 'n meer volledige 2008/2009 program...



Figure 88: kerksondemure “30 Plus” ministry programme. (30 Plus 2008).

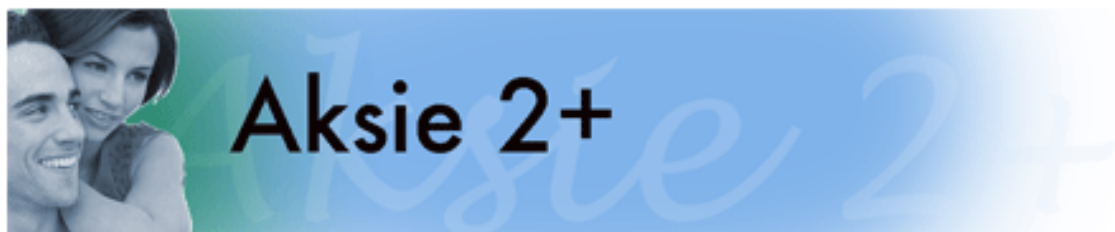


Figure 89: Moreletapark “Aksie 2+” (Action 2+) ministry website banner. (Aksie 2+ 2008).

Figure 90 shows the 2008 programme for Moreletapark’s *Aksie 2+* ministry. A female and male figure are depicted sharing an intimate moment on the beach. Most activities on the programme involve marriage in some way, which implies that marriage is the preferred outcome of Christian romantic relationships. The programme items include: premarital counselling (which is common for Christian couples to undergo before their wedding); a special premarital counselling session for “*Hersaamgestelde Gesinne*” (Reassembled Families); a relationship seminar (for which one assumes the attendees need not be married); various marriage enrichment seminars; intimacy and communication workshops; and an “Understanding One Another” seminar. This representation of a large number of activities related to romantic relationships and especially to marriage, shows the level of importance the church attaches to it.



Figure 90: Moreletapark “*Aksie 2+*” (Action 2+) 2008 ministry programme. (Aksie 2+ program).

Two advertisements for Moreletapark's marriage activities are found in their *Nuwe Dimensie* (New Dimension) (Figure 91) and *Op pad* (En route) (Figure 92) magazines. Figure 91 advertises Moreletapark's "*Huweliksverryking seminar*" (Marriage enrichment seminar). Physically close and intimate male and female figures are again shown. The male figure's shirt is unbuttoned exposing his naked torso underneath. This figure thus represents the only image in this study where a male body is objectified, and perhaps even eroticised. The female figure is also eroticised to some extent through the tightness of her blouse and the exposure of her bare chest.

The topics which the advertisement indicates will be covered at the seminar are, as translated: security of faith; hurray we are different; communication; core needs; protect your marriage; God's thoughts for your marriage; DPS (for which the meaning is not provided); the road forward; and parenthood. One might presume that the "hurray we are different" topic indicates a discussion on the essential difference between men and women in marriage. One might also guess that the acronym "DPS" is not clarified because it might be referring to matters related to physical intimacy, which are better not named in a magazine which the entire congregation reads. One notices that apart from a female speaker who will appear with her husband, all the speakers at the seminar are men. This has problematic implications in terms of which gender has the authority to speak on marriage, but is a common phenomenon in these church materials.

Figure 92 shows an advertisement for Moreletapark's "*Huweliksweek*" (Marriage week). A photograph, similar to that of Figure 90, of a male and female figure shown kissing in a field is provided. As in Figure 90, this creates a romantic, intimate scene of a heterosexual couple. The speaker for this week is a man, Arnold Mol, holding the same implications as discussed above.



Huweliksverryking seminaar

29 Februarie - 2 Maart 2008

ONDERWERPE: Geloofsekerheid, Hoera ons is verskillend, Kommunikasie, Kern-behoefes. Beskerm jou huwelik, God se gedagtes vir jou huwelik, DPS, Die pad vorentoe & Ouerskap.

