CHAPTER THREE

BUSINESSMEN, CAMPERS AND FATHERS – THE REPRESENTATION OF MASCULINITY IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES

This chapter provides a further theoretical consideration of topics and issues touched on in Chapter One. Masculinity is initially given further treatment, especially the representation of masculinity and the myths associated with it. The topic of gender and Christianity then receives attention from a broad perspective in terms of the topic's background and key issues. This is followed by a section with a specific focus on masculinity in Christianity, as well as on Christian masculinity in the South African context. After this theoretical section, the findings of this study regarding the representation of masculinity in three Afrikaans corporate churches are presented thematically. As previously noted, three themes regarding the representation of masculinity have been identified from the data, namely: professional occupation and leadership; physical activity and adventurism; and fatherhood. For each of these themes a brief introduction is provided from the available literature and relevant theory, followed by a discussion.

3.1 Masculinity

> Yet however carefully observed, the represented body is an abstracted body: the product of ideas that are culturally and historically specific, and in which the social formation of the producer determines the appearance and meanings of the body; its meanings are then further modified in the act of consumption (Callen 2002:603).

As the main focus of this study, the topic of masculinity is expanded in the first section of this chapter, which builds on the theoretical aspects of masculinity discussed in Chapter One. For this purpose, the representation of masculinity, as well as the myths of masculinity, are considered. In terms of the former, theory and literature are drawn from various disciplines, such as Media Studies, Art History and Visual Culture Studies. In the subsection dealing with the myths of masculinity, the myth of the male hero is discussed as a foundational myth for male identity in the West. This discussion of the representation of masculinity and its myths serves as a background to the discussion of the findings of the representation of masculinity in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo later in this chapter.

3.1.1 The representation of masculinity

Similar to the rise of Masculinity Studies, the study of the representation of masculinity stems from a spirit of "reconceptualization of gender" prominent in activism and scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s (Brod 1995:13). As previously considered in Chapter One, images and representations in Visual Culture Studies and semiotic theory are believed to construct meaning. According to MacKinnon (2003:23), cultural images both reflect and produce the way we think about gender. Nixon (1997:301), in his investigation of the portrayal of masculinity in the media, pays specific attention to representation as constitutive. He considers how cultural meanings of masculinity are not merely reflected in cultural languages and systems of representation, but how they are constructed through such languages and representation systems. It is also notable that the most prominent theoretical approach to research on men in the mass media is social constructionism (McKay *et al* 2005:273).

In Chapter One, the significance of the constitutive nature of representations to gender was discussed, as these are taken up as gender scripts for gender performances. Representations of gender are, therefore influential and hegemonic and effect the exertion of ideological power, especially through the mainstream media. McKay *et al* (2005:280) believe that:

> Traditionally, the imperative of "compulsory heterosexuality" has compelled media personnel to differentiate men from women by showing the former with bodies that are authoritative and powerful in the public sphere, and portraying the latter with bodies that denote nurturance, domesticity, passivity, narcissism, and sexual pleasure for male onlookers.

Norman Bryson (1994:230) identifies a dominant heterosexual optic, whereby "visual activity is culturally constructed across a split between active (= male) and passive (= female) roles—where the man is the bearer of the look, and the woman is the object for that looking". Semiotics, as mentioned in Chapter One, is particularly positioned to analyse this binary split employed in representational practice as, according to Connell (2001:33), "[i]n the semiotic opposition of masculinity and femininity, masculinity is the unmarked term, the place of symbolic authority. The phallus is master-signifier, and femininity is symbolically defined by lack". Connell (2001:33) stresses the efficacy of this definition of

masculinity in cultural analysis, although it is not without limitations.[1] Masculinity's unmarked status in a semiotic framework also renders it invisible or ex-nominated and therefore beyond questioning. Ex-nomination is the status Barthes (1972:138) attributes to the bourgeoisie – a class so dominant and naturalised that naming it became unnecessary.

A common thread runs through most studies on the representation of masculinity: an intention to make visible men and masculinity, which have previously been rendered invisible by their status and power as "the norm" or the "universal human" (Posner 1995:22) or as the "the unmarked term" (Connell 2001:33). MacKinnon (2003:ix) discusses how masculinity is often "beyond question or analysis", and McKay *et al* (2005:170) believe that the "veiled status" of men has contributed greatly to male power and privilege. The privilege enjoyed by white men would, therefore, remain beyond discussion and invisible owing to an avoidance of viewing masculinity as a construct (MacKinnon 2003:8). Interrogations of the portrayal of men and masculinity, therefore, serve to de-naturalise seemingly natural (Barthes 1972) visual accounts. Solomon-Godeau (1997:10) argues that it is because of the contemporary (perceived) crisis of masculinity that more attention is now paid to its representations. In this regard she states:

> The recent discursive visibility of masculinity attests to the growing perception that there is nothing whatsoever 'natural' about masculinity and nothing preordained about the forms it might take. Cut loose, as it were, from a presumed isomorphism with biological sex, the concept of masculinity has ceded its taken-for-granted status, its previous transparency (Solomon-Godeau 1997:18).

Most feminist analyses of the media have focused on women (Craig 1992:1), resulting in a scarcity of related literature on the representation of men in the media. According to South African media scholar, Jeanne Prinsloo (2006:133), historically the interest in media gendered representations appeared as feminist analyses of the patriarchal character of the media. When representations of men were considered, they "were examined primarily as a foil against which to understand the positioning of women and were secondary to the feminist project" (Prinsloo 2006:33). In my study I invert this practice strategically and treat the representation of women and femininity as a foil to masculinity. Available literature is, furthermore, fragmented across various disciplines (McKay *et al* 2005:273). However, under the ethos of feminist analysis, representations of masculinity are problematised in

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[1] Connell (2001:33) cites semiotic analysis's limited scope as its greatest drawback. Please see Connell for further discussion.

the same manner that representations of femininity are – though masculinity has an admittedly different relationship to patriarchy and masculinism. Accordingly, Solomon-Godeau (1997:10) states that, "[i]n much the same way that feminist theory and criticism have revealed femininity to be a historically variable and fully social construction, so too can we now examine the shifting forms of masculinity, acknowledging its role in shaping subjectivity, and its registration of changing historical circumstance". Masculinity is now, like femininity, understood to be a synthetically constructed identity (Posner 1995:29).

Previous uncritical analyses of sex role portrayals in the media are problematised by contemporary scholars (Craig 1992; Fejes 1992; Brod 1995). In uncritical studies, the representation of sex roles are taken as fact, or as proof of the inherent differences between men and women. MacKinnon (2003:26) attributes this problem to "traditional [quantitative] content analysis". Gender representation, in sex role research, is not conceived of as a construction, but as a mere reflection of real life. The notion of sex roles, in this sense, is depoliticising (Barthes 1972:142) and is used to prove that a single norm for every gender exists (Brod 1995:15). According to Brod (1995:15), for feminists, the "presumptions of the harmonious complementarity of roles was pernicious because it masked the fact that gender roles were in reality not relations of complementarity but rather relations of domination–specifically, male domination over women".

This new critical look at gender roles is carried over into Masculinity Studies, which views masculinity as a construction, as a performance, or as Brod (1995:13) maintains, a masquerade. The concept of the "masculine masquerade" (from Joan Riviere's "womanliness as masquerade") is an oxymoron in Brod's (1995:13) opinion, laying bare the façade on the surface of masculinity, which is supposedly natural and commonsense. The masquerade is "interminable" for both genders as sanctions are imposed against anyone trying to escape it (Bryson 1994:231). The masculine masquerade is maintained, according to Bryson (1994:231), through a "system of 'cross-censorship,' [whereby] the same codes of masculine identity that the subject introjects into his own case he projects outward onto all other males as a continuous injunction to maintain the codes".

The power of gender representations has been considered briefly in Chapter One in terms of the command of representations as such, as credible signifiers, and in terms of the authority of representations as gender scripts. For scholars such as Solomon-Godeau (1997:19), "visual culture is not only gendered, but actively productive of gender ideology". Although representations are powerful there is, however, a marked chasm between

representation and lived experience. Such is the difference between gender portrayals and the day-to-day realities of individuals that representations are often considered to be idealisations. An ideal, as a form of myth, notifies and shows 'how things should be'.

The notion of representation as idealisation has an interesting dimension when considering masculinity, which in many cultures is believed to be something which must be attained, achieved, acquired or something into which one must be initiated (Solomon-Godeau 1997:33; MacKinnon 2003:6). Representation, then, shows *what* must be attained. According to Craig (1992:2-3), masculinity and femininity are sets of cultural expectations, which are produced and maintained through patriarchy. Masculinity is, therefore, what (a patriarchal) society expects of its men, and is aspirational. MacKinnon (2003:7) states categorically that "masculinity is an ideal, not an actuality. Men's experience must always fall short. Masculinity is just out of reach. It becomes *ideological*, a goal to strive towards, but not ultimately attainable. Thus being a 'real man' is precarious, always under threat, even from within".

If masculinity itself is understood to be an ideal, then even more so are its representations, which seek to give it legitimacy through signification. Solomon-Godeau (1997:9) states that "the image of ideal manhood is as much a product of fantasy, and certainly ideology, as the more familiar icons of eroticized femininity". Idealisations are, nevertheless, rooted in reality (Posner 1995:23), and it is because there is a sufficient amount of reality in myth that it is believed and accepted as natural. Myth conceals nothing, it merely obscures (Barthes 1972:121). Ideals do remain mostly unattainable, and so does 'real masculinity' in this case. Posner (1995:22) maintains that there is an experience of inauthenticity, a lack and a deficit at the heart of masculinity. Similarly Solomon-Godeau (1997:36) believes that one can

> perceive the gulf that separate the individual male human being in his frailty and morality from the abstract and largely unrealizable ideal that culture and society designates as its masculine norm. And where it is a question of the mimetic and figurative depiction of an idealized masculinity in visual terms, there exists always a disjunction between the ideology of gender in the abstract and in actual corporeal reality.

The internal inconsistency of masculinity is thus manifested. Masculinity, ironically not the lady, *doth protest too much*. MacKinnon (2003:5, 34) notes the paradox of having to *try* to be a 'real man' and argues that, masculinity needs to be continuously constructed and reconstructed in the mass media, because in social reality it is an unstable concept. What is

notable about mass media constructions of masculinity is that they portray a wide range of masculinities, or 'multiple masculinities', from 'hard' dominant, traditional, heterosexual types on one end of the spectrum to 'soft' non-dominant, updated, homosexual types on the other. The mainstream media is known, however, to exhibit a preference for discourses of dominant or hegemonic masculinity[2] (Prinsloo 2006:134).

Various masculinities are also depicted in the visual arts. Solomon-Godeau (1997:10) looks at the representation of ideal masculinity in French history painting and recognises two opposing versions of masculinity similar to the farthest poles of media representation of men mentioned above. Solomon-Godeau (1997:10) identifies a virile and active warrior exemplified by David's *Oath of the Horatti* (1784) (Figure 10), and as its more prevalent alternative, the graceful and feminised ephebe visible in David's portrayal of the boy martyr in *The death of Joseph Bara* (1794) (Figure 11). These two types of masculinity constitute two seemingly contradictory, but simultaneously represented paradigms of masculinity.

Figure 10: Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii*, 1784-1785. Oil on canvas, 3.35 x 4.27m. Louvre, Paris.
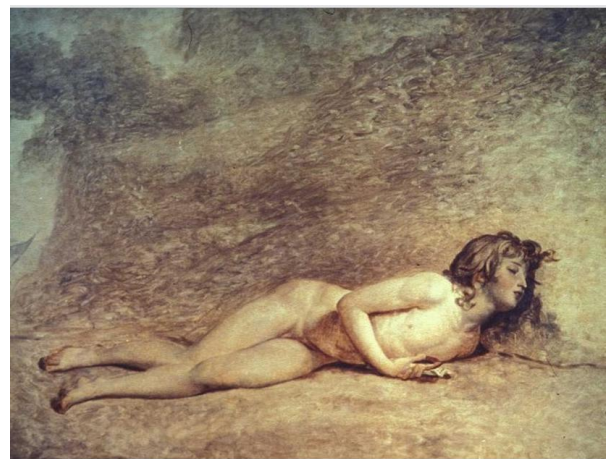(Adams 2002:737).

Figure 11: Jacques-Louis David, *The death of Joseph Bara*, 1794. Oil on canvas, 1.19 x 1.56m. Musée Calvet, Avignon.
(Johnson 2006:129).

In Perchuk and Posner's (1995) companion volume to the MIT exhibition of contemporary visual art, named *Masculine masquerade. Masculinity and representation*, they consider divergent masculinities from white dominant, to black athletic and Asian immigrants (Posner 1995:22). Similarly, in Craig's (1992) compilation *Men, masculinity and the media. Research on men and masculinities*, the contributing writers discuss media representations

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[2] See Fejes (1992) for discussion.

of various masculinities, and so does MacKinnon (2003) in *Representing men. Maleness and masculinity in the media*, according to various genres. There is a shared conception in the literature on the representation of masculinity that where images of masculinity are concerned, the media portrays a wide variety (Prinsloo 2006:135). Common in all the abovementioned works on the representation of masculinity is the simultaneous existence of apparently conflicting portrayals of men. Hard men occupy the same signifying space as soft men. In considering this antithetical phenomenon, McKay *et al* (2005:284) note that, "the media both reinforce *and* destabilize everyday understandings of [men] in multifarious and paradoxical ways". It is this tendency, in the media and the visual arts, to relay images that reassure and images that threaten dominant masculinity that marks the main difference between mainstream masculinity representation and the portrayal of masculinity by the churches in this study, as argued in Chapter Four.

Mainstream media representations of different kinds of masculinity should, however, not be mistaken for a pro-feminist advance in the dissolution of male power. Nixon (1997:293) points out that effeminised depictions of masculinity in the media could be seen as an assimilation of femininity into masculine power discourse. Solomon-Godeau (1997:41) brings the matter of new representations of soft men into perspective by stating that, "[w]e should not forget that our seductive ephebes, or our sensitive musclemen cradling babies or ironing their own trousers, exists simultaneously with a backlash against women's rights, and an ominous ascendancy of right wing politics and its attendant ideologies". Likewise, MacKinnon (2003:10) believes that hegemonic masculinity survives by incorporating critiques against it, and its continued existence is dependent on such incorporations. Feminised soft masculinities seem less oppressive than traditional hard masculinities (MacKinnon 2003:14) and are therefore more easily acceptable to progressive ideologies.

Such notions of the problematic nature of the depiction of soft masculinities in the media bring into question the value of constructions of the 'new man' or 'new father' for the feminist project of gender equity. The mass media invented the 'new man' to deal with the problem of selling men soft lifestyle products without simultaneously challenging hegemonic masculinity's traditional foundations (McKay *et al* 2005:281). The invention of the new man, commonly conceptualised as the metrosexual, coincides with the shift to lifestyle advertising and its focus on market research (McKay *et al* 2005:281). The new man, it seems, was constructed to suit new markets (Nixon 1997:294). This construction leads many scholars to consider the way in which the media frames men as consumers in their research of the

representation of masculinity (e.g., Brod 1995; Nixon 1997; MacKinnon 2003; McKay *et al* 2005).

Consumerism brings about another change in the representation of masculinity, namely the eroticisation of the male body. Nixon (1997:293-294) considers the pervasive rise of erotic male media images in the 1980s. Brod (1995:19) considers the objectification and sexualisation of the body as a privilege conventionally reserved for the female figure, though Solomon-Godeau (1997:11-12) would argue that the representation of the sensual nude was traditionally the position of the male figure, especially when women were sidelined by the French Revolution and its artistic products viewed as malign and perverse. Indeed, the idealisation of the nude male figure is common in classical Greek sculpture (Bryson 1994:234-235). It was only during modernity that the female nude became so prominent in the visual arts. Today, in the service of commodity culture, the media serves representations of "splendid male bodies" as objects of "desirous looking" (Solomon-Godeau 1997:23).[3]

The representation of the new man in the media is, nevertheless, considered to be just that: a mere depiction. McKay *et al* (2005:281) believe that the new man is "an artifact [*sic*] of the media, and despite all the focus on 'sensitive' masculinity, men's self interests [are] still being served via the sexual division of labor". This issue is explored further in this study through an analysis of contrasting ideas of fatherhood and motherhood in the visual material from the three selected churches. In this study, as in the literature, it would appear as though the new man and new father constitute an incorporation and sublimation of feminist concerns into masculine hegemonic configurations, with low correlation between portrayals of the new man and actual changes in men's behaviour and attitudes. MacKinnon (2003:14) maintains that, the 'new man' is rather an updating of the 'old man', with less sexism, than a representation of real shifts in gender relations. In signifying practice, the new man remains a white, heterosexual, middle-class construction rooted in essentialist discourse (McKay *et al* 2005:281). The following subsection considers the myth of the male hero as one of the most influential and commonly represented myths of masculinity in Western culture.

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[3] Much of Solomon-Godeau's (1997) work is framed in homosocial/homosexual contexts.

3.1.2 The myths of masculinity

In the analyses of the representation of masculinity in this study, various myths of masculinity are identified from a Barthean semiotic perspective in the visual material collected from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo. A brief introduction to what is considered to be the foundation myth of masculinity is provided here as background to the other masculinity myths discussed later in this chapter. The use of the notion of the myths of masculinity in the context of this study draws from the assumption, as Barthes (1972) believes, that as myth is naturalised, myths of masculinity are subsequently also naturalised and function to naturalise the masculine. William Doty (1993:47) states, "[t]he mythic, as Roland Barthes argued, is precisely what the society has decreed it will be: it is precisely what is *not* natural, but culturally defined as essential—and often that has meant *as masculine*". It is for this reason that certain myths of masculinity, whether narrative or social, receive particular attention in this section.

One of the most prominent cultural representations, especially in Western culture, is the myth of the male hero. Whitehead (2002:117) cites "the heroic male project" as the mythological and ontological basis for men's public lives. Similarly, Lash (1995:27) believes that men are "shaped by the hero mythos, and the mythos in turn acts as a powerful directive in society at large". One can recognise an interplay between narrative mythology and socially constructed mythology in Barthes's terms. Narrative mythology, therefore, remains relevant and is especially influential in the construction of masculinity. Patriarchy is said to have evolved from images of heroic men in mythology (Kipnis 1991:1), and in Christian mythology the image of God as man exerts a powerful influence on Christian gender ideology. Contemporary examples of where mythology has played such a prominent role in masculinity construction can be seen in the mythopoetic men's movement in the 1990s under poet Robert Bly, who inspired followers to connect with "the wildman within" (Doty 1993:5). The Christian men's movement is contemporary with the mythopoetic movement and exhibits certain commonalities with it, as is considered later in this chapter. Carl Jung's use of archetypes, as well as Sigmund Freud's employment of the Oedipus myth, are examples of how modern psychology has applied mythology in its conceptualisation of masculinity (Doty 1995:7). Joseph Campbell's (1968) work on the hero and his journey has also provoked much interest in scholarship.