Sprekers: Ds Dirkie vd Spuy
Gustav en Elna Müller
Teuns Diemont
Louis Maartens
Maynard vd Merwe

Plek: Pure Joy Guest Lodge (Net Noord van Pta)
Koste: R1600 per paar

Besprekings: Annatjie vd Merwe 082 928 2632

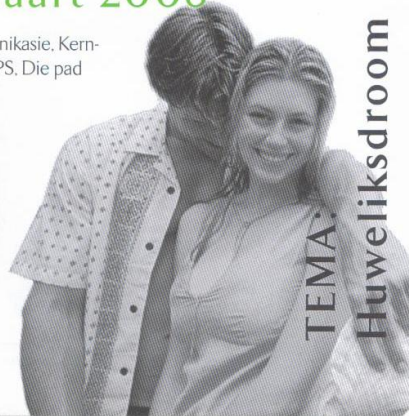


Figure 91: Moreletapark “Huweliksverryking seminar” (Marriage enrichment seminar) print advertisement in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, February 2008. (*Nuwe Dimensie* 2008:11).

Huweliks **WEEK**
7-10 SEP

SPREKER: ARNOLD MOL
NAVRAE ELIZE: 012 997 8029 of
ELIZE@MORELETA.CO.ZA

op pad | augustus 2008 5

Figure 92: Moreletapark “Huweliksweek” (Marriage week) print advertisement in *Op pad* magazine, August 2008. (*Op pad* 2008a:5).

It is worth noting that in all the figures representing couples discussed so far, men are shown ‘first’ on the left side of the picture plane, and women ‘second’ on the right side, according to the Western cultural convention of reading from left to right. In the context of the belief of Christian male headship in marriage and in the family the signifying practice of depicted the male figure ‘first’ is significant. In this regard, one could argue that men are shown visually in a more important position as, according to Gunter R Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006:181), the “given” information is usually provided on the left of a composition. In this context this practice could imply that men are more important in romantic relationships, as they are supposed to take the lead. Women, according to this

logic, are therefore secondary, and meant to follow the male lead and submit to it. Women are also objectified by their position on the right, as the eye comes to rest on the decorative aspect in the composition.

As most of the figures discussed above are from Moreletapark and kerksondemure, it would appear that Doxa Deo does not emphasise the importance of romantic heterosexual love in their visual material. However, Doxa Deo accentuates the significance of marriage in a different manner than the other two churches. Figure 93 shows the staff and leadership of various facets of the Doxa Deo organisation in a booklet they provide new congregation members with, entitled, “Nuwe Vennote” (New Partners). From these two pages, it appears that Doxa Deo conceptualise their leadership in terms of married couples (also see 3.3.1). All but two people on these leadership pages are married. One wonders whether Doxa Deo prefers their leaders to be married; judging from these pages it certainly appears so.



Figure 93: Doxa Deo “Tswane” and “Stede” (Cities) leadership; and “Strategiese Leierspan” (Strategic Leadership Team) and “Popup & Skool & Metamorpho” (Popup & School & Metamorpho) leadership pages in “Nuwe Vennote” (New Partners) booklet. (Nuwe Vennote 2008:4-5).

The fact that Doxa Deo has married couples together in leadership positions could be viewed as both positive and negative. On the positive side, this practice acknowledges the support spouses give each other regarding their work. On the negative side, it could shroud the fact that, traditionally, women mostly play this supportive role. It is also unclear whether Doxa Deo have any female ministers, as *kerksondemure* and Moreletapark do. Men and women in married couples are teamed together as campus pastor pairs, as seen in Figure 93, but it is not possible to ascertain the extent of the influence of the leadership roles women play in the church, while by their husbands' sides.

Through the churches' tendency to frequently portray couples, men are also commonly shown as involved in heterosexual, romantic relationships, as opposed to being single. This correlates to Viljoen's (2011:311) opinion that whereas mainstream men's lifestyle magazines often portray men as unattached, which is also mostly the case elsewhere in the mainstream media (Prinsloo 2006:135), the Afrikaans Christian men's magazine, *MaksiMan*, includes various references to significant others. This phenomenon also relates to Lash's (1995:23-35, 82) ideas on the male hero's role as a lover. In congruence with the emphasis placed on romantic heterosexual relationships, especially in the form of marriage, the traditional configuration of the nuclear family is also found to be preferred in the data from Moreletapark and *kerksondemure*. This corresponds with another one of Viljoen's (2011:325) findings that no references to separated or divorced fathers are found in *MaksiMan*. She maintains that this is problematic, as it promotes "the popular illusion that Christian marriages do not end in divorce – a notion dispelled by sociological research" (Viljoen 2011:325).

Figures 94 and 95 provide examples of nuclear families represented in Moreletapark and *kerksondemure*. On *kerksondemure*'s "*Gemeenteraad Retreat*" (Congregation Board Retreat) invitation (Figure 94), a photograph is shown in the bottom left corner, depicting a male and female figure, with two figures of children, one of each sex. These figures grouped together in this manner signify the traditional nuclear family. As this configuration is represented here on this invitation to *kerksondemure*'s Congregation Board Retreat, the notion of the nuclear family is connected with the church, and the impression is created that leaders of the church are in nuclear families. Once again a father figure is represented here in terms of an event, the retreat, and not in terms of routine childcare. The nuclear family is also present in representations of real staff members, as can be seen in Figure 95 in a profile article in the *ksm* magazine. The article is entitled: "*Ontmoet Jackie Janse van Rensburg*" (Meet Jackie Janse van Rensburg), and shows Jackie, a temporary data

administrator at kerksondemure, and her husband, infant son and baby daughter in a traditional family composition. Considering the fact that the profile is about Jackie as an employee at the church, one wonders why she is shown in her family context. This is perhaps intended to relate her to the roles of mother and wife more prominently than to her role as data administrator.

Gemeenteraad Retreat...

Hiermee word u vriendelik uitgenooi na ons Gemeenteraad-wegbreek!
Saterdag, 1 Maart 2008.

Die eendag-wegbreek sal plaasvind by Lodge Ronda Blackwood straat 287 Hennospark Centurion



Voorlopige Program:

06:30 Ontbyt

(Ons het slegs een dag tot ons beskikking, kom ons benut die volle dag en kuier reeds van vroeg af saam).



07:30 Opening en Stilwees

08:00 Konferensie

10:00 Tee & Koffie

Konferensie

13:00 Middagete

Konferensie

15:00 Vars sappe

Konferensie



19:00 Familie byeenkoms.

Alle gades en kinders word uitgenooi om 'n heerlike informele aandete en saamkuier te kom geniet by Lodge Ronda. Vermaak in die vorm van springkastele en video's sal vir die kinders beskikbaar wees. Drag: Informeel en kontant kroegfasiliteite is beskikbaar. Sappe en koeldrank is by die ete ingesluit



Figure 94: kerksondemure "Gemeenteraad Retreat" (Congregation Board Retreat) invitation.

The magazine article features a yellow background with colorful starburst graphics. The main title is "helpende hande manna-sonder-mure" with the subtitle "kos vir honger magies". Below this, there is a large "M" graphic. The article is titled "ONTMOET Jackie Janse van Rensburg" and includes a small portrait of Jackie. The text describes her role as a data administrator and her involvement in the "Manna-sonder-mure" project, which provides food for the hungry. It mentions that Jackie is the daughter of a pastor and is currently a data administrator at kerksondemure. The article also includes several photographs of Jackie and other people involved in the project, as well as a family photo of Jackie, Barry, Marilinda, and Ryno.

Figure 95: kerksondemure "Ontmoet Jackie Janse van Rensburg" (Meet Jackie Janse van Rensburg) profile article in ksm magazine, July 2008. (Marais 2008:6).

The triptych (Figure 96) entitled *Woman's Mission*, by George Elgar Hicks (1863) illustrates the roles ascribed to women in the three churches in this study with disconcerting accuracy. The three paintings, *Guide of Childhood*, *Companion of Manhood* and *Comfort of Old Age*, highlight the domesticated and subordinated roles of women. In *Companion of Manhood*, the female figure is shown supporting her bereaved husband, a notion which is seen in the data in this study regarding the headship position of men in the church. In *Guide to Childhood*, she is shown walking through the woods with her son.