In *The hero. Manhood and power*, Lash (1995) traces the evolution of hero mythology throughout the ages as well as in various cultures. Lash (1995:5) asserts that *the hero is a*

man and contends that the presence of heroines in mythology is an anomaly. According to Lash (1995:5), "the hero incarnates masculinity at its best". The hero is, therefore, the ideal male, or the über-male. The hero not only manages force, but must also learn to master "an excess of force", and as such, exaggeration and hyperbole are common in accounts and representations of heroic exploits (Lash 1995:6, 9). Another prominent construct in hero mythology, especially as it appears in the media, is the myth of the lone male hero, a figure marked by "existential uncertainty and self-doubt" (Whitehead 2002:118). In the construct of the lone male hero, "the adventurer/explorer/conqueror [is] trapped in a cycle of return and departure as he exposes himself to new challenges: with the drive to achieve that is not, apparently, of his choosing but comes from 'deep' within his psyche" (Whitehead 2002:118).

Whitehead (2002:118) summarises the above scenario as the "heroic male project", which defines a man's public existence. The drive towards this project, whether in the Stone Age or in Hollywood, stems from the hero's basic protection/preservation function. According to Lash (1995:6), the hero is constantly saving something or someone. The contemporary heroic male project manifests most commonly through a man's mission to protect and preserve his family through providing for them materially (Whitehead 2002:123). According to Whitehead (2002:119):

> the image and mythology of man leaving home to engage in a heroic project maintains a resounding presence in most societies. We see the mythology at work in the notion of 'man as hunter'; the adult male subjecting himself to the rigours and dangers of the wild, far removed from the comfort of (female) home, enduring these trials for the sake of 'my family's well-being'.

Similarly, Lash (1995:10) believes that the mythic image of the hunter carries the memory of the male facing dangers in the wild. In contemporary times, however, the hunt and the wilderness have shifted towards corporate activity, and sometimes family responsibility and the 'war at home'. The suffering of the male hero is also a prominent feature of the heroic male project. As mythology progresses, the hero's own suffering becomes the monster he must battle (Lash 1995:21). The hero's path is turbulent and controversial and he is burdened with the mandate to use violent force, when needed, without succumbing to it (Lash 1995:5).

Although the hero symbolises the male gender, he is undeniably connected to woman (Lash 1995:10). Especially in contemporary hero mythology in the media, woman is constructed as the Other – defining, nurturing and destroying him (Whitehead 2002:119).

According to Whitehead (2002:119), "women play a key role in the imagery of 'man in his world'. They exist, usually, as the purpose, the vulnerable, the flight from, the prize, the sought after, the protected". Lash (1995:5) notes, regarding the hero's ambiguous relationship to woman, that their relationship becomes more troubled and ambivalent though the ages. This relationship is further complicated (and perhaps doomed) by the fact that masculine heroic identity and prowess are founded on the governing of certain interior, or feminine, forces of the body (Lash 1995:5). As previously discussed, masculinity is often defined as a negation of femininity. Accordingly, Doty (1993:28) states that, "Westerners expect maleness to represent 'ultra-highest-degree' male qualities defined primarily by binary and exclusive opposition to female traits …". In this sense it is also ironic that the hero idealises woman to the point of abstraction, resulting in the creation of "androcentric protocols" of how women *ought* to behave (Doty 1993:17).

Such an ambiguous and problematic relationship to the female results in the hero's need to escape from her, as well as her associated sphere, the domestic realm. He also yearns to escape emotions, relationships and his fear of the unknown (Whitehead 2002:118; Lash 1995:21-22). Whitehead (2002:119) notes the following contradiction in the hero's oppositional relationship to woman, that "at a practical level, women are usually the ones who make the necessary sacrifices of time and energy in order to supply the means and space for men to exercise their heroic project".

Heroism has a dark side, however. According to Whitehead and Barrett (2001:19), "hegemonic masculinity depends upon notions of compulsive heterosexuality and homophobia reinforced through idealised media images of heroic men". Heteronormativity is thus reinforced through the hero myth. Lash (1995:29) warns against uncritical and, in some cases, pathological hero worship, as the cult of the hero, in his opinion, gave rise to the Nazi-Aryan cult of white male supremacy. Lash (1995:27, 31) also maintains that in contemporary times the hero is "at risk of being hyped to death" and that he is subject to ideological and consumerist exploitation. Concurrently, Doty (1993:8) believes that normative hero myths often make use of stereotypes. Whatever its purpose or form, the hero myth is not a static construct, but one which changed over time, context and circumstance (Lash 1995:27). One of its permanent features, however, is its embodiment, throughout time, of the plight of the male, "assuming ethic depths and existential features" (Lash 1995:21).

Apart from the hero myth discussed above as a foundational myth of masculinity, other masculinity myths are also prominent, especially in today's media. Such myths include the myth of men as sexually insatiable (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:19), as well as the myth of total male competence, the mastery of everything by the male ego (Doty 1993:43), the myth of the male breadwinner and the myth of male physical prowess. These and other masculinity myths are identified and analysed later in this chapter.

After the above discussion of mainly secular ideas on masculinity, gender and representation, a consideration of religious ideas on these topics is necessary in order to sketch the ideological frame of reference of the churches in this study. The following section firstly provides a general introduction to the topic of gender and Christianity, and secondly provides a more specific discussion of Christian ideas on masculinity.

3.2 Gender and Christianity

American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973:90) defines religion as:

> (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men [*sic*], by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

This quotation illustrates the central role the symbolic occupies in religion. One can also see that what is described is very closely related to what Barthes (1972) describes as myth. Pamela Dickey Young (2005:509) affirms that "[r]eligions provide symbol systems … particular ways to understand and portray what is thought to be ultimate". Religion can, therefore, be seen as a symbolic form of expression, which, through its systems of symbols, creates mythic reality. Pierre Bourdieu (2001:38) stresses the power of the symbolic by maintaining that, "[s]ymbolic force is a form of power that is exerted on bodies, directly as if by magic, without any physical constraint; but this magic works only on the basis of the dispositions deposited, like springs, at the deepest level of the body". This section delves into the most prominent foundational cultural myths and beliefs concerning gender and Christianity and focuses on the cultural aspects that influence Christian beliefs regarding gender. Although scripture is referred to, the stories or principles which they represent are not judged from a theological perspective.

It has to be noted that the Christian gender beliefs and myths discussed here are the dominant beliefs held in Christianity, and many of these convictions and their accompanying scriptural bases are often contested from within Feminist Theology. This study treats Christian Biblical beliefs as cultural foundation gender myths and ideological belief systems. The beliefs considered in the following section are, therefore, admittedly conservative and traditional beliefs regarding Christianity's perspective on issues of gender. It is acknowledged, however, that alternative and progressive Christian beliefs on gender exist, but these are not common in Afrikaner Christian circles, which are commonly conservative.

3.2.1 Background and key issues

The story of the Garden of Eden is an influential gender myth in Christianity. Derived from various scriptures in the book of Genesis, this story tells of how God created man, but did not want him to be alone. God then created Eve from Adam's rib and in Genesis 2, we find the first basis for the interpretation in the Bible that woman is inferior to man. Hofstede (1998:197) states that, "[t]his text gives clear priority to the male partner and defines the woman as 'a help meet' (i.e. appropriate) for him; it justifies a society in which there is male dominance". Shortly after the creation, Eve, the weaker of the two humans, is approached by the serpent that persuades her to eat from the forbidden tree of knowledge. Eve in turn persuades Adam to eat from the tree and they both sin. This narrative sets the stage for woman's age-old attributed role as temptress and seductress, as Bem (1993:47) states:

> The definition of woman as sexual temptress who lures man to do what he would otherwise eschew is suggested by Adam's transgressing along with Eve. Although the reason for Adam's transgression is not provided in the Biblical verses, interpreters through the ages have frequently attributed his transgression to Eve's evil seductiveness.

From this narrative, another Christian gender myth is born, that of the sinful nature of sex. Sexuality and sexual pleasure are conceptualised as dangerous, as they brought paradise, and its most precious creation – man, to a fall. The eating of the fruit represents carnality as well as vanity, and man's audacious belief that by eating from the tree of knowledge, he can be like God (Bem 1993:47-48). Hofstede (1998:207) believes that the idea of sex as sin is personified in the cult of the Virgin Mary. The development of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in Roman Catholicism, stresses Mary's abstinence from sexual intercourse, therefore, her purity and freedom from sin. Concerning the underlying sexism of the cult of the Virgin May, Hofstede (1998:207) asserts:

> The cult of the Virgin is a masculine construction, declaring all other women sinful by implication and allowing men to blame their temptations on these women. There is a "powerful undertow of misogyny in Christianity, which associates women with the dangers of the degradation of the flesh".

The early Christian attitude towards sex as a sinful activity contrasts with Roman and Greek morality, which recognised the dangers of excessive sexual pleasure, but did not see sex as pure evil itself (Hofstede 1998:206). Early Christianity's need to assert itself against the culture and beliefs of the society in which it developed, can illuminate the

reasons why the gendered identity of both God and Christ are masculine. Bem (1993:43-46) chronicles the development of the early Judeo-Christian faith, noting how as a young religious practice amongst older beliefs, it struggled to assert itself as a monotheistic belief system. Other religions at the time promoted the worship of various gods and goddesses. Scholars believe that the Yahwist (widely believed to be Moses), the alleged writer of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Bible), selected the masculine gender as an appropriate representation of the only God – Yahweh – in a counter strike at pervasive goddess worship. Bem (1993:45) states:

> Given the prolonged struggle of the Yahweh cult against the worship of other deities——the creation goddess Asherah among them——some modern scholars now see the Yahwist's very masculine representation of God and his very negative representation of Eve, not to mention his total exclusion of women from all of the covenants that Yaweh made with Israel, as part of his mission to depose the creation-goddess once and for all.

From this perspective, one could also argue that the Yahwist's decision to portray God as masculine and woman as inferior, perhaps even evil, was not based on an underlying misogyny in Christianity, but rather on pure strategic survival instinct. In order to establish a monotheistic religion that stood in direct contrast to other pantheistic religions of the day, where the creation-goddess occupied a prominent place, the Yawist had to find a counterfoil for this powerful female being. As a result, he decided on gendering the singular deity as masculine, according to these theories.

Regardless of the Yahwist's intentions or motivations for gendering the Christian God masculine, Western society, where Christianity has the greatest following, has for centuries based its gender bias on the Biblical foundations discussed above. One of the most durable biases, which rests solidly on Biblical foundations, is that of biological determinism. In this context, biological determinism, or essentialism, is based on the idea that in the creation, God created man and woman *for each other* and *to fit each other* (Bem 1993:2). Claiming anything to the contrary is seen as an abomination, in religious terms, and goes against the very nature of God's creation, which is viewed as sacred. In terms of contemporary perceptions of biological determinism, Bem (1993:6) argues that "the biological accounts of male-female difference and male dominance that have emerged since the mid-nineteenth century have merely used the language of science, rather than the language of religion, to rationalize and legitimize the sexual status quo". Biological determinism further acts as fodder to notions of essentialism, and notions of

essential masculinity and essential femininity, which, in the context of this study, results in the gendering of ministries, as discussed in Chapter Two.

A prominent issue in contemporary Christianity is the issue concerning women's position in church leadership. The Protestant church allows women into the priesthood, as is the case in all three churches in this study. But this admission of women into the clergy is often half-hearted. Women are allowed, or perhaps tolerated, as long as they can hold their own in a male-dominated profession. Young (2005:514) notes that the inclusion of female ministers has not changed the masculine nature of the clergy, but has only led to women adopting the male clerical role as their own. On home soil, the issue of the ordination of women enjoys topical purchase. In 2009, the South African Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) decided, once again, not to ordain women in the face of mounting pressure to do so. The ordination of women in the church remains a contentious topic the world over, and even threatened a schism in the Anglican Church in the late 1990s, according to Hofstede (1998:205).

According to Kobus du Pisani (2001:161-162), "[f]eminism never really gained a foothold in Afrikaner society because of the strong grip of patriarchy, puritanism and authoritarianism". Christina Landman (1994:vii, 2-3), believes that Afrikaner women have still not freed themselves from their status as a subculture under the control of hegemonic masculinity and from their (often self-imposed) piety which constitutes personal, but not economic and political, empowerment. In Afrikanerdom, patriarchy has been enshrined and biblically justified in society, especially by Afrikaans schools and churches which, by supporting the principle of patriarchal authority, lead most Afrikaans men and women to accept it as 'normal' and natural' (Du Pisani 2001:163). Du Pisani (2001:163) describes Afrikaner gender reality in the first half of the twentieth century as follows:

> Where Conservatism and Christian Nationalism prevailed, family life was dominated by the patriarchal head of the family; a division of labour along gender lines was strictly adhered to; the wife was mother and was restricted to a domestic role; men enjoyed better access to education; political leadership was the exclusive domain of men; and in the Afrikaans churches women were barred from the special offices.

In the past the DRC was also active in opposing women's suffrage not only in the church, but on a national level as well (Landman 1994:16). Furthermore, Landman (1994:vii) views Afrikaner gender identity to be constructed in terms of the self-sacrifice of women and the survival abilities of men. Notable changes to these traditional and conservative Afrikaner

gender configurations have occurred, but as will be argued later, such changes are rarely obvious in the visual culture of the three churches in this study.

From the discussion thus far, one can recognise how the female is Othered in Christianity. Accordingly, the masculine is the norm and the feminine is a deviation thereof. In the creation myth woman is conceptualised as 'less than man', made from him and for him. With the Fall of Man woman is sketched as being more prone to succumb to temptation, more likely to seduce, in possession of dangerous sexuality and less moral than man. In the history of early Judeo-Christian religion, the Yahwist's decision to use a male singular God as the Yaweh of the Pentateuch in a move to abolish multiple goddess worship, marginalises woman as a representation of evil, as that which is not man, and therefore, not God. In the contemporary church, the marginalisation of women in Christianity continues on a formal and informal level, with their social and symbolic exclusion from leadership roles in the church and the family.

Women are not the only marginalised group in Christianity. The church, in most cases, does not condone alternative sexualities, such as homosexuality and bisexuality, as viable sexuality options. Alternative sexualities, in particular their associated sexual practices, are often seen as sinful and abominable by the church as they 'go against nature' – God's creation. Individuals practicing alternative sexual relationships, especially when they are church members, are often ostracised. The Dutch Reformed church in South Africa caused quite a stir in the media in 2005 when they dismissed and publicly shunned one of their own ministers, Reverend Laurie Gaum, when his homosexuality became public.[4] From this rejection of non-heterosexuality, one can also see that biological determinism and compulsory heterosexualism are strongly held beliefs in Christian gender ideology.

After this general introduction to the background and key issues on the topic of gender and Christianity, masculinity's particular relationship with Christianity is discussed. In the following subsection the Christian men's movement is considered, as is the South African context with specific reference to the relationship between white (Afrikaner) masculinity and Christianity.

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[4] For a comprehensive discussion of gay discourse in the Dutch Reformed Church, see Van Loggerenberg (2008).

3.2.2 Masculinity and Christianity

The conventional association between masculinity and Christianity is that of male authoritarianism and the subjugation of females, both in the church and at home. Male dominance in church leadership is both culturally and Biblically based and centres on the doctrine of male headship. According to Christian male headship beliefs, God authorises men to lead women.[5] The Pauline scriptures are most commonly employed as a justification for this (McCloughry 1992:61), of which the most contentious is Ephesians 5:22 (New International Version), which states, "[w]ives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church …".

As this is not a theological study, I shall not venture into the intricate biblical meanings or merit of these issues. However, the theological ideas discussed above do form the ideological foundation of conservative Christian gender beliefs. Regarding the topic of male headship, it is important to note that, when understood literally, Christian men consequently believe that it is not only their right to be leaders in the church and at home, but also their duty and their mandate as Christian men (Faludi 2000:236). Failure in this area, therefore, means failure as both a man and a Christian. Within this framework feelings of duty and entitlement emerge from an exchange between religious and cultural beliefs, as underlying the religious basis for male domination in Christianity are also various socio-scientific motivations declaring women 'lesser' than men. Even in contemporary Christianity male headship remains a strong hegemonic force, and it is the single most influential factor contributing to the marginalisation and exclusion of women from leadership in the church. Christian writer Roy McCloughry (1992:59) sums up this issue in the following statement: "So though men recognise the existence of male power over women they may see this as something which is good and right. Christian men may even see this as having divine sanction. This makes the problem even worse".

Male headship is further underlined by the Bible's representation of both God and Jesus as men. 'Man' thus constitutes the image of God, and masculinity is hereby related to definitive power. Christian men identify with the masculinity of God strongly and often adopt Jesus as a role model, as Susan Faludi (2000:238) shows in her research on the Christian Promise Keepers Movement. Martin, a participant in Faludi's (2000:238) study,

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[5] There are also alternative and progressive views on male headship, especially from Feminist Theology and Biblical Egalitarianism, which mainly rest on the idea that the Pauline scriptures are often misinterpreted, mistranslated, taken out of context and over-emphasised. See, amongst others, Bilezekian (2007).

states, "[w]hen we are studying the life of Christ we're studying all the ways of being a man". Interestingly, Jesus is preferred as a model for Christian men, rather than God the Father. Faludi (2000:255) points out the obvious problem with Christian men viewing Jesus as their blueprint by stating that she finds it hard to believe that these mostly married fathers would mould their identities on a childless bachelor.

The last few decades have borne witness to the rise of the Christian men's movement, which happened in conjunction with the rise of the mainstream men's movement, known as the mythopoetic movement. The mythopoetic movement arguably finds its roots in the earlier Muscular Christianity[6] movement, which was at its strongest at the beginning of the twentieth century (Putney 2001). The most prominent contemporary popular Christian men's movement is the Promise Keepers, an American organisation under the directorship of evangelist and former football coach, Bill McCartney (Faludi 2000:227; Hofstede 1998:203). The Promise Keepers revolve around men reclaiming their Godly manhood by reasserting their "spiritual responsibility" and "servant leadership" at home. Followers of the movement commit themselves to keeping the seven promises of Promise Keepers.[7]

Susan Faludi (2000) provides an extensive account of the Promise Keepers movement in her book *Stiffed. The betrayal of modern man*. She notes the correlation between the rise of the Promise Keepers and what she calls the occupational, civic and domestic betrayal of men. This idea is related to the notions put forward by crisis in masculinity theory, which maintains, as mentioned previously, that masculine identity is in a state of crisis owing to gross male disenfranchisement as a result of the rise of feminism and an unfavourable economic climate. Faludi's (2000) work on the Promise Keepers essentially focuses on the abundant contradictions embodied in the movement, its sexist and anti-feminist sentiments, as well as the contrasting experiences of the followers of the movement in their household contexts. In terms of its contradictions, Promise Keepers leaders and

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[6] Muscular Christianity sought to restore virility to Christianity and fought against increasing sentimentality in Protestantism and emasculisation in the church (Faludi 2000:256-257).