Similar images to this one are also present in the data, especially those highlighting the motherhood and caregiving function of women. In the final painting, *Comfort of Old Age*, the same female figure is shown caring for her aged father. The woman is, therefore, constructed only in relation to her son, her husband and her father.

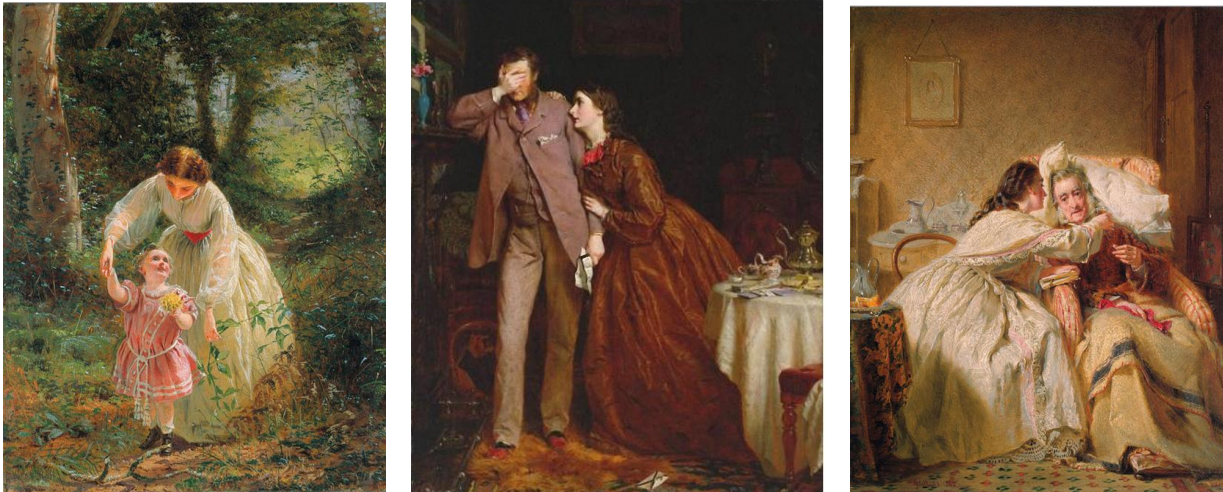


Figure 96: George Elgar Hicks, *Woman's Mission: Guide of Childhood, Companion of Manhood* and *Comfort of Old Age*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 851 x 727 x 70 mm (details for *Companion of Manhood* – other paintings lost). Tate Collection. (Nead 1988:149-151).

From the discussion in this chapter and that in Chapter Three, one sees strong evidence in this study's data of the public–private gender split, where men are constructed as functioning in the corporate world of work and women in the domestic realm of child-rearing and the private sphere of spirituality. Although such representations are also common in the mainstream media, where working men are frequently shown to have stay-at-home wives,¹⁵ one wonders to what extent the ideology of male headship influences and determines these representations in the three churches.

The importance of motherhood, in the form of the common association between femininity and primary childcare, appears to be over-represented and overemphasised and this seems to constitute a woman's primary occupation in the churches as nurturer, apart from being employed as decoration because of her beauty. She is not only shown as nurturing children but additionally, as she is a symbol for the spiritual, she is a representative of spiritual nurturing for the whole congregation. This notion gains an interesting dimension in

¹⁵ The popular contemporary television series, *Desperate Housewives* (Cherry 2004-2012), provides such examples.

Afrikaans churches when one considers its genealogical link to the Afrikaner myth of the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation)¹⁶ whereby Afrikaner women since the late nineteenth century (Landman 1994:5) were believed to be strong contributors to Afrikaner identity and nationalism in the household (which was beyond British control) although they were denied any real political power (McClintock 1997:105). The myth of the *volksmoeder* symbolically limits white Afrikaner women's power to the domestic realm, as they "could only gain social recognition as participants in the lives of their husbands and children" (Grundlingh 1996:200).