[7] The seven promises of a Promise Keeper as on the organisation's website are:
"PROMISE 1: A Promise Keeper is committed to honoring Jesus Christ through worship, prayer and obedience to God's Word in the power of the Holy Spirit. PROMISE 2: A Promise Keeper is committed to pursuing vital relationships with a few other men, understanding that he needs brothers to help him keep his promises. PROMISE 3: A Promise Keeper is committed to practicing spiritual, moral, ethical, and sexual purity. PROMISE 4: A Promise Keeper is committed to building strong marriages and families through love, protection and biblical values. PROMISE 5: A Promise Keeper is committed to supporting the mission of his church by honoring and praying for his pastor, and by actively giving his time and resources. PROMISE 6: A Promise Keeper is committed to reaching beyond any racial and denominational barriers to demonstrate the power of biblical unity. PROMISE 7: A Promise Keeper is committed to influencing his world, being obedient to the Great Commandment (see Mark 12:30-31) and the Great Commission (see Matthew 28:19-20)" (Seven promises of a Promise Keeper 2008).

speakers promote dominant macho masculinity, pervasive in mass culture, and call for "a return to a 'biblically sanctioned' patriarchal household and a 'traditional' male order". However, as Faludi (2000:230) points out:

> For every "We got the power!" chant, there was an allegory delivered about the solace of relinquishing power … The same organisation that endorsed the submission of wives to husbands also ran first-person articles in its affiliated periodical New Man from men who had put their wives' careers first or discovered the challenges of homemaking.

Serial absentee parent, McCartney, also rather paradoxically emphasised the importance of biblical fatherhood to Faludi in an interview and has, as a chastity champion, managed to become grandfather to two illegitimate grandchildren (Faludi 2000:235). McCartney not only embodies the contradictions in the Promise Keepers, he also personifies its sexist and anti-feminist attitudes. Faludi (2000:229) declares that he has proven himself a committed opponent of both women's reproductive rights, and the gay liberation movement. The Promise Keepers leadership provides a prominent example of the backlash of religious fundamentalism against the rise of feminism, women's rights and gay rights.

Promise Keepers leaders sanction patriarchy and the subordination of women, but Faludi (2000), in intensive observation of a couple of Promise Keepers in Glendora, Southern California, records how these men's real life experiences are different from what is proclaimed at the well-attended Promise Keepers sports arena rallies. These men experience acute job losses and failures of their marriages, often owing to their own inability to provide financially, in conjunction with their recurring tendency to succumb to intimate partner abuse and alcoholism. But it is also exactly because of these problems that men are drawn to the Promise Keepers, as the organisation offers a tailor-made Christian remedy for their woes. According to Faludi (2000:24), "[t]he solution that Promise Keepers offered to this work-marriage dilemma was masterful, in its own way. Once men had cemented their identity to Jesus, so the organization's theory went, they could reclaim a new masculine role in the family, not as breadwinners but as spiritual pathfinders". So, if a man finds his security in God and obeys God sufficiently, then his wife and children should follow suit, look up to him as a spiritual leader and submit to him and serve him accordingly. 'Servant leadership' is, therefore, still leadership.

A South African manifestation of the Promise Keepers is found in the Mighty Men conferences under headship of the evangelist and former potato farmer, Angus Buchan.

The movement employs a film as founding text, called *Faith like potatoes*[8] (Van den Bergh 2006), based on a book by the same name, about Buchan's hardships and triumphs as a farmer. Buchan has become highly popular in South African Afrikaans Christian circles, and one notices that he was one of the speakers at Moreletapark's Daniel conference (see Figures 5 and 6). The movement spurred on by Buchan apparently seeks "to re-align men with a godly vision of masculine identity" (Viljoen 2011:326). Much like the Promise Keepers, the Mighty Men movement calls on men to take up the responsibilities, at home and in society, which they have abandoned (or relinquished). The Angus Buchan-Mighty Men gender doctrine is, though not as extreme as that of the Promise Keepers, still clearly traditional and fundamentalist: men should be leaders in society and the heads of their households. Stella Viljoen (2011:326) believes that, "[t]he significant following achieved by the ministry effort of Angus Buchan in recent years seems to indicate that there are many (white?) South African men struggling to articulate their identities".

The yearly Mighty Men conference draws hundreds of thousands of South African Christian men. It is interesting to note that these conferences attract mostly white men, particularly Afrikaans men, owing to Buchan's former farmer status. The popularity of the Mighty Men movement grew tremendously in the late 2000s, when the white male's economic value in South Africa struck a low point. It seems that as corporate South Africa is casting away its white male workforce in favour of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) appointments, the Mighty Men are, like their brothers the Promise Keepers in similar circumstances, turning to one another and to God for comfort. kerk*sonder*mure's announcement handout pamphlet *Oktober Dankbaarheidsmaand Weekblad* (October Gratefulness Month Weekly Page) (2008a:3) publicises a Mighty Men reunion meeting in 2008, and an article in the August 2008 issue of *Op pad* (En route) magazine asks: "*Waar is die Mighty Men*?" (Where are the Mighty Men?) (Geyser 2008:15). The presence of these references to the phenomenon show how mainstream the Mighty Men movement has become in Christian circles, especially in Pretoria.

Afrikaans Christian culture is historically patriarchal (Viljoen 2011:313) and Afrikaner patriarchy was Biblically substantiated in all societal spheres (Du Pisani 2001:163). Owing to Afrikanerdom's patriarchal nature, the generally traditional and conservative Christian beliefs discussed in this section can be considered relevant to the Afrikaner context. Such an appropriation of Western literature as I am making here is necessary as very little

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[8] This film in itself is not innocent of portraying gender stereotypes. In his analysis of two of Van den Bergh's films, Chris Broodryk (2010) raises concern about female agency in *Faith like potatoes*.

research is available specifically on Afrikaner Christian masculinity. Kobus Du Pisani (2001:157) considers Afrikaner masculinity itself as a type of Christian masculinity owing to its essentially puritan character. Viljoen (2011:311) believes that, "[t]he construction of masculinity in the Afrikaans-speaking 'Christian' community … is emphatically informed by the theologies of the Dutch Reformed Church, which is historically the dominant religious persuasion of Afrikaners". Afrikaner masculinity is therefore Christian.

In traditional Afrikaner culture one finds the centrality of the male minister-figure, or *dominee*, in the Dutch Reformed Church. The *dominee* (reverend) was (is) not only the most prominent figure in the church, but also an example to all Afrikaner men. The *dominee* was, perhaps rather stereotypically, seen as an upstanding citizen, moral, faithful (to God, country and wife) and the perfect head of the perfect household, in Christian terms. Historically, many of the most talented, passionate and intelligent Afrikaner men became *dominees* and it was an immense honour to serve God and country through this calling. This perception has changed significantly in the past few decades, arguably because the Dutch Reformed Church fails to offer *dominees* competitive salaries in comparison with other professions, especially if one considers that *dominees* in the Dutch Reformed Church require a Masters qualification (Magister Divinitas) before being legitimised as a minister in the church. This, coupled with the general secularisation of society, results in seminaries and theological schools seeing major decreases in student numbers. The *dominee*, nevertheless, personifies what every Afrikaner man should aspire to: righteousness, leadership and headship. As the eyes of the Afrikaner community were (are) on the *dominee* as the ideal man, so its gaze also rests on his household, on his wife, the *pastorievrou* (parish wife) as she is known in Afrikaans and his children, of whom the same exemplary behaviour, as woman and as children, is expected.

I cannot contextualise the Christian men's movement comprehensively without mentioning a popular and exceptionally influential book for Christian men, namely *Wild at heart. Discovering the secret of a man's soul*, by Christian pop psychologist, John Eldredge (2001). This Christian self-help manual for men has sold about 3 million copies around the globe and is widely read by both men and women in Christian circles. kerk*sonder*mure's men's ministry even adopted the name of the book for their "Wild at heart" *Adamkamp* (Adam camp) in 2008 (see Figures 27 and 29). The book heralds the rise of gendered Christian self-help books, which answer questions about what it means to be a good Christian man or woman and about sex roles in church, at home and in society.

The success of *Wild at heart* lead to the writing of its 'for women' equivalent; *Captivating. Unveiling the mystery of a woman's soul* (Eldredge & Eldredge 2005) by Eldredge and his wife, Stasi, in 2005. Although highly popular, both *Wild at heart* and *Captivating* are brimming with misinterpreted scripture and rely, ironically, mainly on popular culture[9] for examples of ideal Christian masculinity and femininity. According to recent research I conducted with a colleague (Viljoen & Koenig-Visagie 2011), there is very little critical engagement by academia with these books, presumably because theology scholars do not take them seriously, and as a result the ideas they put forward remain largely uncontested on a formal discursive level. Nevertheless, the Eldredges' contributions to Christian gendered identity remain a prominent resource on the popular Christian landscape and also feature in the visual culture of the three selected churches, as will be seen later. Against the above background of the representation of masculinity, its myths, gender and Christianity, and masculinity's relationship to Christianity, the main findings of this study on the portrayal of masculinity in three Afrikaans corporate churches are presented below.

3.3 The representation of masculinity in the Afrikaans corporate church

This study's investigation regarding the representation of masculinity in the three Afrikaans corporate churches can be organised into three themes, which correspond strongly to representational themes that are common in mainstream visual culture, namely professional occupation and leadership, physical activity and adventurism, and fatherhood.[10] Each theme also embodies various masculinity myths, which in some cases occur across more than one theme. The semiotic analyses of the visual material portraying men and masculinity from the three corporate churches are, therefore, discussed thematically. Firstly, a brief background is provided to each theme, in line with the iconographical method, to investigate the context of the images. Secondly, the semiotic analyses are presented in relation to the background theory provided. Each figure is treated as a unit of analysis and is analysed according to a Barthean model of semiotic analysis, which considers the meaning of signs and codes at various levels of meaning, namely denotative meaning, connotative/mythical meaning and ideological meaning. The figures discussed below constitute the most prominent representations of each theme in the data collected. Not all figures, receive equal depth of discussion, however, as some

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[9] The films *Braveheart* (Gibson 1995) and *Lord of the Rings* (Jackson 2001) are two of the most prominent sources in this regard in the Eldredges' arguments.
[10] As is apparent from the discussion below, homosexuality and alternative sexualities are not represented in the three churches' visual material. As these are not represented by the churches they are not discussed here, but this problematic non-representation is contextualised and interpreted in the next chapter (see 4.3).

are included for documentation purposes and to demonstrate the prominence of a theme or idea in the data.

3.3.1 Professional occupation and leadership

"For most men, any 'heroic project' begins when they leave for work".

(Whitehead 2002:123)

Two prominent ideas emerge from the literature regarding men and masculinity's relationship to work, success and leadership, namely the myth of the male breadwinner and the cult of corporate masculinity. These ideas are introduced here from a theoretical perspective and are then related to the findings of this study. The notion that men are, or should be, the material providers, or breadwinners, for their families has widespread following in mainstream culture. Men are traditionally expected to provide for their families by doing paid work outside the home. This belief is also intricately linked to the previously explained Christian belief in male headship, which represents men's God-sanctioned duty to be societal, religious and domestic heads. Joseph Pleck (2004:65), however, draws attention to the fact that the association of breadwinning with masculinity awards men great social power, especially over women. Men, in the framework of the male breadwinner myth, have the duty and right to have a job and to function in the public sphere, as opposed to women, who do not and are, therefore, bound to the domestic sphere. The male breadwinner myth has even been formalised in the organisational world through awarding a man a higher salary for doing exactly the same job as his female counterpart – an iniquitous remuneration practice known as "the breadwinner wage" (Collinson & Hearn 2005:294).

Many scholars assert the existence of the deeply rooted cultural belief that a man's identity is based on his work, accomplishments, achievements, status and power (cf. Hofstede 1998; Clare 2000:69; Faludi 2000; Collinson & Hearn 2001; Pleck 2004:66). Collinson and Hearn (2001:146) state that:

> For many men, employment provides the interrelated economic resources and symbolic benefits of wages/salaries, skills and experience, career progress and positions of power, authority and high discretion. Typically, it seems men's gender identities are constructed, compared and evaluated by self and others according to a whole variety of criteria indicating personal

"success" in the workplace. In turn, these measures of success in paid work come to reflect back on men's sense of masculine identity.

Various scholars have established that owing to encroaching threats on male employment, men are increasingly finding themselves in a state of crisis (Clare 2000; MacKinnon 2003; Pleck 2004). Crisis of Masculinity theory, as discussed in Chapter One, explains the disenfranchised man in terms of concerns over massive job losses and the implications for male identity (Clare 2000; Faludi 2000; Collinson & Hearn 2005:304), as well as women's increasing demands for equal rights, opportunities and treatment as a result of the advances of feminism. In this regard, Faludi (2000:261) experiences a further dimension to this crisis in masculinity from her own research, which is that women are unwilling to relinquish power in the domestic sphere and see a man who wants to spend more time at home as lazy, not as devoted to his wife and family. As previously mentioned, the comfort that the Christian Promise Keepers offer men in this crisis is the idea that, based on Christian male headship, they can still be respected by their spouses even without a job, as the spiritual leaders of their households (Faludi 2000:246). In less symbolic, but more realistic and practical terms, Brittan (2001:52) contends that the male breadwinner myth is basically extinct in practice; more and more women are entering the workforce, as most middle-class families have to depend on two sources of income.

A factor that influences the Christian participation in the popular male breadwinner myth, as well as in corporate masculinity, is the construct of the Protestant work ethic, as articulated by Max Weber (2003) in *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* in 1905, or the "success ethic" as former professor of Administrative Science, Eugene Jennings (1965) describes it. Jennings (1965) explores the moral dimension of the success drive, so commonly embodied by and attributed to men. The Protestant work ethic is founded "in the Calvinist belief that [the businessman] should get nothing out of wealth for himself [*sic*] but the emotional, spiritual satisfaction of having done a job well. The Protestant Reformation produced an intense spirit to achieve: success was found in the doing, not in the receiving" (Jennings 1965:30). Other Christian dimensions to the Protestant work ethic are the notions of calling (Jennings 1965:30) and stewardship, which entails that one is to do the best that one can (stewardship) with the specific talents and aptitudes or tasks that God has assigned to one in this life (calling). From Christian doctrine, Christian men are, therefore, doubly encouraged to participate in and to reproduce the breadwinner myth; firstly because of their God-given head status as men and secondly because of the Protestant work ethic, based on calling and good

stewardship. It can also be argued that the mainstream breadwinner myth owes much of its existence to the Christian beliefs discussed here.

Work can also be viewed as a hegemonic construct and a social organising principle (Whitehead 2002:177; DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007). People who do not work, in capitalist ideology, are viewed as unproductive members of society. Work has even more of an ideological meaning when one is a Protestant Christian, as discussed above – work becomes a religious imperative. There are also further Ideological implications in this regard as to what exactly constitutes 'work'. In this valuation of occupation one finds further binaries between paid and unpaid work (DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007), women's versus men's work (Collinson & Hearn 2005: 290-291) and the resultant sexual or gendered division of labour (Connell 2001:36). Indeed the production–reproduction binary is aligned with the public–private gender split, affording men a public productive occupation and women a private reproductive occupation. As is further explored in Chapter Four, work has the power to keep men away from their families, by legitimising their absence (Whitehead 2002:154).

In her investigation of the now defunct Afrikaans Christian men's magazine *MaksiMan*, Viljoen (2009) identifies the prominent presence of corporate culture connected to a strong Christian moral ethic in the workplace in the magazine. The magazine espouses values of "social and corporate ethics" by perpetuating ideas of professional excellence and the importance of dedication and hard work to success, and places these ideas against a backdrop of the Christian notion of stewardship, calling and predestination by a higher power (Viljoen 2009:107-108). Other themes which Viljoen (2009:110-116) identifies in the coverage of work-related stories in the magazine include the ideas of: "respecting and loving others" in the workplace and through charity; and "striving for a balanced lifestyle" in terms of juggling work and family. The idea of taking time to relax and spend with family, as well as time management itself, features prominently in the magazine. Viljoen (2009:114) believes that Afrikaans, Christian men are influenced by an old-fashioned Protestant work ethic to such an extent that they, "don't know where to draw the line". From Viljoen's work one can, therefore, note the importance of corporate culture and the Protestant work ethic in the Afrikaner Christian male psyche. Du Pisani (2001:159-160) attributes this phenomenon to the influence of globalisation on Afrikaner culture throughout the previous century, resulting in what he refers to as the "emergence of Afrikaner capitalism".

Although white Afrikaner men have the ability to participate in the breadwinner myth owing to their middle-class status (Morrell 2006:22), this myth has been threatened in contemporary South African society. Viljoen (2011:316) highlights the impact the South African Employment Equity Act, 55 of 1998, has had on white men. This act deems "it necessary for all corporate sectors to implement a process of employment equity whereby women, individuals of diverse races, and people with disabilities could be professionally empowered within the public domain" (Viljoen 2011:316). This piece of legislation has led to widespread demotion and retrenchment of white men. This factor feeds into crisis of masculinity perceptions in South Africa, especially a crisis of white masculinity. Viljoen (2011:316) contends that, "white South African men, under the new democratic South African dispensation, would feel the most marginalised within newly found hegemonies". This pervasive threat of unemployment also threatens fatherhood amongst white fathers, as is considered later in this chapter. Sandra Swart (2001:75-76) believes that the current crisis in Afrikaner masculinity can also be attributed to the fact that under the old South African order, Afrikaner masculinity was a hegemonic masculinity and the crumbling of apartheid has led it to be challenged, resulting in an identity crisis for Afrikanerdom as a whole.

There is a widespread consensus amongst organisational theorists that the masculine nature of organisational and corporate culture remains unrecognised, under-researched and under-theorised (Collinson & Hearn 2001, 2005; Fischer & Van Vianen 2005; DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007). The masculine nature of corporate and organisational culture gives rise to the mainstream cult of corporate masculinity, which not only privileges male employees, but also prioritises masculine values above feminine values in the workplace. It is also worthwhile to note that "[p]articular masculinities are frequently embedded (but often unacknowledged) in organizational power relations, discourses and practices" (Collinson & Hearn 2001:152-153), meaning white, heterosexual, able-bodied masculinity. Collinson and Hearn (2001:145) assert the fact that "gendered imagery of the organization as a family" is frequently employed, conceptualising management's position as patriarchal head of the organisation as a family. What has interesting implications for this study, is the fact that the churches selected for this study are run as large organisations. One might perhaps argue that their status as corporations gives the churches in this study a certain masculine culture, as is the norm in other organisations.

The cult of corporate masculinity constitutes a self-perpetuating vicious cycle. Agneta H Fischer and Annalies EM van Vianen (2005:344) believe that because more men are

conventionally employed in organisations than women, a more masculine culture results. Furthermore, men are more likely to be attracted to this masculine culture than women. Although many women have been entering the workforce over the last half century and frequently enjoy employment in large corporations, leadership – especially senior or top management – still predominantly comprises men (Collinson & Hearn 2001:145; Collinson & Hearn 2005:293). This phenomenon is described as the "glass ceiling" effect whereby women are allowed access to the workforce, but are subjected to practical and symbolic exclusion and self-exclusion from leadership roles (Fischer & Van Vianen 2005).

To touch upon the issue of leadership in the three selected churches, one notes that, almost without exception, their leadership comprises men. Moreletapark has ten full time ministers, seven white males, one black male and two white females (Oor die leraarspan 2009). kerk*sonder*mure has five full time ministers, four white males and one white female (Ons predikante 2008) The Doxa Deo Brooklyn campus has 24 all white central ministry staff members with an almost equal amount of male and female personnel (Span en personeel). As is mentioned in Chapter Four (see 4.2.2), Doxa Deo makes use of ministry couples, but women acting as ministers in Sunday main services are rare. The Doxa Deo East campus has 20 members in its leadership team and six members in its support team. These two teams consist of 14 white males, one black male and 11 white females (Leierspan en Ondersteuningspan). Most leaders in the churches in this study are, therefore, men. One might argue that the practice of employing more male leaders in the church serves to make ministry more "manly", to ward off the effeminate side of the clergy and to attract more young men to the profession (Putney 2001:78-81). The balance, in this case, seems to be tipped severely and suspiciously to one side. Nevertheless, men are mostly leaders in large organisations or institutions, and they are also the dominant policy makers (Clare 2000:164).

A large body of research also indicates the prioritising of masculine values above feminine values in the organisational world (as investigated by, for example, Fischer and Van Vianen (2005), Collinson and Hearn (2005), and DeFrancisco and Palczewski (2007)). Traits that are typically (or stereotypically) considered to be masculine, such as competitiveness, individualism, assertiveness, rationality, achievement orientation, independence, and task efficiency are valued above more feminine traits, such as co-operation, community-orientation, gentleness, expression of emotion, commitment, interdependence, and empowerment of others. Furthermore, for Collinson and Hearn (2001:147), capitalist work, as well as culture, the state, the family, sexuality and violence

are patriarchal structures. The organisation, however, features as a prominent patriarchal structure, in the sense that:

> [t[he significance of public patriarchy … lies partly in the fact that organization became the prime social unit of men's domination. Indeed, organizations can be seen as mini-patriarchies in the sense that they structure in particularly gendered ways the formation and reproduction of social relations; the growth and development of corporate hierarchies; policies, processes and practices; and the organizational construction of 'persons' (Collinson & Hearn 2001:147).

A myth that is associated with corporate masculinity, or the masculine nature of organisational life, is that of the heroic myth of empire building. In this regard, Whitehead (2002:120-121) states that "[t]here is no more potent a symbol of the heroism, the potency, mythology and mystery of the male public domain than the idea of empire. A point reinforced by the fact that the empire-builders of history appear to have universally been men". For Whitehead (2002:122), empire builders include both the fathers of nations and the captains of industry. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a new kind of male empire-builder rose: the self-made man. He makes his mark on the world though his energy, drive, self-discipline, initiative and, most significantly, though his financial insight (Whitehead 2002:122). The most popular contemporary aspirational representation of these captains of industry, is the big business executive (Jennings 1965), and his accompanying status and lavish lifestyle. According to Whitehead (2002:123), "[t]he dominant images of masculinity captured in the opulent, potent, fast-moving yet exclusive public world of 'successful' men construct a fantastical and compelling mythology for many males … [but] for most men the public domain is a more mundane place".

The semiotic analyses of the visual communication of the three corporate churches are now discussed in relation to the theory previously considered. The images in this theme are discussed in no particular order related to the church which produced them. This discussion of the findings starts with a consideration of two similar Doxa Deo advertisements for a discussion and seminar aimed at working men (Figures 12, 13). The layout for a feature article from *focus* magazine is then discussed (Figure 17), as well as one from *ksm* magazine (Figure 18). The website banner for Moreletapark's "*Toerusting & Opleiding*" (Equipping and Training) ministry (Figure 19) is then considered, followed by an advertisement for Doxa Deo's "City Changers Leadership Training Program" (Figure 20). Finally, the layout for the story "*God stel belang in jóú werk*" (God is interested in *your* work) (Figure 21) in an issue of Moreletapark's newsletter, *Nuwe Dimensie*, is discussed.

Figures 12 and 13 are both advertisements for men's activities from Doxa Deo and, because they are similar, they are discussed together. Perhaps the most striking feature of these two figures is their emphatic blue colouring. Blue, black and white are the only colours used and they hold connotations of masculinity and seriousness. There is also an iconographic link common in early Christian painting between blue and holiness. In Medieval and Renaissance painting, blue is used to symbolise holiness or "heavenly light" (Gage 1999:72, 76). Through the masculine gendering of blue, masculinity is thus connected to holiness. Similarly, the connection between masculinity and godliness is a common theme throughout this study.

In both figures, a solitary, silhouetted male figure, so indicated through his build, clothing and haircut, is standing in front of a series of large windows covered by blinds, staring out into the blue sky ahead. The visual code of a man in a suit is a common signifying convention, employed widely across various forms of visual culture, to conjure up connotations of business. (It is noteworthy that it is a man in a business suit, not a woman, who embodies this well-established visual code.) In both figures, a shiny, reflective surface is present in what appears to be a boardroom table. The shiny nature of this surface has connotations of quality, prestige, class and modernity. The blue sky and white clouds beyond the window through which the male figure is staring, have a daydream-like quality to them and may represent the idea of dreaming, or aspiring to a certain goal. The globe on the boardroom table, in turn, holds associations of globalisation, exploration, imperialism and conquest, which are particularly and strategically meaningful in the context of the corporate business world.

All the signs and codes in these figures visually relate men to the corporate world that is depicted. Masculinity is strongly and overtly associated with the corporate realm and it is a man who belongs in this world of shiny boardrooms and spinning globes. Even the typography used for the text on these two figures can be described as masculine, being bold, sans serif, capital and static, as opposed to more flowing and slanted type, which is considered more feminine. The main phrase and anchoring text in Figure 13, "Men @ Work", quite obviously links men to working, conducting business, having jobs and growing careers. The main phrase and anchoring text in Figure 12, "Being God's Man … in the search for success", betrays a specific myth that operates in this figure – the idea that to be a real Christian man, being *God's* man, one has to be in pursuit of success. The quest for achievement and success, which Jennings (1965) describes as central to the Protestant work/success ethic, is visible in this figure. Layered onto this ideology of

Protestant work ethic is the notion of male headship, whereby it is a Christian man's divine duty to have an occupation in order to provide and care for his family. Certain middle-class aspirations to career security and achievement (Jennings 1965; DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007) are also present here, but are appropriate to the mainly middle-class audience served by Doxa Deo.

Figure 12: Doxa Deo "Being God's Man" group discussion advertisement.

Figure 13: Doxa Deo "Men @ Work" seminar advertisement.

The solitary, silhouetted male figure is reminiscent of the *Rückenfigur*[11] so commonly employed in Caspar David Friedrich's Romantic landscapes (Figure 14 and 15) of the nineteenth century, to indicate humankind's insignificance in comparison to the sublime landscape at which he/she gazes. According to Joseph Leo Koerner (1985:151), the *Rückenfigur* mediates our experience of the landscape, as we share in his/her vision. The use of the silhouetted *Rückenfigur* in these two figures evokes connotations of isolation and mystery, but also identification with the figure as he symbolises the 'everyman'. The single, silhouetted figure also represents the lone hero engaged in his "heroic male project" of breadwinning and also visually illustrates the idea that the public world of men is mysterious and unknowable (Whitehead 2002:117). According to Whitehead (2002:118), this element of mystery creates awe and longing, much like the longing created by the *Rückenfigur* in Friedrich's landscapes (Koerner 1985:151). The use of the lone figure, the globe and the posing of the male figure staring out of the window at the expansive sky, stereotypically connect the male to culture (as he is set apart from nature) as an active protagonist who can dream big dreams and conquer the corporate world of work and business. It could also be argued that the *Rückenfigur's* longing gaze out the window indicates the burden and drudgery of corporate work to which, mostly, men are sentenced.

Figure 14: Caspar David Friedrich, *Monk by the sea*, 1809-1810. Oil on canvas, 110 x 171.5 cm. National Gallery, Berlin. (Koerner 1990:168).

Figure 15: Caspar David Friedrich, *Wanderer above the sea of fog*, c. 1818. Oil on canvas, 98.4 cm × 74.8 cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburg. (Koerner 1990:155).

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[11] I hereby thank my study leader, Prof. Van Eeden, for making me aware of discourse on the *Rückenfigur* in Art History, through her inaugural address – see Van Eeden (2010).

The mysteriousness of the silhouetted male figure is further enforced by the concealing function of the predominantly dark colours used in the figure, as well as the blinds that cover the windows in front of him. The use of blinds to indicate obscurity originates from the Film Noir genre (Figure 16) and this particular visual code creates an ominous atmosphere (Silver & Ursini 1999:90) and may indicate concealment and duplicity. This particular signifying practice used in this figure is also in line with the cultural belief that the public and business affairs of men are a mystery, not to be understood or enquired about, especially by women (Whitehead 2002:119). Apart from the male breadwinner myth which is perpetuated in these two images, another particular masculinity myth is created and supported. These two images function to naturalise the myth that being successful in the business world is a Christian male ideal. This tendency is congruent with Viljoen's (2009) finding that an emphasis is placed on work-related issues in *MasksiMan*. Establishing corporate success as a Christian male ideal ideologically connects religion to capitalism and materialism.

Figure 16: The use of blinds in Film Noir.
(Silver & Ursini 1999:122).

In Figure 13, the character "@" appears, a sign which has become synonymous with the internet and more so with Internet-based so-called *dot com* companies. The use of this sign in conjunction with other signs in this figure serves to relate masculinity to technology and inadvertently points towards men's perceived superior capabilities where technology is concerned. On the far left side of Figure 13, vertical patterns appear, of which the meaning

is unclear, but they look like silhouettes of skyscrapers, or perhaps computer circuitry. This further associates masculinity with technology, urbanism, modernity and progress, which is a typical by-product of the alignment of the male with culture, as opposed to the female with nature (Ortner 1998). The association between men and technology, or technical skills, can also be seen in Figures 17 and 18. Figure 17, a feature article in Doxa Deo's *focus* magazine, shows male figures operating video recording equipment and Figure 18, a feature article in kerk*sonder*mure's *ksm* magazine, shows Afrikaans gospel artist, Louis Brittz, as a professional musician, an occupation which implies a certain amount of technical skill.
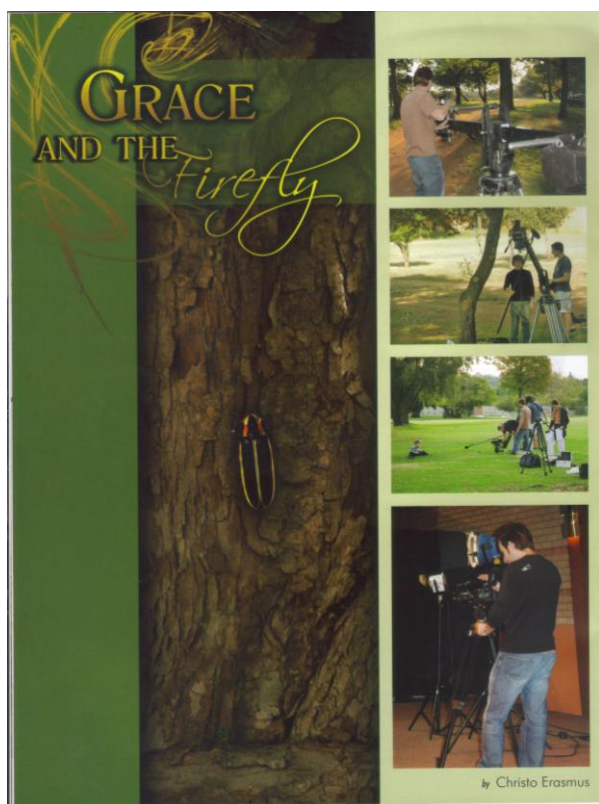

Figure 17: Doxa Deo "Grace and the firefly" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Erasmus 2008:19).

Figure 18: kerk*sonder*mure "*Oktober Dankbaarheidsmaand Simfonie van Lof*" (October Gratefulness Month Symphony of Praise) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008. (Brittz 2008:10).

Many of the same signs and codes discussed in Figures 12 and 13 are present in Figure 19. One sees the same inclination towards the use of blue colours, but in this case, blue is teamed with a greenish grey and white to assert the masculine nature of "*Toerusting & Opleiding*" (Equipping and Training) in this Moreletapark website banner. A male figure of

able-bodied age is depicted in a light blue button up shirt and reddish-brown tie, standing in front of a whiteboard and gesturing with his hands. All these signs and visual codes indicate that he is explaining something, teaching or instructing. His gaze is directed slightly below eye level towards the outside of the frame on the left. The eye-level position of his gaze does put him on equal standing with the viewer visually, but his body is turned away from the viewer towards the right of the picture plane.

Figure 19: Moreletapark "*Toerusting & Opleiding*" (Equipping and Training) ministry website banner.
(Toerusting en opleiding 2008).

It goes without saying, that it is a man who is providing these instructive services (a leadership role), who is intellectually capable of training others, not a woman, and this is also the myth this image perpetuates. In this figure, one again sees the cloud motif that is also present in Figures 12 and 13. It can, therefore, be said to hold the same connotations as in the previous two figures, but its use in Figure 19 appears to be slightly more devoid of meaning than in Figures 12 and 13. What would the purpose be of associating dreaming and aspiration with providing training? Does this man, hypothetically, aspire to lofty teaching ventures? Or do his students have great learning aspirations? This would be incongruent with the literature on the subject of corporate masculinity and men's relationships to their corporate jobs. Conventionally, and in accordance with the masculine culture of the corporate world, a man would not aspire to mentoring, teaching, equipping and empowering others, but to climb the, by now proverbial, corporate ladder and to advance his own career.[12]

What I describe above as the less meaningful use of a visual motif, is actually quite common in the production of church visual culture. From years of experience of attending various churches, I have repeatedly noticed their tendency to use visual elements that

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[12] Although Viljoen (2009:112) mentions that "corporate training is a model of relational learning that has long existed in the secular world", such mentoring is usually formally structured, unnatural and lacks in participation, in some cases.

often make no sense in the context of the message being communicated. The use of the cloud motif above may be a case in point, but is by far not the worse infraction of this kind. I have, on numerous occasions, witnessed the use of icons and symbols, such as crosses, crowns, doves, hearts, sheaves of wheat, and caricatured church buildings for no particular semantic or rhetorical purpose. I would like to refer to this practice as *conspicuous clip art pushing,*[13] as churches sometimes employ communications officials with a dual job description of both communication official and ad hoc designer. Owing to their lack of design skills and experience, these dual function communication officials regularly fall back on whatever visual material is available to them on Microsoft Office Suites.

The churches in this study are, however, not amongst those churches that employ dual function communication officials. Both Moreletapark and Doxa Deo have dedicated designers working for the church and kerk*sonder*mure uses professional designers to create its images. Concerning the conspicuous clip art pushing committed here by Moreletapark, it is my suspicion that churches, in general, do not put much thought into the type of imagery they use in their visual communication. I would argue that they simply want their communications to *look good*, instead of achieving optimum communication of their beliefs and values, or that the creators of these images are not sufficiently trained to fully understand the deeper meanings of the images and communications they are creating. Such communication practices are problematic and I will touch upon this point again in the conclusion of this study.

In Figure 20, a brochure for Doxa Deo "City Changers Leadership Training Program", three figures appear; two are depicted in silhouette and one is a naturalistic photograph of a man. This photographic image portrays an attractive older man (indicated by his grey hair, which is not so grey that he looks too old to do the job), wearing a white collared shirt, a textured purple grey tie and a jacket. This older male figure is slightly above eye-level and gazes down at the viewer, a signifying practice that makes him appear to be in a more authoritative position, and the viewer in a less powerful position (Du Plooy 2009:171-172). His downward gaze, together with the depiction of his one raised eyebrow, makes him look knowing and wise. He is also shown wearing a manly, slightly stubbly beard. This visual sign could signify nonconformity, shown through his refusal to participate in the social

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[13] I need to give credit to Dutch Reformed minister, Dr Zander van der Westhuizen, for, in aesthetic indignation, coming up with the term "clip art pushing".

practice of shaving. Perhaps he has attained so much success or such a senior position that he no longer needs to abide by the unwritten rules of acceptable corporate grooming.

The person in charge in this image, judging from his size, appears to be the grey-haired male figure on the left. This finding correlates with research done on the depiction of male and female professionals in business communication textbooks (Pomerenke, Varner & Mallar 1996:42), which found that in certain types of groups, men are portrayed as superior up to three times as frequently as women are. It is also a well-established fact that many more men occupy senior positions in organisations than women do (Collinson & Hearn 2001:145; Whitehead 2002:115; Collinson & Hearn 2005:293; Fischer & Van Vianen 2005:342). This older male figure looks as though he occupies such a senior position and, therefore, embodies the type of the big business executive, as discussed in the theoretical introduction to this theme.
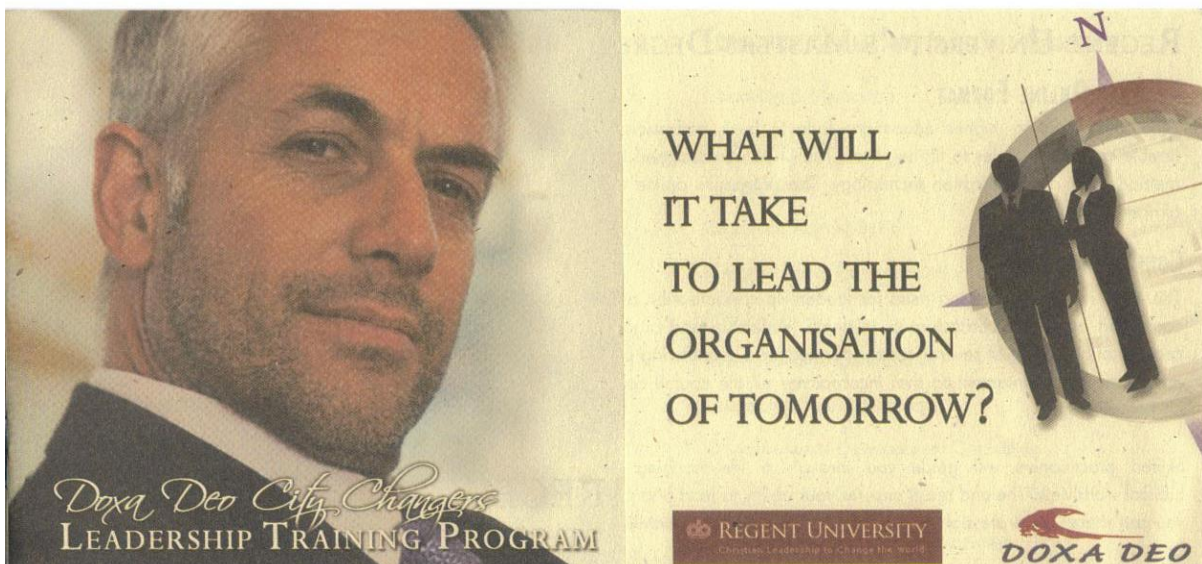

Figure 20: Doxa Deo "City Changers Leadership Training Program" brochure.

The other two figures constitute a male and a female figure, so identified by their clothing and hairstyles. They are both wearing business suits, but the woman is not wearing a tie. One might argue that a tie is a masculine sign and therefore not easily appropriated in the representation of a female. One notices that all the figures are wearing white shirts, as opposed to the light blue shirt worn by the male figure in Figure 19. The white shirt holds its own connotations of (upper) middle-class, so-called white-collar work, which is also associated with management positions.