Fatherhood is sidelined in the data in this study where primary care is concerned. Some scholars, like Cohen (1990:172), also highlight that the feminisation of family, especially of the home, results in the undervaluation and marginalisation of fathers. Literature also indicates that fatherhood is sometimes sidelined because it is perceived to be close to femininity (Prinsloo 2006:143). In relation to this notion, fatherhood is visually located between masculinity and femininity in this study. Images depicting fatherhood are the only instances where images relating to masculinity employ cursive fonts, feminine colours and female figures. The devaluation of fathers is detrimental to the struggle for men's parental rights, especially in terms of custody battles and paternity leave, which are issues on the rise in the South Africa.

Where fatherhood is represented, depictions of the beloved patriarch are most common in the churches (see, for example, Figures 39 and 40). Fathers are, however, also portrayed as actively involved in the family unit and in parenting, and as a result it could be argued that certain progressive tenets of the 'new man' phenomenon, commonly shown in the mainstream media, have found their way into the visual culture of Moreletapark, *kerksondermure* and *Doxa Deo*. This may well be the case as sensitive and nurturing masculinity and the 'new father' type form significant parts of the 'new man' ethos (McKay *et al* 2005:281). Although fatherhood is depicted as motherhood is by the three churches, these are, however, not constructed in equal terms. As already mentioned, women are shown in relation to babies and young infants, but men are mostly shown in relation to early adolescent and older children. This representational practice is problematic as it perpetuates the cultural myth of the female as primary caregiver. Women are, according to the literature, mostly occupied with the basic aspects of raising children (LaRossa

¹⁶ As femininity is not the focus of this study, I do not delve into this pertinent myth in Afrikaner culture here. For discussion see, amongst others, Anne McClintock (1993, 1997), Liese van der Watt (1995) and Marijke du Toit (2003).

1995:451). As mentioned previously, the only place where a male figure is depicted as a father caring for a baby is on a Moreletapark brochure for a preparatory course on infant baptism – a significant rite of passage in the lives of new Christian parents. In her analysis of *MaksiMan* magazine, Viljoen (2011:324) similarly finds that emphasis is placed on fathers as financial providers for their families, and on their wives as primary caregivers. Prinsloo (2006:134) echoes this by stating that this “hegemonic frame tends to constitute a ‘good’ father as the responsible breadwinner/provider and the protector”. In this regard, Prinsloo (2006:134) also states the following:

Media representations locate the father in the public spheres of the workplace or in contexts of physical endurance and challenge. He may be judged as inadequate when he fails in these roles. In contrast, the “good” mother is defined in her ability to care for and nurture her family and sustain intimate relationships with them. Her engagement in economic labour is subordinate to these roles.

Scholars have criticised the ‘new man’ phenomenon as a mere construction of the media (McKay *et al* 2005:281), with little correlation between the ‘new man’ as shown in television and magazines and the actual changes in real-life family gender relations. What is pertinent, nevertheless, for this study is that the ‘new man’ is most commonly conceptualised as a white, affluent, middle-class male. One wonders why so little of the New Man is visible in churches like Moreletapark, kerksonderrure and Doxa Deo, which without a doubt fit its demographic profile. Perhaps this is because dominant masculinity does not easily accept change (Whitehead 2002:154).

4.3 Exscription

When analysing the churches’ visual materials in this study, Fiske’s (1987:204) theory of exscription and inscription sheds further light on the findings. Fiske’s (1987:204) idea centres basically on what is “written in” and what is “written out” of media texts. “Exscription, the opposite of inscription is”, according to Fiske (1987:204), “the process whereby a discourse writes out of itself topics that are ideologically or psychologically discomforting”. What *is not* represented in the church images is as important as what *is* represented. What has been discussed so far is mainly the inscription of certain gender roles, stereotypes and myths in the gender scripts provided by the churches. A few exscripted ideas have been referred to, for example the exscription of women having paid occupations apart from their unpaid domestic work and the exscription of fathers as primary caregivers. One also further notices an exscription of certain alternative gender

identities, especially homosexuality. This practice is not uncommon or unjustified for the churches, as many Christians view homosexuality as a sin, or avoid dealing with the issue altogether because it is such a contentious topic in Christianity – as is the role and position of women in the church. But, according to Connell (2001:40), gay men have also become the “symbolic target” for the crusades of the religious right.