The toned down colours used in Figure 20 – crimson, beige, black, white and greys – are sophisticated and restrained. Perhaps these colours were selected to match the contributing university's (Regent University) colours. Nevertheless, these colours connote class, refinement and style and are all aspects that are associated with the lifestyle of people in management positions in the corporate world. Behind the two silhouetted figures is a compass pointing North, connoting established masculine connotations of travel, exploration, discovering new lands, finding direction and charting a course. The use of the compass in this figure serves to support the myth that the only way one can get direction in life, or feel that one is indeed 'going somewhere', is by achieving success at work through obtaining a management position or leadership role. This notion is further supported by the reference to Regent University and the implied further education to be attained.

It is interesting to note that the silhouetted male figure's body is aligned with the vertical axis of the compass. Like the compass, he is facing the viewer and his body is also 'pointing North'. The female figure's body, on the other hand, is turned away from the viewer to the left of the picture plane, which makes it appear as though she is not aligned with North as is her male counterpart. This creates the impression that she is a deviation from the desired direction, and, therefore, also a deviation from the norm. This phenomenon is typical of the culture of marginalisation and mere tolerance of women in the corporate realm. In turn, the turning of her body also functions to show the curve of her physical figure, namely her upper back and shoulders, and her lower back and buttocks. She is also much smaller than her male counterpart, though this is not spotted at first glance, because she is placed higher in the picture plane than the male figure.

The female figure's stance is also different from the male figure's stance. The male figure is standing comfortably, facing forward, with his arms dangling loosely by his side. The female figure's lower body faces to the left of the picture plane and her upper body is twisted in order to make her chest visible to the viewer. Her arms are crossed over her chest, which makes her look closed-off and assertive. From this combination of signs and codes, one gets the idea that she has to try harder to appear self-assured and professional in this context. Indeed, almost all aspects of her femininity are negated and concealed here, apart from her objectified female form. Without her hairstyle, build and shoes, it would perhaps be impossible to identify her as female, beyond any doubt. She is engaged in power dressing, a corporate and business practice by which one dresses to appear more professional and, indeed, more masculine. This covering-up of her femininity is consistent with the related literature, which indicates that, as part of the cult of corporate

masculinity, masculine traits are valued over feminine traits. This creates the belief that women have to change and suppress their femininity in order to be successful, and even tolerated, in the working world. This image therefore supports the masculine nature of the corporate cult on an ideological level.

From the findings discussed above, one can see that Figure 20 answers its own question of "What will it take to lead the organisation of tomorrow?" quite clearly. According to this figure, it will take more men than women. The men are expected to find themselves in leadership positions and will achieve great corporate success. The woman, although allowed access to this masculine world, will have to work harder, be more assertive and weed out every ounce of her femininity to survive on the job. The men can 'relax' and be their 'dominant masculine selves'.

The discussion of Figure 21, an article in Moreletapark's newsletter, *Nuwe Dimensie* (New Dimension) focuses mainly on the article's heading, its subheading and its accompanying imagery. Although a more gender-neutral colour, green, is used on this layout, one once again sees the use of black, white and greys as in the previous images analysed in this chapter. One also again sees the use of silhouetted figures, which are facing the viewer. The black silhouetted figures are all wearing business wear, in the form of suits and they are placed on a reflective surface, which holds the same connotations of modernity, class, quality and prestige as discussed in Figures 12 and 13.

From behind the figures, gradually converging lines lead to an invisible vanishing point. These lines could be seen to represent rays of sunlight, which one could contend is similar to the use of clouds and blue sky in the other figures already discussed in this theme. Sunlight could, therefore, also connote prosperity, aspiration and possibilities for the future. In fact, a stylised cloud motif appears just below the article's heading. But the sunrays in this layout represent more than the clouds do in the other figures; they also represent opportunity, signifying 'the dawn of a new day' in one's career, or perhaps life.

One of the four silhouetted figures appears to be female, recognisable through her high-heeled shoes, hairstyle and the fact that her suit trousers are replaced by a more feminine skirt. Although she is wearing a skirt, she is still engaged in power dressing. Again, one notices that the male figures seem more relaxed with their arms by their sides, or in their pockets, whereas the female figure seems tenser with her arms folded across her chest, indicating a somewhat standoffish power stance as in Figure 20.

God stel belang in **jóú werk**

deur Cilliers Willers

"Ek het gesien dat daar niks beter is nie as dat die mens vreugde vind in sy werk: dit is wat hom toekom."

Ervaar jy ook frustrasie in jou werk? Ons ervaar soms werk as 'n straf en nie as 'n seën nie. Mens kan maklik drie uur per dag op die pad spandeer tussen jou woon- en werkplek. Dan is baie van ons ook nog 'n bedreigde spesie in die werkplek.

Die werkplek van die 21ste eeu bied baie nuwe uitdagings wat ons selfs kan afskrik. Mense met 'n kreatiewe ingesteldheid sien vandag enorme geleenthede. Dit gebeur egter maklik dat ons 'n kloof tussen ons werkslewe en ons geestelike lewe ervaar.

Onthou dat die manier waarop ons die meeste van ons wakker-tyd deurbring vir God belangrik is. Hy stel intens belang in wat ons elkeen doen en die gesindheid waarmee ons dit doen. Dis nie net predikante en sendelinge wat voltyds in die Here se diens staan nie. As kind van God staan ek in sy diens in my huidige beroep. Die mate waarin ek getrou my roeping op aarde vervul bepaal hoe ek in God se koninkryk gebruik kan word.

In die heel eerste vers van die Bybel lees ons dat God skep. Hy is 'n Werker en werk nog een stryd deur om die wêreld te onderhou en om ons te seën. Om na die beeld van God geskape te wees beteken dat ons Hom hierin sal naleef. In Genesis 2 het ons die opdrag gekry om God se skepping te bewerk en op te pas. In die wet beveel God ons ook om ses dae te werk en een dag te rus.

Paulus verduidelik in Efesiërs 6 dat slawe gehoorsaam moet wees en met eerbied en ontsag moet werk, met 'n opregte hart, asof dit vir Christus is. Ons moet ons werk met lus doen en dit vra dalk 'n hele nuwe manier van dink.

Laat God toe om jou gedagtes en gesindheid te verander. Romeine 12:1-2 beskryf hoe ons deur die Gees tot nuwe mense getransformeer word. Dan kan ek en jy selfs die nederigste en verveligste werk geniet.

Dis belangrik om jou gedagtes op te pas as jy aan jou beroep en aan jou werk dink. Wees positief oor jou dagtaak en oor jou werkgewer. Sien die groter prentjie raak, dat jy aan God getrou en stiptelik werk. Wees só 'n getuie vir God se versorging en seën in jou lewe.

In Prediker 3 vra die wysgeër: "Wat kry die mens vir die werk waarmee hy hom vermoei? Ek het gesien dat God aan die mens 'n taak gegee het om hom mee besig te hou." En dan: "Ek het gesien dat daar niks beter is nie as dat die mens vreugde vind in sy werk; dit is wat hom toekom."

16 NUWE DIMENSIE   NG Gemeente Moreletapark

Figure 21: Moreletapark "*God stel belang in jóú werk*" (God is interested in *your* job) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, February 2008.
(Willers 2008:16).

As in Figures 12 and 13, work is directly related to religiosity and spirituality in Figure 21, as is evident in the article's sans serif headline and anchoring text, "*God stel belang in jóú werk*" (God is interested in *your* job) (Willers 2008:16). The article's subheading, which takes the form of a quotation from the article, reads, "*Ek het gesien dat daar niks beter is as dat mens vreugde vind in sy werk: dis wat hom toekom*" (I saw that there is nothing better than that one can find joy in his [*sic*] work: it is what he is entitled to). This phrase is ideologically laden for two reasons. Firstly, it uses the male form of the personal pronoun as the norm, which functions to indicate the masculine nature of work. It naturalises the myth that men are the ones with professional occupations and that they are entitled to certain things regarding these occupations. Secondly, this phrase naturalises the Protestant work/success ethic myth by stating that there is nothing better than finding joy

in work. As in Figures 12 and 13, one finds here a simultaneous naturalisation of the Protestant work/success ethic and corporate masculinity (cf. Viljoen 2009).

The use of female silhouetted figures in Figures 20 and 21 combats the common stereotype that women need to be young and attractive to succeed in the business world, as was found in the previously mentioned study on business communication textbooks (Pomerenke, Varner & Mallar 1996:43). One has to note, however, that although the female figures are not stereotyped for their femininity, they are engaged in the particularly masculine practice of power dressing, which serves to legitimise them as workers in a masculine corporate world. Their femininity is also problematically obscured and undermined.

Except for the two female figures in Figures 20 and 21, there are no other representations of a woman working in the corporate environment in the visual data used in this study. From a secular perspective one might contend that this is symptomatic of the glass ceiling effect described in the literature (Whitehead 2002:130-131; Fischer & Van Vianen 2005), and that women are therefore not commonly associated with the working world. In the discussion that compares the representation of masculinity to that of femininity (see Chapter Four), a woman's prime vocations appear to be that of mother, caregiver and spiritual symbol. This depiction of women's public careers as related to the service of others is highly problematic, and perhaps even detrimental to women, especially in the context of the church, where patriarchal practices such as male headship and the Biblically-based subordination of women are sanctioned through religious beliefs.

In relation to the discussion of the semiotic analyses of Figures 12, 13 and 19 to 21, it would be in order to argue that these figures are visually aligned with the ideology of Western capitalism and the cult of corporate masculinity by visually solidifying and reproducing the seemingly natural masculine nature of the corporate world. In this naturalisation of something so purely ideological lies the clue that Barthean myth is at play. The myth of the male breadwinner is also perpetuated and naturalised in an authoritative religious context.

Findings related to the next theme, that of physical activity and adventurism, are now considered. As with the theme of professional occupation and leadership, a brief theoretical background is provided to the theme from the relevant literature. After this

theoretical introduction, the semiotic analyses of the visual data related to the theme are discussed.

3.3.2 Physical activity and adventurism

"The vastness of nature and the huge dimensions of the physical earth have always challenged man to heroic efforts" (Lash 1995:58).

It is widely believed that levels of physical activity, strength, aggression[14] and athleticism are some of the major distinctions between men and women (Glassner 1995:253; Blamer 2000:201). This popular gendered belief can be seen to fuel and be fuelled by notions of biological determinism, as is explored later in relation to the gendered and gendering aspects of sports. Physicality is seminal to the construction of male identity and various cultural theorists support this idea. For Fiske (1987:209) "[m]asculinity is performance", and Whitehead (2002:182) argues that male physicality and masculinity are symbiotically connected. Whitehead (2002:189) highlights the important relationship between masculinity and male embodiment by stating that:

> … dominant notions of embodied masculinity speak of force, hardness, toughness, physical competence … masculine bodily existence suggests the occupation of space, the capacity to define space, the ability to exercise control over space and a preparedness to put one's body at risk in order to achieve these expectations … the male's ontological security is part invested in his bodily presence and its relationship to the world … this 'being in the world' is not simply about physical strength; it concerns the application of one's physicality to space.

The body is the instrument of male physicality and male physicality is an instrument for the construction of masculine gendered identity. Physicality *is* masculine ontology (Whitehead 2002:189-190). In this regard, physical activity plays an integral part in the establishment of masculinity, as Whitehead (2002:190) states, "[t]he masculine body is not one that is deemed to be rendered passive by its environment but one that seeks to render the environment passive to it, primarily by virtue of the male body's actions within, and transcendence of, its immediate space". Actions, or activity, it seems, make the man. It is

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[14] Aggression is often viewed as the darker side of masculine physical activity, resulting in acts of violence and, especially, rape. This is also the masculine aspect by which men are most often demonised and declared as pathological (Clare 2000:68).

significant that the most data portraying men or masculinity collected in this study related to the theme of physical activity and adventurism.

Heroism also links pertinently to male physical ontology. According to Lash (1995:5), virility is the essence of masculine sex, and this virility is dangerous, as it is akin to violence. Lash (1995:6, 8) describes the hero's propensity to physical activity as a project of controlling an excess of force, commonly manifested in mythology as rage. The hero's "furious superheated force is the equivalent to female procreative power" (Lash 1995:8). Male rage and virility, therefore, stand in opposition to female nurture and fertility. Apart from the male hero's hunter and warrior identity, he is also a conqueror, with frequent quests into new frontiers. Nature (a female construct) is often pitted against him as his nemesis. The hero must master powers of nature far exceeding his own; he overwhelms these forces, rather than adapting to them, which is considered a female trait (Lash 1995:10). Whitehead (2002:121) associates this conquest of the hero, "the conquering of space itself", with North American pioneering, which he believes consists of "white, heterosexual, Anglo-Saxon masculinities writ large; broad strokes of male heroism and tragedy painted across a physical and metaphorical landscape where the female (and black and gay man) is reduced to anxious spectator as a continent is 'civilized' by a 'rugged masculinity'".

This notion of the heroic conquest of new frontiers plays a particular part in Afrikaner identity, especially in terms of the mythology around the *Groot Trek* (Great Trek). Heroism is also often employed in constructing nationalism; Whitehead (2002:122) states that, "[t]he fiction of the nation state is sustained, in part, by the fiction of hypermasculinity, a mythological condition that almost inevitably results in the political and cultural marginalization of woman as political category". Similarly, Doty (1993:43) affirms the link between the hard masculine body and nationalism in that such a body conveys masculine values. In the rise of Afrikaner nationalism determination, endurance, ruggedness and forcefulness were considered to be "Afrikaner qualities" (Grundlingh 1996:187) and these qualities are visible in the representation of masculinity in this study.

Owing to the lack of a distinctive male trait, as opposed to the distinctive female trait of the ability to give birth, Glassner (1995:253) believes that various cultures have declared physical strength a unique masculine trait and have produced scientific and superstitious evidence to prove that it was nature or God that made men stronger than women. He provides an exploration of the social, emotional and sometimes physical ways in which

men, and boys, suffer if they refuse or are unable to accept their male duty to develop muscular physiques. For men, not being physically active and showing a disinterest in sports and exercising means being one of the two things no *real man* can afford to be perceived as: a woman or a homosexual.[15] It is also significant that two of the most popular contemporary men's magazines are titled *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated*. According to Lash (1995:30), the athlete is one of the most consistent contemporary representations of the hero, as he "has a long-standing claim to legitimacy … Athletes exhibit mastery of excessive and exceptional forces, rare body discipline and physical beauty, and they maintain in many cases the heroic code of manners which honours the adversary as an equal".

Physicality is also an important determinant of male self-esteem. Glassner (1995:254) cites a study which found that possessing a muscular upper body correlates directly to men's self-esteem. For Glassner (1995:256), the main motivation for a man to work out is insecurity, as it constitutes a battle with his own sense of vulnerability. The fears of failure, humiliation and of domination by stronger men also play a prominent role in this battle (Whitehead 2002:166). Whereas women also gain self-esteem from developing strong and healthy bodies, exercising takes on a different meaning for men. According to Glassner (1995:256):

> When surveyed as to why they exercise, women talk about accomplishment, beauty, affiliation with others; men say they're motivated by the chance to pit themselves against nature or other men and to confront physical danger. In other words, men seek to prove to themselves and others that they can survive, that they're winners.

This consistent need for masculinity to prove itself, via performance (Fiske 1987:209), echoes the previously cited statement by Whitehead (2002:189), which declares that a man's presence in the world is not solely about displaying physical strength, but about the application of his physicality to space. Another facet of performative masculinity is the fact that the desire to control both self and others constitutes a reference point of men's sense of their masculinity (Whitehead 2002:165). Some authors would also argue that masculinity's constant need to assert itself, especially through displays of machismo, points to the inherent instability of masculinity as a socially constructed category (Fiske

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[15] Equating being physically inactive with homosexuality seems to be merely a homophobic perception, because as Glassner (1995:253) points out, "[t]he ideal man within the gay world, as in the heterosexual world, is powerfully built". A strong male physical body connotes not only sexual virility to partners, but also acts as proof of health. The emaciated individual is often employed to represent visually the later stages of HIV/AIDS.

1987:209, 210). The homoerotic overtones inherent in male bonding activities, and men's shame at their own sexuality (Whitehead 2002:156; 166) also lead to hyper-masculine "overcompensatory" performances of masculinity. Clare (2000:174) terms this masculine overcompensation "protest masculinity", which is "characterised by exaggerated attempts to prove manliness … from the basic fear of being feminine". There also seems to be a strong link between male insecurity, male bonding and the oppression of women, a phenomenon referred to as "rape culture"[16] by some feminists (Whitehead 2002:165). Male bonding, according to (Lash 1995:51), finds its origins in the hunt and is, throughout the ages, inevitably associated with blood-sharing and blood-shedding. But inherent to male bonding is also the possibility of escape, especially into the wild outdoors. For Martin Erasmus (1996:28), this escape which men need is from the roles men are forced into, such as fatherhood and breadwinning.

Apart from the idea of applying oneself physically to the world, Glassner (1995:259) also explains that many men use exercise, as a form of physical activity, as a means to achieve focus and tranquillity, "in order to stave off the impending chaos they confront in their daily lives". Glassner (1995:260) refers to this practice as exercising for the purpose of deliverance, a practice which also forms one of the bases for what is referred to as Muscular Christianity. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Protestant church in England and America drew a particular strategic connection between health and manliness (Putney 2001). To be unhealthy was to be unmanly. From this idea was born a movement that was so central, pervasive and naturalised that it has been overlooked by most historians, according to Putney (2001:7), namely the Muscular Christianity movement. Muscular Christianity can basically be understood as a "campaign for more health and manliness in religion" (Prestjan 2007:20). The novels of Charles Kingsley, from which the movement received its name, promoted adventure, high principles and manly heroes, and valued athleticism, patriotism and religion (Putney 2001:12).

Muscular Christianity rose in reaction to what was described as "a woman peril" in churches (Putney 2001:3). Protestant churches of the time had high numbers of female members compared to those of male members, which was believed to have resulted in the feminisation of the church as well as the clergy, who mainly had to interact and work with women in their parishes (Putney 2001). The saccharine nature of Victorian sentimentality was viewed as a further immanent threat to masculinity, as was female leadership in the church (Putney 2001:3). According to Anna Prestjan (2007:20), in Muscular Christianity

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[16] For discussion, see Camile Paglia (1993:347-349).

the feminisation of church life, religion and religiosity had to be eradicated. In this way, at the turn of the nineteenth century the Muscular Christianity movement could be viewed in its openly anti-feminine sentiment, as equally anti-feminist to most religious fundamentalist projects of the current age, most notably in the previously discussed Promise Keepers (cf. Putney 2001:10).

Under the Muscular Christianity ethos, religion and sports were viewed as highly compatible, especially regarding the capacity of sport for character building (Chandler & Nauright 1996:5). Indeed, it was mainly the behaviour of boys and young men that was viewed as problematic and in need of temperance, which was believed could be achieved through sport (Putney 2001). Putney (2001) credits Muscular Christianity with the establishment of the men's organisation, the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), which later invested substantially in establishing gymnasia at their various facilities, as well as the Boy Scouts. The strong, healthy muscular Christian body was a tool, or prerequisite for doing good (Prestjan 2007:20). This notion stems from the Christian idea that the body is meant to be consecrated to God's service, and it was also espoused that life was a battle, and that Christian men should be at the centre of this battle making themselves useful (Putney 2001:12-13), a notion that corresponds to the Protestant work ethic (Jennings 1965:30). American proponent of Muscular Christianity, President Theodore Roosevelt, even advocated "strenuous religion for the strenuous life" (Putney 2001:1).