Pointing out the fact that the churches do not represent a single homosexual couple seems like stating the obvious. Heterosexual couples, especially married couples, on the other hand, are shown in abundance, constituting heterosexuality as imperative (McKay *et al* 2005:280). Although homosexuality is not openly attacked in the churches’ visual material it is certainly ignored to the point of exscribing it from existence. A single reference to homosexuality is found in Moreletapark’s *Op pad* (En route) magazine in a feature article, entitled “Gay-wees is geneesbaar” (Being gay can be cured) (Figure 97).



Gay-wees is geneesbaar

soos elke ander jongmens op soek na liefde

deur Liezel van Zyl

Ek was soos elke ander jongmens op soek na liefde, 'n sense of belonging, terwyl ek nog nie regtig myself as mens gevind het nie. Ek was verloof, maar ek het nie met my verloofde gekonnekteer soos wat almal altyd gesê het dit moet voel nie. Dit was 'n langafstand verlowing, maar ek het tog nooit na hom verlang of met

afwagting vir sy kuiers gewag nie. Ons het die verlowing verbreek.

In my soeke na die persoon wat my belangrik kon laat voel en vir wie ek kon lief wees, het ek by aksie-krieket betrokke geraak. Ek was nog altyd lief vir sport en het daar tuis gevoel.

Ek het egter meer gekry as waarna ek gesoek het, want meisies het in my begin belangstel. Dit was die eerste keer dat ek enigiemand se aandag getrek het op daardie manier, man of vrou. Dit was weird maar tog lekker, want elke vrou wil tog voel sy is mooi.

Een van die krieketmeisies het by my begin kuier en vir my goedjies gekoop. Sy het 'n behoefte begin vervul wat my belangrik laat voel het en meer gevoelens het ontwikkel. Dit het "normaal" gevoel.

Dit was meer as agt jaar gelede en in daardie tyd het ek slegs enkele kere myself gevra of ek bestem was om gay te wees. Dit was eers verlede jaar toe my beste vriendin my blootgestel het aan die Here op 'n manier wat ek kon

verstaan en waar ek die Here se teenwoordigheid kon ervaar, waar ek regtig my gay-wees in twyfel getrek het.

Die geestelike voeding by Moreletapark Gemeente het my persoonlike verhouding met die Here versterk. Ek het ontdek dat ek nie bestem was om gay te wees nie. Ek het 'n leemte binne my gehad, 'n behoefte aan liefde en aanvaarding. Deur die genesingsproses kan ek nou sonder ongemak in 'n heteroseksuele verhouding wees.

Hierdie behoefte kan nie geïgnoreer word nie. Elkeen wat die behoefte het, moet dit aanvat en deurwerk. Ek het die oplossing gevind in my nuwe verhouding met die Here - Hy is die groot Geneesheer. Hy gebruik wel mense om die genesing te bewerkstellig, maar jy moet Hom jou eerste liefde maak en Hom toelaat om jou te genees.

Ek en my beste vriendin, Marina Pretorius, doen tans gay-barading en sal graag enigeen wat antwoorde soek, met liefde bystaan. Kontak my by 076 470 5559 of Marina by 071 325 4997.

16 op pad | oktober 2008

Figure 97: Moreletapark “Gay-wees is geneesbaar” (Being gay can be cured) feature article in *Op pad* magazine, October 2008. (Van Zyl 2008:16).

The title of the article likens homosexuality to a disease which can be treated. The article is written by ‘cured’ former lesbian, Liezel van Zyl, and chronicles her ‘healing’ from homosexuality. This healing is said to have come about through support from a friend as well as the church, her renewed relationship with God, and the realisation that she was

never “destined” to be gay. The reference to the idea that people are not destined to be gay points to the common Christian argument of biological determinism employed to declare homosexuality a sin. As homosexuality receives no other mention in the data for this study, and as the single mention it does receive is negative, one concludes that homosexuality is marginalised, and in the context of the article in Figure 97, perhaps even demonised and its adherents ostracised.