Muscular Christianity was, however, not entirely innocent in its political positions. Apart from its gross polarisation of masculine and feminine roles as a male-centred anti-feminine movement, it also embodied certain imperialist ideologies. Advocates of Muscular Christianity made statements to the effect that strong men were needed as missionaries in order to spread American Christianity not only overseas in "heathen lands", but also in American churches (Putney 2001:4). Similarly, British notions of empire-building were present in Muscular Christianity discourses, which were known for engaging in discussions around primitivism versus civilisation (Putney 2001:6, 12). The idea of developing the capacity to control oneself and to govern others featured prominently in Muscular Christian discourse (Chandler 1996:26). According to David L Andrews (1996:52), regarding the control of women, the reformist corporeal ideology of Muscular Christianity set the gender exclusive tone for the cult of athleticism so prominent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Muscular Christianity is also connected to nationalism (Phillips 1996:161) and particularly to Afrikaner nationalism where rugby is concerned (Grundlingh 1996:185).

The more contemporary Christian men's movement, the Promise Keepers, could credit much of its background to the Muscular Christianity movement. Indeed, Putney (2001:10) regards the Promise Keepers movement as a form of neo-Muscular Christianity. Like the Muscular Christians, the Promise Keepers have a specific relationship to one of the avenues of male physical activity and masculine identity construction: that of sport. It is significant that the Promise Keepers were founded by a football coach and that the venues for their enormous rallies and gatherings are sports arenas (Balmer 2000:195-198). Becky Beal (2000) also provides an investigation into the bountiful use of sport references in Promise Keepers foundational literature, consisting of books, such as football coach founder Bill McCartney's (1992) *What makes a man?: Twelve promises that will change your life!* and *The seven promises of a Promise Keeper* (Janssen & Weeden 1994).

Both Beal (2000) and Randy Balmer (2000) are, however, highly suspicious of the Promise Keepers' conspicuous focus on sport and its metaphors. Balmer (2000:194) draws attention to an interesting aspect of Christian use of metaphor, which is that throughout the ages, in church history and the New Testament, militarism and athleticism have been used consistently as metaphors for Christian spirituality, and that these two metaphors are particularly appealing to men. Sport remains one of the social arenas from which women are consistently and successfully excluded (Balmer 2000:197). In sport, men can dominate women by that which is considered to be their primary characteristic, that of physical strength (Balmer 2000:201). In this regard, Balmer (2000:197) also believes that, in professional sport, women's athletics still lag far behind, as they are virtually nonexistent, except in tennis, golf and a fledgling basketball league. In this sense, sport is often used in anti-feminist campaigns. Beal (2000:161) states that, "[s]port is one of the last social practices that is sex-segregated and dominated by men. It is a social practice that constructs and publicly displays the assumed essential differences of men and women and the resultant superiority of men. It is a powerful patriarchal tool, and it is very popular". Christian fundamentalist anti-feminism and the anti-feminism embodied in sport are, therefore, mutually beneficial (Balmer 2000:196-197).

The concept of male bonding is also often associated with masculine activities such as sport and camping. Male bonding encompasses more than simple camaraderie; it is also a practice which is known to produce and reproduce notions of homophobia and hegemonic masculinity. Male bonding and outdoorism are also some of the bases on which the mythopoetic men's movement was founded, connecting men with their inner "wildman", archetypes of masculinity and, most importantly, with other men. This true communion with

other men, *communitas*, was the ultimate purpose of the movement (Schwalbe 1995). Similarly, Faludi (2000:232) believes that male bonding was the main reason why ordinary Christian men were attracted to the Promise Keepers.

There is a particularly strong, though often overlooked, link between Muscular Christianity and South African culture: rugby.[17] It seems that the cross-pollination of the Muscular Christianity movement into South Africa can be attributed as much to the arrival of Protestantism from Europe and Britain as to the arrival of 'rugby football'. Rugby developed in English public schools during the early nineteenth century, which historically coincides with the rise of Muscular Christianity. The English public school which Chandler and Nauright (1996:5) cite as the main site of the development of rugby is also the school that Putney (2001:16) mentions had a headmaster who was one of the fathers of Muscular Christianity, namely Dr Thomas Arnold. Arnold was headmaster at the all-male Rugby School in Warwickshire, England, from 1828 to 1842, from which the handling version of football received its name.

The centrality of rugby to South African culture is an internationally known feature of the country. Rugby was played and developed in South Africa by both the English settlers in Natal (Morrell 1996:91-93) and Afrikaners at the University of Stellenbosch in the Western Cape (Grundlingh 1996:181). Rugby in South Africa was, therefore, mainly developed as a white male sport that was strictly segregated during the apartheid era (Grundlingh 1996:195). According to Chandler and Nauright (1996:10), "rugby became one of the crucial cultural practices whereby males asserted their domination over women and over all other members of groups in South African society". Rugby provided white South African males exclusivity from others: women and the black majority (Chandler & Nauright 1996:8; Morrell 1996:92, 115; Grundlingh 1996:198).

It appears that rugby was formed under the very philosophy of Muscular Christianity as described previously, as well as for its purposes. Rugby is historically regarded as one of the most manly and masculine sports (Chandler & Nauright 1996:2). Morrell (1996:105) states the following about rugby-playing schools in Natal, "[t]he love of, and ability to excel at, rugby became synonymous with manhood". Rugby is, therefore, an embodiment of the ethos of Muscular Christianity. Chandler and Nauright (1996:5) also cite basically the same reasons for the development of rugby as Putney (2001) does for the rise of Muscular Christianity, which are "both the expression of canalized aggression to counteract an

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[17] Rugby itself is, by no means, overlooked in Afrikaner culture, but rather rugby's Muscular Christian roots.

otherwise sedentary lifestyle, and the need for the arena to provide a sense of traditional masculinity, which the development of an increasingly urban-industrialised society was eroding".

Rugby is, in fact, worshipped in South Africa, by a mainly white constituency.[18] Chandler and Nauright (1996:8) attest to the religious status of rugby in countries like South Africa, New Zealand and Wales. South African rugby patriarch AF Markötter famously stated at a Rugby Union meeting, bemoaning political interference with rugby, "Mr. Chairman, I have no religion. I have no politics. My religion and politics are rugby". Grundlingh (1996:183) also draws attention to the fact that many Afrikaner *predikante* (ministers, also *dominees*) trained at the seminary at Stellenbosch University and went to all parts of the country as influential community leaders with a well-instilled love for rugby.

Rugby also forms a very important part of Afrikaner identity, especially in the sense that it grew in South Africa in conjunction with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s. At the Great Trek centenary celebrations of 1938, rugby was used, together with other elements of a seemingly 'pure' Afrikaner culture, such as *volkspele* (Afrikaner folk dancing), *boeremusiek* (popular Afrikaner folk music with nationalistic overtones) and *juksei* (a form of ten-pin throwing)[19] and the mythology of the Great Trek to create an imagined Afrikaner community in Anderson's (1983) terms. According to (Grundlingh 1996:182), "[r]ugby, then, became part of a cluster of symbols closely associated with a resurgent Afrikanerdom". Religion, like rugby, was also considered an important building block in Afrikaner nationalism's attempt to create a sense of an authentic Afrikaner culture (Grundlingh 1996:183). Therefore, apart from its ties to Muscular Christian masculinity, rugby has specific ties to Afrikaner ontology, as Christianity has to Afrikaner nationalism, rendering these Christianity-masculinity-sport-Afrikanerdom interconnections significant in the context of this study.

The theoretical perspectives, literature and cultural phenomena described above regarding masculine physical activity, including exercising, sports, Muscular Christianity and rugby, are meant to serve as a further theoretical teasing out of the activity–passivity duality described by Ortner (1998) and discussed in Chapter One of this study. I hereby intended to illustrate that activity in terms of masculinity means far more for gender construction

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[18] In recent years this has been changing, with more supporters from diverse races drawn to rugby in South Africa. This phenomenon could also be attributed to the fact that South African rugby is increasingly under pressure to diversify the racial profile of its player corps.

[19] The translations of these Afrikaans terms are used as they are provided by Grundlingh (1996:182,186).

than the mere polarisation of gendered characteristics. Being masculine means, ontologically, being active. The above also seeks to illustrate that male physicality and bodily activity are not merely forms of masculine expression, but also of cultural hegemonic power. Such notions power the myth of male physical prowess and male propensity towards outdoor activity.

The above ideas are hereafter applied to the semiotic analyses of the visual communication pertaining to physical activity and adventurism collected from the three corporate churches. The first figure considered is kerk*sonder*mure's "*Adam Bediening*" (Adam Ministry) logo (Figure 22), followed by four further images showing the centrality of male physical activity in the data in this study (Figures 23 to 26). A discussion of a programme (Figure 27) produced by the *Adam Bediening* ministry is then provided, followed by a consideration of a masthead for Moreletapark's "*Kwaggasrus Mannekamp*" (Quagga's Rest men's camp) entry form (Figure 28). Reference then is made to layouts in kerk*sonder*mure's *ksm* magazine for their "Wild at Heart" Camp (Figure 29), as well as their Sabi Sand Men's Camp (Figure 30), and to a layout in Doxa Deo's *focus* magazine showing a mountain climber (Figure 31). A Doxa Deo advertisement for their "*Sabie Mannekamp*" (Sabie men's camp) (Figure 32) and a pamphlet for a Pretoria Men's Convention (Figure 33) are also referred to. Then a website banner (Figure 34) for Moreletapark's "*Mannebediening*" (Men's Ministry) is discussed, followed by two front covers of *focus* (Figure 35 and 36). Reference is then made to Doxa Deo's "*Metamorhpo*" flyer (Figure 37). Finally, kerk*sonder*mure's programme for their youth ministry "*Batteljon 613*" (Battalion 613) (Figure 38) is discussed.

In Figure 22, one sees a black stick figure, presumably male, superimposed over red text, with black text below it. The text represents the name of kerk*sonder*mure's men's ministry "*Adam Bediening*" (Adam Ministry) named after the male Biblical figure, Adam, who in the Christian belief system was the first human (male) being God created on earth. The text's font is set in uppercase, sans serif, bold lettering and this gives the text a static appearance. The colours of the text, red and black, also contribute to this bold look. There is some shadowing behind the word "ADAM" and this gives the text a sense of size and gravity.

The black stick figure, or perhaps more accurately 'ink figure', appears imposed over the red anchoring "ADAM" text. He is darker than the red text on which he is placed, which makes him stand out from the picture plane. This black ink figure is similar to the silhouette

figures found in the previous theme, namely professional occupation and leadership. The figure's body is arranged in such a way as to represent movement, his hands are open and arms outstretched and reaching. There are movement lines under this foot on the left, which are a common code used in visual and graphic arts to connote not only movement, but also speed. The loose ink strokes which constitute the black stick figure's body also accentuate activity and connote free and easy movement.

Figure 22: kerk*sonder*mure "*Adam Bediening*" (Adam Ministry) logo.

In Figure 22, the male figure is visually placed on the activity side of the pole between activity–passivity in the male–female duality. Although it is a common representational practice, this figure brings one back to the idea of physicality as male ontology. Here a male body is literally applied to a space through the superimposition of the male figure on the red text. For example, it seems as if the male figure is lifting himself off the "D" in "ADAM" and will step down on the "A" in a moment. This implied action makes it appear as though the figure is conquering and trampling the landscape. Myths of male adventurism are thus inferred, which also embodies the notion that men are more active than women.

The presence of this myth could perhaps also be considered to espouse the ideology of male physical dominance. Even though the dynamism and mobility of the male figure is in contrast to the bold red text, it does not constitute a paradox in terms of masculinity construction, as both represent masculine characteristics of strength, physicality, activity, boldness and hardiness. The following four figures also exemplify the focus on masculine physical activity in the three selected churches: Figure 23, a feature article in Moreletapark's *Nuwe Dimensie* (New Dimension) magazine, shows a male figure defying gravity and *walking* up a tree; Figure 24 contains a photograph of two men rowing on the

cover of March 2007's *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine; and Figure 25 shows a muscular adult male with a rugby ball,[20] in the December 2007/January 2008 issue of *Nuwe Dimensie*. In Figure 26 the emphasis on physical activity is also shown in young boys.

Figure 23: Moreletapark "*Fokus en bou op jou sterk punte*" (Focus and build on your strong suits) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, February 2008. (Lombaard 2008:9).

Figure 24: Moreletapark "*God het 'n groot plan vir 2007*" (God has a big plan for 2007) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, March 2007. (Van der Spuy 2007:1).

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[20] Figure 25 appears in pink tones, which seems to be out of place regarding my argument that blue, green, red, brown and other "masculine", or less feminine, colours are preferred in the data for the representation of masculinity. The issue of *Nuwe Dimensie* in which Figure 25 appears is, however, printed in pink and black tones in its totality. This is done to bring down costs of printing while still having the option of bringing some colour into the publication. This is done in each issue of Moreletapark's magazines and other colour combinations with black are used, like green or orange.

Figure 25: Moreletapark "*Mamelodi se dag van helde*" (Mamelodi's day of heroes) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, December 2007/January 2008.
(Mayhew-Rodgers 2008:12).

Figure 26: Doxa Deo "A world through a child's eyes" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008.
(Geldenhuys 2008:13).

Figure 27 is connected to Figure 22 in the sense that it represents a programme for the activities of the "*Adam Bediening*" (Adam Ministry) at kerk*sonder*mure in 2008 in all sans serif font. The programme has a bookmark-type format and at the top one finds the text part of the Adam Ministry logo discussed above under Figure 22. This text is, however, completely set in red to complement and contrast with the blue used as background colour in Figure 27. As is the case in the Figures in the previous theme, professional occupation and leadership, blue is stereotypically used to connote masculinity. The text on the left side of the poster running from top to bottom reads, in title case, "*Altyd Daar As Man*" (Always There As Man). The rest of the text is made up of a list of dates and events for the men's ministry.

Most commonly promoted in the programme is the "*Adam-ontbyt*" (Adam breakfast), a men's breakfast. References to camping are also abundant on this programme. There is an "*Adamkamp*" (Adam camp) men's camp, a "Wild at heart" camp, presumably related to Eldridge's (2001) popular Christian masculinity manual, *Wild at heart*, and there is an "*Adam-kind*" (Adam-child) camp, a more gender inclusive version of the common *pa-seun*

(father-son) camp. Two "*Lofprysing*" (worship) events[21] are also advertised. It is, however, unclear whether these events are organised specifically for the men's ministry or for the whole congregation. The practice of segregating Christian activities according to gender is common in the three selected churches, however, and is problematised in Chapter Four.

Figure 27: kerk*sonder*mure "*Adam Bediening*" (Adam Ministry) programme.

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[21] Worship events in corporate churches in South Africa, and some other countries, commonly would entail singing along to worship music, praying and listening to short spiritual messages. A worship event differs from a traditional church service in that the focus is not on a lengthy sermon, although traditional services also make use of music, singing and prayer. Worship events usually take place separately from main church services and are often also held in venues other than the church building, like an outdoor stage, an auditorium, or a sports stadium.

Almost all the activities showcased on the 2008 Adam Ministry programme are male bonding activities, especially the for-men breakfasts, as well as the camps. The use of camping is very popular in Christian ministry in South Africa, especially in historically white churches that possess sufficient resources and leisure time for camping endeavours. Camps are more frequently held for men, but sometimes also for families, and for women. Men's ministry camps often combine rugged outdoorism, hiking and doing obstacle courses with spiritual activities such as Bible study, small group discussions and campfire singing and sharing, which resembles the format of mythopoetic rustic men's retreats as described by Schwalbe (1995). In a recent article, a colleague and I (Viljoen & Koenig-Visagie 2011) discuss the relationship between the mythopoetic men's movement and contemporary notions of Christian masculinity, particularly as embodied by Eldredge's (2001) book, *Wild at heart*, which in all practicality spurred a world wide masculine Christianity movement founded on outdoor adventurism. It appears that the churches in this study have not escaped the global reach of this movement, as kerk*sonder*mure hosts its own "Wild at heart" camp, in so doing solidifying the connections between Eldredge's writing, Christianity and secular mythopoeticism. In fact, the Adam Ministry programme and its activities all relate to ideas of mythopoetic male bonding so central in the Promise Keepers and Mighty Men phenomena.

Some further visual elements on the Adam Ministry programme are worthy of discussion. At the bottom of the programme there are two figures, one male and one female. They seem to be a heterosexual couple engaged in a romantic moment, as they are staring lovingly into each other's eyes. The male figure's head is bent down and he is looking down at the female figure. She, in turn, is looking up back at him and it is obvious that he is meant to appear physically larger than her. Perhaps it could also be argued that connotations of male headship in the marriage are also at work in this image. One sees more of the female figure's face, whilst the male figure's face is mainly turned away from the viewer. One gets the idea that she is slightly more 'on display' than the male figure is, connoting her *to-be-looked-at-ness*, in Mulvey's (1975:11) terms. Her body is also more exposed than the male figure's, as she is wearing a thin strap vest and he is wearing a button up shirt. Her long blond hair also whisks around her face as a signifier of her femininity.

Behind the couple to the left of the picture plane, there are three cars, blue, red and yellow respectively, facing the viewer. The cars hold connotations of motor sport and adventure. The couple appears on the programme as a signifier of masculinity. Fiske (1987:202) cites

women and marriage, apart from work, as two of "the most significant producers of the masculine identity". A man's relationship to women as a facet of his identity is therefore represented by the female figure in this image.[22] Myths of heterosexuality and romantic love are manifested in this programme, and carry ideological meanings of patriarchy, othering of gender and compulsory heterosexuality.

Figure 28 is the entry form masthead for Moreletapark's "*Kwaggasrus Mannekamp*" (Quagga's Rest men's camp). A quagga is a small type of zebra, but in this case Quagga's Rest refers to a location. Invoking this wild animal does, however, bring into play certain connotations of wildness and associates it with Christian masculinity, as is also the case with *Wild at heart* (Eldredge 2001) and the mythopoetic movement. The anchoring sans serif text in the middle of the masthead reads, "*Man in die spieël – Wie is hy?*" loosely translatable as: man in the mirror – who is he? The typical search for masculine identity central in *Wild at heart* and the mythopoetic movement is echoed in this statement, which appears to be the theme of the Quagga's Rest camp. The answer, it seems, to this question of male identity will be provided through the male bonding activity of camping. In this regard, Whitehead (2002:158-159) states that, "men's friendships with other men can be seen to be crucially important in sustaining masculine subjectivities and men's sense of identity as men".

Figure 28: Moreletapark "*Kwaggasrus Mannekamp*" (Quagga's Rest men's camp) entry form masthead.

On the right side of the masthead appears a men's ministry logo. Moreletapark calls their men's ministry, simply, "*Mannebediening*" (Men's Ministry), which also appears in bold uppercase lettering similar to that of the Adam Ministry at kerk*sonder*mure logo and, therefore, holds the same connotations. In the background of the logo one sees a rising sun on the horizon, connoting hope and possibility, over a body of water. A cross is lodged

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[22] The relationship between men and women as represented in the data in this study is considered in more detail in Chapter Four.

in the water. Superimposed over the sun and the cross are two silhouetted male figures. The smallest figure to the left represents a young boy standing upright and pointing at something. The larger figure represents an adult male and is crouched onto his haunches behind the boy. One could safely assume that this pair of figures is meant to denote a father-son relationship, which is often central in male bonding for the production and reproduction of masculinity. The representation of fatherhood in this study is considered in depth in the following section (see 2.3.3). The superimposition of the two silhouetted male figures over the son and the cross function in much the same way as the black ink figure in Figure 22. Male figures are again applied to space, signifying domination of the landscape. In Figure 28 notions of activity, outdoor adventurism and Christian masculinity are connected with notions of wildness through the activity of camping. The mythical idea that man must pit himself against nature in order to prove himself is therefore at work here. Such notions are present in two feature articles in kerk*sonder*mure's *ksm* magazine, for a "Wild at Heart Camp" (Figure 29), and a Sabi Sand Men's Camp (Figure 30), as well as in an article in Doxa Deo's *focus* magazine (Figure 31). All of these layouts portray male figures engaged in rugged outdoorism and adventure.

Figure 29: kerk*sonder*mure "'Wild at Heart' *Kamp*" (Camp) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008.
(Van Rensburg 2008:9).

Figure 30: kerk*sonder*mure "*Sabi Sand Mannekamp*" (Sabi Sand Men's Camp) feature article in *ksm* magazine, September 2008.
(Cromhout 2008:14).
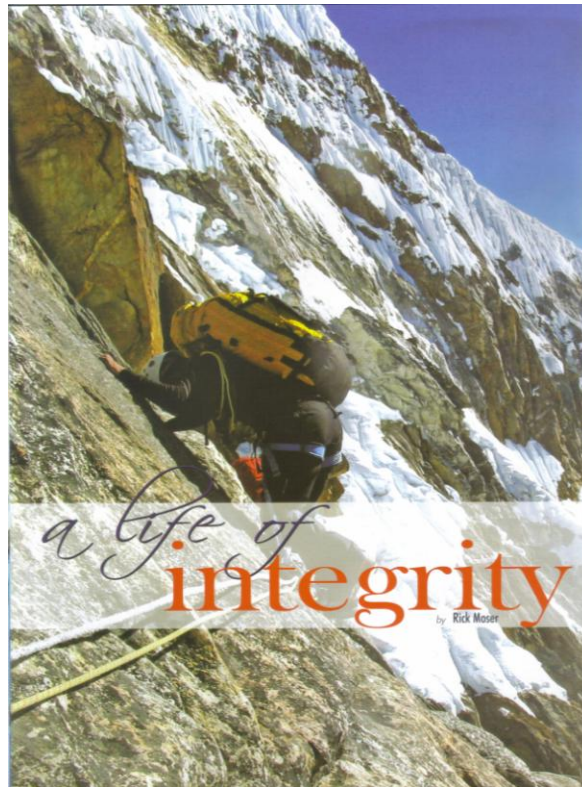
Figure 31: Doxa Deo "a life of integrity" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Moser 2008:16).

Figure 32 is an advertisement for Doxa Deo's Sabie Men's camp in 2006. I received this image when sampling data through the communications official at Doxa Deo, but as it falls outside the sampling parameters of this study (2007-2008) it will not be discussed in detail here. It is, however, important to note that Doxa Deo also hosts men's camps as does kerk*sonder*mure and Moreletapark. The image is also quite revealing in terms of the previously discussed connections between Christian masculinity, adventure and wilderness. Figure 33 was not generated by one of the three churches in this study, but it was included in one of kerk*sonder*mure's announcement pages. The pamphlet is for the "*Pretoria Manskonvensie*" (Pretoria Men's Convention), and it shows a photograph of a lone male (hero) hiker on a mountain.

Figure 32: Doxa Deo "*Sabie Mannekamp*" (Men's camp) advertisement, 2006.

Figure 33: "*Pretoria Manskonvensie*" (Men's Convention) pamphlet, 2008.

The banner for the Men's Ministry (*Mannebediening*) on Moreletapark's website (Figure 34) displays sans serif lettering for the word "*Mannebediening*" in black and a form of sans serif cursive for the word "*Manne*" (men) in light blue grey, which is more flowing and perhaps feminine. The background of the banner is a landscape with a solitary male figure, representing the lone male hero, sitting on his haunches staring out over the ocean at the left. On the far right side, a sun is rising (an element also present in Figure 28) over a horizon on a hill, connoting 'the dawn of a new day'. The male figure is lean, has short cropped hair and is wearing a white t-shirt and a pair of light blue denim jeans, which are rolled up and soaked in water. The male figure seems to be enjoying a leisurely moment on the beach. The colours in this banner are mainly white, blue, black and blue-grey masculine colours.

Figure 34: Moreletapark "*Mannebediening*" (Men's Ministry) website banner. (Mannebediening 2008).

Although the male figure is squatting he is not passive, as there is tension in the position of his body. He is not sitting flat on the ground, but on his haunches and appears to be able to move easily from this position. His hands are clasped together in front of his chin forming a sturdy triangular figure, also signifying strength and stability, although he appears less powerful than the standing male figures in this theme. Figure 34 displays the male gazing upon the landscape and feminised nature.

Figures 35 and 36, both front covers of Doxa Deo's periodical newsletter, named *focus*, portray aspects of male physical activity and adventurism. The man in Figure 35 appears as a prominent single figure in the landscape with his arms outstretched and raised at his sides, presumably, from this context, in worship. He emerges vertically from the wheat field in which he stands and appears to dominate the landscape. The fact that he is surrounded by wheat in a field holds the same connotations of bountifulness as discussed later in Figure 38. One assumes he is thanking God for the harvest that surrounds him.
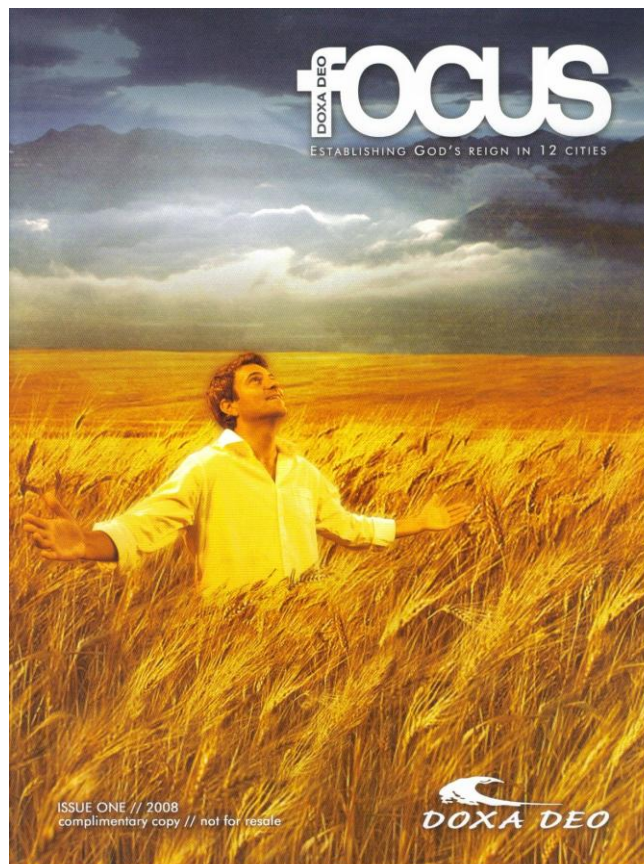
Figure 35: Doxa Deo front cover of *focus* magazine,
Issue One 2008.
(*focus* 2008a:1).

The young boy in Figure 36 is also situated as a prominent figure in nature and embodies the male sense of adventure. It is significant that it is a boy who is inquisitively gazing into a jar of fireflies on this cover, and not a girl. Similarly, Doxa Deo's "*Metamorpho*"[23] flyer (Figure 37) shows a young male, backpack ready, in front of a flight schedule board, on the verge of embarking on a great adventure. Figures 36 and 37 naturalise the myth that men are naturally more inquisitive and adventurous than women, crystallising the ideology behind the activity–passivity binary.

Figure 36: Doxa Deo front cover of *focus* magazine,
Issue Two 2008.
(*focus* 2008b:1).

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[23] Doxa Deo's "*Metamorpho*" programme is conceptualised as a meta ministry and provides young church members with the opportunity to take a year out of their lives to partake in character-building activities and discipleship and ministry training. The focus is on the "metamorphosis" of the young Christian. "*Metamorpho*" is, therefore, a type of gap year.

Figure 37: Doxa Deo "*Metamorpho*" flyer.

Christianity's consistent use of sport and military metaphors, which are said to be most appealing to men (Balmer 2000:194), are significant in the analysis of Figure 38. Sport and military elements are combined in Figure 38, a flyer for kerk*sonder*mure's youth ministry. The youth ministry is called "*Batteljon 613*"[24] (battalion 613) and connotations of warfare and battle are evoked through the use of this military term. Faludi (2000:240) considers how warfare metaphors commonly used in American mainstream culture are reconfigured and appropriated by the Promise Keepers:

> Men's shared "mission" now became the spiritual salvation of their families; men's "frontier," the domestic front; men's "brotherhood," the Christian fraternity of Promise Keepers; and men's "provider and protector" role, offering not economic but religious sustenance and shielding their wives from the satanic force lurking behind consumer culture.

Apart from the assimilation of mainstream military metaphors into Christian culture, the Bible itself contains many descriptions of war in the Old Testament and the New Testament often uses war metaphors for a greater spiritual war between good and evil.

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[24] It is likely that the number 613 (or "six thirteen") in this context represents a Bible verse (for instance Matthew 6:13), which the youth ministry uses as a central point of reference. It is, however, unclear which exact Bible verse 613 refers to in this case.

The "*Batteljon 613*" flyer, although intended for youth ministry, is masculinised, especially through the use of masculine colours, such as blue, blue-grey and red. Similar to the function of Figure 27, the "*Batteljon 613*" flyer provides a programme for the youth ministry spanning two months. The first activity on the flyer is the Good News Café, accompanied by a picture of its logo (formed by using its abbreviation – GNC), which is a seemingly informal meeting at a coffee shop in Centurion Mall, centring on the theme of dating. The second activity is a sports day with "*Waterkaskenades*", a form of water games, loosely translatable as "water antics", as soap, water and slippery surfaces are combined and which often results in injury or mild concussions for the participants. The image used at the sports day item is that of a male referee, whistle-in-mouth, with a sport stadium's lights showing in the background.

Figure 38: kerk*sonder*mure "*Batteljon 613*" (Batallion 613) flyer.

This second item on the youth ministry programme conjures up the associations between sport and Muscular Christianity. The use of games in youth ministry is a widespread practice in South Africa and other countries touched by Muscular Christianity. Team building and character building sports that can forge bonds and relationships between players are particularly popular in Afrikaans churches, such as touch rugby (a milder form of the game where tackling is substituted by touching), volleyball, *blitstkrieket* (fast cricket, also a condensed form of the game where one batter faces the bowler at a time and the running distance for scoring is shortened), rounders (baseball) and indoor *saalspeletjies* (hall games) that can be played at night or when the weather is unfavourable.

The third item on the programme is an *Oesfees* (Harvest Hestival), with *potjiekos* (stew). Making *potjiekos* is a time-honoured Afrikaner social pastime, though not necessarily a youth pastime, which entails cooking a stew in a large iron pot over an open fire. Groups often get together and make their own *potjie* (pot), as would be the case at the kerk*sonder*mure Harvest Festival, where there would be a variety of *potjies* made by different groups. Cooking *potjiekos* takes quite some time as uncooked ingredients are slowly cooked to juicy perfection. This strengthens the social aspect of this culinary tradition, because people tend to spend a large amount of time together around a *potjie*. The image used at this item of the programme is a typical abundance image of baskets overflowing with fruit and hearty vegetables.

If one considers the "*Batteljon 613*" logo, one notices that the curved serif lettering used differs from the static and bold sans serif letting of the other men's ministry logos discussed in this theme. The "*Batteljon 613*" logo is, however, rough, rustic, dynamic and suited to connotations of war and battle. A sort of coat of arms appears at the top of the logo, calling up connotations of nationalism and unity. The logo attains an almost three dimensional effect through the white tear-out line around it, which also emphases roughness. Figure 38 significantly draws together the same connections between sport, war, masculinity and Afrikaner culture as discussed previously under the section on rugby. This kerk*sonder*mure youth flyer promotes a masculine brand of identity for youth ministry and connects with Muscular Christianity.

The final theme of masculinity to be considered here is fatherhood. Again, a theoretical introduction is provided to the theme from applicable literature, which is followed by a discussion of the visual data related to the theme.

3.3.3 Fatherhood

"… the masculinist trajectory of the heroic successful patriarch provides the naturalised discourse for society and other media narratives" (Prinsloo 2006:138).

Richter and Morrell (2006:1) assert the social role aspect of fatherhood and believe that this role's content shifts, as does its importance. Although fatherhood is a fluid concept, as masculinity itself is, certain ideas remain persistent, especially in Western conceptualisations of conservative and traditional fatherhood. There is literature available which covers a variety of types of fatherhood in the South African context, but for the sake of remaining concise only literature which is specifically relevant to this study and the analyses presented here is discussed. White Afrikaans people, as an ethnic group, mostly exhibit cultural tendencies similar to those exhibited in greater Western society. This tendency is a result of their European and, in some cases, British ancestry. as well as the segregationist nature of apartheid which established white people as superior and set them apart from the black/coloured/Indian Other. This theoretical introduction therefore draws from applicable Western literature which aids in conceptualising white, traditional fatherhood in broad terms. Richter and Morrell (2006:4) believe that history has had a profound impact on South African fathers. Apartheid influenced how men father and fathering therefore differs in races affected differently by the regime. Very little literature is available on the specific topic of white fatherhood, as in most cases it has become so synonymous with the traditional fatherhood ideal that it receives no treatment, and has been practically ex-nominated. Viljoen's (2011) work on fatherhood in *MaksiMan* does, however, shed some light on white Christian fatherhood and is therefore particularly relevant to the analysis of the data presented here.

An important distinction is generally made between being a father – a biological act – and assuming the role of fatherhood – a social act. Accordingly, men do not necessarily accept the social role of fatherhood after becoming biological fathers (Morrell 2006:14). Nevertheless, the mere act of begetting a child can reflect a transition into manhood, as it represents biological and reproductive accomplishment, or "genital success", as David Cohen (1990:169) refers to it (also see Morrell 2006:13,16-17). Regardless of biological fathers' levels of willingness to participate in fatherhood, it is considered the primary signifier of achieving adult manhood as it carries associations of commitment and assuming responsibility (Clare 2000:166; Marsiglio & Pleck 2005:256; Morrell 2006:15;

Richter & Morrell 2006:5). A father is traditionally viewed as the provider for and protector of his wife and children[25] (Clare 2000:184-185; Marsiglio & Pleck 2005:256, 259). The previously discussed male breadwinner construct is central to traditional, or conservative, notions of fatherhood and, in turn, to masculine identity. According to Whitehead (2002:151), through the breadwinner construct men can, or could, achieve a "sense of masculine validation through their ability to feed and support their family". This idea of men's ability to provide for their families as fathers is foundational to adult male identity. In this psychosocial construction, being a man means being a father (Morrell 2006:15), and being a father means being the breadwinner (Clare 2000:188). David Morgan (2001:226) states that:

> Male identity revolves around notions of the breadwinner, the assumption of mature adult responsibilities in terms of a wife and children, the settling-down into respectability, duty and security. There may be masculine identities other than that of the breadwinner, but this is clearly the dominant one and other identities … derive their meaning in part from their relationship with this central signifier of masculine identity.

Although the breadwinner construct is central and dominant in notions of masculinity and manhood, it does have a dark side, as various theorists point out. Owing to the high demands of the breadwinner role, many men experience gender role strain in the form of "breadwinner anxiety" (Springer 2007:1, 7) which may lead to depression and the denial and flight from the fatherhood role (Morrell 2006:20). In their extensive review of literature and research on fatherhood and masculinities, mostly from Western industrialised countries, William Marsiglio and Joseph Pleck (2005:260) found that, because the provider role is still a prominent feature of hegemonic images of masculinity and fatherhood, men often find it difficult to value themselves as fathers when unemployed or underemployed. Another aspect of the negative consequences of the dominance of the breadwinner construct is brought to light by Clare (2000:162), whereby men are recognised and valued in families not for their contributions as human beings, but as financial sustainers. For Clare (2000:166), this problematic conventional conceptualisation of the father reaches into academic practice, as he believes that, "[b]ecause men have traditionally been classed as breadwinners, researchers have tended to concentrate on the father's pay packet and not his heart".

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[25] This conflation of father and husband is pointed out and problematised by Morrell (2006:17), but it remains a common and, for the most part, applicable conflation.

Many scholars agree that the breadwinner construct is mainly, in reality, a middle-class phenomenon. In South Africa, middle-class men are mostly able to take up a fatherhood role, which entails being a protector, provider and caregiver, as they have the necessary means and time to do so (Morrell 2006:22). Springer (2007:6) points out that extensive research shows how, historically, the male breadwinner / female homemaker family was only a viable option for upper-middle-class or upper-class families. Middle-class men possess the resources in order to attempt to live up to the "ideal of the male breadwinner" (Springer 2007:16). Accordingly, Morgan (2001:226) connects the rise of the breadwinner model with the rise of middle-class dominance. Although the breadwinner ideal is perhaps more attainable to middle-class men, they are not exempt from breadwinner anxiety. In discussing the impact of social class on fatherhood, Marsiglio and Pleck (2005:260) contend that, even though "poverty issues disproportionately influence men of color and are therefore intertwined with subcultural issues, numerous white fathers also deal with feelings of inadequacy as breadwinners".

The connection between fatherhood and patriarchy has become obscure. Since the fall of old systems of monolithic power (such as monarchies that came to an end during the last two centuries) 'absolute patriarchy' has become, to some extent, disembodied in the apparent non-existence of 'a king'. In discussing this phenomenon during the French Revolution, art historian Carol Duncan (1993:52) notes the following:

> In practice, the new state ended absolute patriarchy in order to replace it with a more democratized, less acknowledged form. The king was overthrown and his realm dissolved, but the king's authority would live on. Now separated from the patriarchal body, was shared out among the minority of privileged males who would collectively man and control the new offices of the state … in the modern world, authority could rule more effectively from within—lodged in the psyches of the old man's [symbol of patriarchal authority] sons.

It seems as though patriarchy, after the expiration of certain monarchies, became invisible or intangible and took on a more naturalised form and lives on inside its subjects on an ideological level. Perhaps the only remaining visible form of patriarchy is embodied by 'the father' and, to some extent, by 'the big business executive' as touched upon earlier. The previously discussed concept of male headship is powerfully embodied in the figure of the father, or in some cases the patriarch, as the head of the family. Indeed, patriarchy, in literal terms, is understood to mean the "rule of the father" (Morgan 2001:225).