The depiction of people of other races in the data of this study is also problematic. Representations of black figures are not rare in the visual material collected for this study, but the contexts in which they are portrayed are contentious. As it is not the topic of this study, I do not display and discuss these images here. Judging from an overview of these images, black figures are most commonly depicted as the recipients of charity from the three churches. Moreletapark, kerksondemure and Doxa Deo all frequently engage in charity and outreach activities, which are reported on in their magazines, showcasing the churches’ service to the poor. Despite the churches’ good intentions to help the needy, this colonial version of charity towards the so-called ‘natives’ remains highly problematic and also points to the historically difficult relationship between Afrikaners and black South Africans.

Another manner in which black figures are shown, though not frequently, is as domestic servants, helping to prepare food. No representations of black figures appear in the day-to-day ‘normal’ activities of the church, thereby revealing that there is almost no racial integration in these churches. All three churches, admittedly, have very few church members of other races. Moreleta does, however, have a dedicated African ministry, called Shining Light, for which they have employed a black minister to lead services in Zulu. Although the intention behind having a service in Zulu in order to serve black people is perhaps noble, it still indicates racial segregation tactics, based on language preferences. Representations of figures who are not black or white are scarce in the data for this study. Where such figures are portrayed, is it mostly in relation to the church’s missionary work, thus framing these figures as ‘heathens’ who must be converted to Christianity.

This lack in the representation of racial diversity makes it appear as though people of other races form no part of the lives of the people in the three churches in this study. It also paints a picture of an all-white world in these churches, harking back to apartheid-type segregation. It could be argued that such representations are not healthy in the new South

Africa, striving for racial and cultural integration. The non-representation of people of other races in Moreletapark and *kerksondemure*'s visual material is also inconsistent with the Dutch Reformed Church's open confession of its part in apartheid and its request for forgiveness from the South African people (Du Pisani 2001:171). This lack of diverse racial representation does not aid the Dutch Reformed Church in its plea for public pardon, nor does it attest to a logical subsequent remedial move towards racial integration and transformation. The similarly problematic implications of the lack of gender transformation in the visual material produced by Moreletapark, *kerksondemure* and *Doxa Deo* is discussed and problematised in the following chapter.

From the discussion in this chapter certain trends in gender representation as exhibited by Moreletapark, *kerksondemure* and *Doxa Deo* can be identified. Colours commonly associated with femininity, cursive fonts and radiantly smiling or elegantly worshipping female figures are the basic iconography for femininity. Femininity is employed for its 'prettiness', and in its ornamental function, in contrast to masculinity, which is shown in its instrumental function. The representational practice of objectifying the female figure is also common in the mainstream media, and is often taken to the extreme of sexual objectification of women. This is, of course, not the case in the three churches, but it could be argued that they participate in this objectification of women at least on a basic level in their visual material. The fact that women are seldom shown to be very active and that men are not shown to be decorative and passive – a consumerist trend on the rise in the media over the past few decades, whereby male bodies are eroticised and feminised (Nixon 1997:293-294) – demonstrates that the active–passive gender binary is maintained in the churches. Berger's (1972:47) phrase: "*men act and women appear*" is the apparent point of departure in the creation of gendered visual culture in the three churches. Stereotypical gender myths are created and supported; for instance, the myth of heightened male physical prowess and the myths of female beauty and passivity.

There also appears to be a prevalence of traditional domesticated roles depicted in relation to women and femininity, which are meant to function in the private sphere. Such female roles include serving others, hosting events, caregiving and motherhood in terms of primary care and child-rearing. There is also a prevalence of traditional male roles, which function in both private and public spheres, but more predominantly in the public sphere. Such male roles include working outside the home in order to fulfil the breadwinner role, being physically active outdoors, and being a father in terms of playing with and socialising with older children. It has also been noted that male leadership is visually conceptualised

in the three churches as spanning three spheres, namely the home, the church and the workplace. It has been shown that men are the preferred speakers at women's events and marriage seminars, implying the importance given to male authority in these contexts. In opposition to this conceptualisation of male leadership, female leadership is not referred to in pertinent terms. In this regard, follower and servant roles are rather portrayed in relation to women and femininity.