The idea of male headship of the household, implying the father/husband's headship, is especially dominant in Christian discourses concerning fatherhood, and imbues the father/husband with Godlike authority and a moral imperative to lead, or head up, *his* household. In this discourse the human father is thus likened to God the Father and he is, therefore, deserving of the same amount of respect and obedience. Again, the idea that manliness equals Godliness emerges strongly. Christian fathers are conceptualised in traditional or conservative circles as the 'kings' (see 2.3.1) or leaders of their households (see also Duncan 1993:29) and can inspire conflicting feelings of love and resentment. Such ideas are also found in conservative Afrikaner households, which often adhere to these beliefs. According to Du Pisani (2001:163):

> Puritan Afrikaners viewed the male-headed family as the cornerstone of a healthy society. The image of the male head of the family was cast in the mould of the 'good provider' … Afrikaans churches have held the view that the male head of the family should fulfil a priestly function, by not only providing his family with material things, but also looking after their spiritual well-being.

This sentiment is echoed strongly in the Promise Keepers movement. Furthermore, being a good father and husband is considered a Christian masculine ideal (Viljoen 2011:311, 318). The production and reproduction of patriarchal power from within the family context has been rigorously exposed and contested by feminist theorists and activists and are considered in Chapter Four.

The work of Prinsloo (2006) provides insight into the representation of fathers in the South African media. Prinsloo (2006:132) identifies two problems with the representation of fatherhood: firstly the South African media very seldom depict men in parental roles and when depicted the repertoire of roles for fathers is very small;[26] and secondly, violent macho roles are provided abundantly, resultantly acting as a substitute for male parental roles. The non-portrayal of fathers in the South African media echoes Viljoen's (2011:310) view that men are not represented as fathers or husbands in mainstream men's lifestyle magazines in South Africa, which aim to create a carefree space for men, free from the constraints of parenthood and marriage.

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[26] This non-representation of fathers as well as the limited scope portrayed for paternal roles is in contrast to the common notion in research and literature that the media portrays a variety of masculinities (Prinsloo 2006:135).

Prinsloo (2006:133) further points out that although the media does not foreground fatherhood, the normality of heterosexuality and fatherhood is assumed and patriarchy is thereby upheld. Prinsloo (2006:135) states that, "while patriarchy speaks the law of the father, the father is not highly visible in the private domain". Fatherhood is lived out in its breadwinner function in the public domain. In this regard, Richter and Morrell (2006:4) state that, "men continue to be characterised in the public rather than the domestic realm. This … bolsters broader patriarchal power relations that assign the unrecognised responsibility for childcare to women". In the spirit of Ortner's (1998) argument that women are devalued because they are seen as close(r) to nature, Prinsloo (2006:134) contends that fatherhood is devalued because it is associated with the feminine domestic realm. Media representations rather place fathers in settings of challenge and physical endurance, or in the public realm of the workplace (Prinsloo 2006:134).

When fathers are portrayed in the media they often do not enjoy a positive popular reputation. They are frequently demonised and stereotyped as pathological and as bad influences on their families, especially on their children. Fathers are often considered the perpetrators in child abuse and sexual molestation. In the media, it seems, dad is bad. This is particularly the case in South African news media, where fathers are represented in connection to family and property disputes, as well as murder and child abuse (Prinsloo 2006:142). But these preconceived notions should be questioned and evidence supporting these claims should be considered in context. When regarding child abuse, for example, research suggests that it is often fathers involved in the crimes, but, contrary to popular belief, a very low percentage of fathers abuse their children (Clare 2000:185). Prinsloo (2006:141) believes that the nature of news values is problematic in this regard. Things make the news when they exceed the ordinary: "Mr Average Good Dad does not easily cut it with the reporters, their editors or financial managers. He is quite simply not considered as newsworthy" (Prinsloo 2006:141). This is, however, in contrast to the South African news media's frequent and abundant representations of ordinary mothers providing ordinary care for their children (Prinsloo 2006:143). This disparity between the representation of mothers and fathers could point to the media's tendency to demonise men in their parental roles. Apart from their representation in the media, Prinsloo (2006:133) points out that, "serious, sustained scholarly interest in media portrayal of fathers or fatherhood is rare, especially in contrast to motherhood".

Fathers also do not receive differentiated and objective treatment in the international media. According to Clare (2000:166), fathers are depicted in the media as either heroes

or villains, [27] and represent very little serious discourse around fatherhood. These father-villains are often portrayed as absentee fathers, who do not live with their children (Clare 2000:166). The "deadbeat dad" is considered a pervasive and stereotypical image of the father (Marsiglio & Pleck 2005:255). Not only are men portrayed in the media as absent and generally inadequate as parents, they are also portrayed as 'dumb'. In their research on the representation of fathers in American newspaper cartoons, Randal Day and Wade MacKey (1986:371-372, 374) find that men are portrayed in family contexts as "bumbling buffoons", and as fools, they represent values rejected by the larger social group (Day & MacKey 1986:377). The male is conceptualised as pathological and sometimes even marginalised at home in the classic conflict between man and family (LaRossa 1995:458; Clare 2000:163; Morgan 2001:226). In Prinsloo's (2006:136) research on television family situation comedies (sitcoms), it was also found that when the show is situated in a working-class setting, "fathers and husbands are likely to be depicted as clumsy, awkward, and inept, and slightly ridiculous, while the wife dominates as the primary decision-maker".

Fatherhood in Western society encapsulates various crises in masculinity issues. Women are often stereotyped as the primary caregivers to children (Day & MacKey 1986:382; LaRossa 1995:451; Clare 2000:161; 164) and as a result, men are less involved in primary childcare, spending much less time on such tasks than women do (Whitehead 2002:153). Men's position as breadwinner, or working man, legitimises their absence from caregiving tasks and often from the home itself. In this sense men are kept away from the family owing to demands of work (Cohen 1990:175). According to Whitehead (2002:154), "men's relative absence from the private sphere is further embedded in and validated by a performative work culture and government policies". This legitimised absence of the father feeds conventional and conservative gender role expectations, such as the notion that, because a father should ideally work, it is the woman's responsibility to look after the children (Cohen 1990:172). These beliefs are, of course, not based on simple economic convenience, but are ideologically founded. It may be true that economic forces are mainly to blame for gross absenteeism among fathers, but according to Cohen (1990:175), it stands to reason "that men have not agitated for a change in the structure of work, because it suits them to have women burdened with the care of children".

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[27] This dichotomous media representation of fathers as either villains or heroes is crystallised by the popular television series *Smallville* (2001-2006). Humble, but proud, farmer, Jonathan Kent, Clark Kent's father, is portrayed as the moral hero father. As his polar opposite, corporate tycoon Lionel Luthor, Lex Luthor's father, is portrayed not only as an ultimately evil man, but also as an ultimately evil father. For further discussion, see Meyer (2005). A similar dichotomous representation of fathers is found in the first two seasons of the popular teen television series *Gossip Girl* (Schwartz & Savage 2007-2008), where Rufus Humphrey is represented as the hero father, as opposed to Bart Bass, the absent vilified and emotionally stifled father.

Absenteeism is a phenomenon commonly associated with South African fatherhood (Richter & Morrell 2006:2). The country's legacy of migrant labour has resulted in, especially, black African fathers working in distant locations with limited visits to their homes. Morrell (2006:20) cites severe poverty and resultant feelings of inadequacy as breadwinner as another reason why South African men shrink from their paternal role. South African parental absence is strikingly high, according to Dorrit Posel and Richard Devey (2006:48), especially when compared to parental presence in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is considered to be substantial. In South Africa, 50.2% of African children do not have their living father present in their residing household (Posel & Devey 2006:47). When compared to this figure, the 10.9% of white children (Posel & Devey 2006:47) who do not have their living father present seems fairly small. Morrell (2006:18), however, draws attention to the fact that paternal absenteeism cannot only be defined in terms of physical absence. Emotional absence also plays an influential role in children's lives. In describing the absent and emotionally distant father as portrayed through the South African literary imaginary, Morrell (2006:19) states the following with regard to white South African men:

> The fathers consist of a combination of unequal and careless relationships with women, children and people of colour or other religions and beliefs; unquestioning self-belief and bluster; and a preference for physically demanding homosocial contexts. This form of masculinity is often considered to be dominant among white South African men. Even though other expressions of masculinity exist, it is the values and behaviours of these men that are accepted as 'normal' and, indeed even lauded.

Although white South African fathers seem to be mostly present in the household, there are various factors which stifle their involvement. Viljoen (2011:314) describes the impact of corporate globalisation as such a factor. Companies are increasingly demanding more availability and higher productivity from their workforce. Workers are also expected to be flexible and able to travel when necessary (Viljoen 2011:314). As this is the likely working scenario for middle-class employees, one can assume this will be the case for working fathers (and mothers) in Pretoria East and Centurion. The above scenario is applicable to middle-class fathers who are lucky enough to have a job. The South African employment equity agenda has resulted in large scale retrenchment, especially of white men. As mentioned above, unemployed fathers are faced with a crisis in terms of their provider role. A final factor which has contributed to the absence of working fathers is poor provision for paternity leave in South African labour law. Fathers may only take a few days of "family responsibility" leave in order to attend to serious family business (Richter & Morrell 2006:3). With ample provision for maternity leave South African women are

stereotypically forced into the caregiver role and South African men are forced in the provider role (Viljoen 2011:315). Scandinavian countries, on the other hand, provide very generous paternal leave and in so doing encourage male participation in primary caregiving (Richter & Morrell 2006:3).

The mythopoetic movement is known for pinning the current so-called crisis in masculinity on physically or emotionally absent fathers (Morrell 2006:18). The Christian men's movement also propagates this idea. In *Wild at heart*, Eldredge (2001:69-71) dedicates a discussion to "The Father-Wound". Working from a mythological perspective, Lash (1995:31) proposes a different reason for men's problematic relationships with their fathers by stating that, "[p]erhaps the hero's lack of relationship to his father reflects the real-world situation in which the father embodies the value-system of patriarchy and male-dominance, fundamentally hostile to the heroic path".

With women moving into the public sphere of the workplace and seeking paid employment outside the home, traditional Western family structures are changing (Morgan 2001:227), and men's identities as breadwinners are fundamentally challenged. Contributing to this threat is a rising divorce rate in Western countries, resulting in a further decline in the traditional nuclear family (Whitehead 2002:152). In South Africa, traditional family configurations are not only under threat for the reasons discussed above, but also from a high mortality rate among adults owing to the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Richter & Morrell 2006:6), resulting in single parenthood and child-headed households.

This change in traditional family structure, or 'crisis' according to certain right-wing politicians and fundamentalist religious leaders, constitutes a crisis for masculinity, as it threatens patriarchal power in the home, also referred to as the "death of the patriarch" (Clare 2000:120). Men are, seemingly, in real danger of being rendered redundant and declared irrelevant (Silverstein *et al* 1999:684). This is a particularly ideologically vexing problem in conservative Christian households. A loss of power for men is therefore signalled in both the workplace and at home (Morgan 2001:228). The validity of the claim that the family is dying is questioned by gender theorists and researchers, as are all the pillars of the crisis in masculinity hypothesis. The fact that the basic family unit is increasingly diverse and fluid does not necessarily mean that it is declining (Whitehead 2002:152).

The idea that there are different types of families, and indeed, different types of fatherhood (Whitehead 2002:153), is in step with current broader notions of the existence of multiple masculinities (Morgan 2001:223). An alternative form of masculinity that has received a considerable amount of publicity over the past few decades[28] is that of the 'new man', who "appears to have engaged in a re-negotiation of domestic involvements and … actively and publicly engages in child-care and child responsibilities" (Morgan 2001:228). "Fathering", according to Cohen (1990:168), "is in fashion". In line with the ethos of the 'new man' paradigm, stay-at-home fathers, or househusbands, have also started to emerge. The idea of the 'new man' is frequently represented in contemporary films, such as in *About a boy* (Weitz & Weitz 2002) and in *The switch* (Gordon & Speck 2010), as well as in popular television shows, such as *Who's the boss?* (Cohan & Hunter 1984-1992) and *Two and a half men* (Aronsohn & Lorre 2003-2012). Prinsloo (2006:138) mentions that the new man is portrayed, especially in advertising, as being able to invest himself emotionally in relationships, and as wanting to spend quality time with his children.

"New fathers" are, however, "choosy" about which part of childcare they become involved in (Cohen 1990:177). Women are mostly tasked with the less savoury duties of childcare, such as cleaning up and preparing meals, while fathers are more likely to be involved in playing with the children (LaRossa 1995:451). Whitehead (2002:154) also questions the actual impact of this new masculinity paradigm, as he believes that, "[w]hile being a 'new father' implies a break with increasingly dated ideas of traditional male roles, and therefore carries with it some cultural capital for men, in practice it can often mean little more than a symbolic attachment to the *idea of being father* rather than a full, equal, and unmitigated engagement in its harder practices".

Similar to this view is Ralph LaRossa's (1995:448) belief that whilst the culture of fatherhood has changed in the United States of America, the behaviour of fatherhood lags behind. Silverstein *et al* (1999:665) echo this sentiment by stating that, "masculine gender role socialization has not kept pace with the rapid social changes that families have been experiencing". Even though men are no longer the sole providers in families, the concept of nurture has not yet been deemed central to the masculine role according to cultural ideology (Silverstein *et al* 1999:665). Various theorists also agree that the 'new man' or 'new father' phenomenon remains, predominantly, like the breadwinner myth, a middle-

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[28] LaRossa (1995:449) believes that the idea of father as nurturer emerged around 1966. For further discussions on the evolution of the Western fatherly role see Rotundo (1985) and Pleck (1987).

class phenomenon (LaRossa 1995:457). Morrell (2006:22) explains the cause of this middle-class trend as follows:

> [W]here material circumstances are secure (because men have reliable and sufficient incomes), fathers may be expected to participate in more engaging ways with their children. In this context, where time and money are not an issue, the new father – caring, domestically engaged and demonstrably loving – is more likely to be the model.

All matters considered, "traditional gender stereotypes remain resilient in many cultures" (Whitehead 2002:154). Owing to the sometimes harsh and brutal nature of men's involvement at home, as well as the enticing allure of the public world for masculinity construction, Whitehead (2002:154) believes the 'new man' and 'new father' to be rare species. The breadwinner ideal remains dominant, although in practice extinct. Morrell (2006:20) believes many South African men are simply too poor to participate in this myth in a practical sense, and even the more affluent white middle-class men are in danger of retrenchment.

Changes in the family structure and challenges to patriarchal power have resulted in a backlash by conservative and fundamentalist movements, such as the Christian Promise Keepers. The Promise Keepers propagate an essentialist view of fatherhood (Marsiglio & Pleck 2005:251), whereby the parenting roles of men and women are conceptualised in essentialist terms, viewing these gendered parenting roles as uniquely masculine or feminine, as well as universal. In their investigation of fatherhood amongst Promise Keepers men, Silverstein *et al* (1999:667) believe that, "[n]eoconservative ideology generally promotes a hierarchical power relationship of male dominance over women in families. It defines parenting roles as linked to biological differences between men and women".

Studies on the Promise Keepers conducted by Faludi (2000) and by Silverstein *et al* (1999) consider its neoconservative and fundamentalist ideology in perspective. Both these studies found that the views espoused by the leaders of Promise Keepers are much more political and reactionary than those of their grass-roots members. There are therefore mixed messages arising from the Promise Keepers movement: the fundamentalist views of the leaders, as opposed to the more temperate and negotiated views and lived experiences of the men involved in the movement. Most Promise Keepers men are merely trying to be better husbands to their wives and better fathers to their children. Promise Keepers leaders, however, stress a return to traditional father roles, and

urge men to "take back the mantle of responsibility as leader of the family" (Silverstein *et al* 1999:667). In this light, another confusing message disseminated by the Promise Keepers is that a man must lead by serving, as Jesus did. Using Jesus, as a loving God, as role model, as previously noted, Promise Keepers men aspire to become more nurturing fathers (Silverstein *et al* 1999:674). Being good fathers also gives the men a feeling of a more profound connection to God the father.

Faludi (2000:240) recognises that Promise Keepers ideology makes it possible for men, in the face of so many threats to their masculine power, to remain the head of their households, albeit not the economic heads. This line of thinking is comforting to men holding on to traditional ideals of Christian manhood, as Silverstein *et al* (1999:681) contend that, this "reassured them [men] that, although they were giving up some of the power associated with an authoritarian stance, they were still the leader of the family". As previously mentioned, Faludi (2000:240) views this solution to the impending crisis of masculinity as "masterful", with which Silverstein *et al* (1999:679) would agree considering the following statement, "PK [Promise Keepers] ideology provides a *tromp l'oeil* face-saving way for men to share power by being godlike. From their perspective, Promise Keepers do not believe that they devalue women. Their perspective is that they define men and women as different, but co-equal". Although Silverstein *et al* (1999:686) argue for the progressive potential in the Promise Keepers approach to participative fatherhood, they recognise that the relentless clinging to patriarchal ideals limits progressive change.

Analyses of the representations of fatherhood in the data set of visual communication obtained from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo now follow. These units of analysis comprise a banner from Moreletapark's website for their family ministry (*gesinsbediening*) (Figure 39); the front cover of a *ksm* magazine (Figure 40) showing a family; and two advertisements for a father and child camp (*pa en kind kamp*) – one a print advertisement placed in Moreletapark's magazine *Op pad* (En route) (Figure 41), and the other a flyer which was included in the weekly printed announcements for the Sunday service (Figure 42). An advertisement for Father and Son Paintball (Figure 43) in Moreletapark's *Op pad* magazine is referred to, followed by a discussion of a file (Figure 44) meant to contain material for Moreletapark's baptism course for parents. No visual representations of fatherhood were found in the data collected from Doxa Deo, which I will comment on in Chapter Four.

Like Figure 34, Figure 39 is a banner from Moreletapark's website meant to head the page for their family ministry. The text on this website banner simply reads: "*Gesinsbediening*" (Family Ministry) in a bold, blue sans serif font that overlays the word *Gesin* (Family) in blue-mauve cursive beneath it. On the left side one sees a photograph of a man, a woman and a child who are engaged in an embrace. From the context of the photograph being associated with family ministry, one assumes that the figures represent a husband, wife and child, or a father, mother and daughter. In their embrace their faces are pressed together, giving the sense that one is witnessing a loving and intimate moment. The woman and the girl both have blond hair, which not only suggests that they are biologically related, but also associates them with each other visually. A certain degree of connotative conflation occurs in this photograph between woman and child owing to their mutual possession of blonde hair (the daughter shown as almost just a smaller version of her mother), as opposed to the husband/father figure who has dark hair. This phenomenon hints at the practice of infantalising females, which is returned to in Chapter Four.

Figure 39: Moreletapark "*Gesinsbediening*" (Family Ministry) website banner. (Gesinsbediening 2008).

All the figures in the photograph are smiling happily and thereby represent the myth of the happy nuclear family. The dominant colour in the photograph is blue, which is used for the clothing the figures wear, but there are also some deep pink flowers in the background. This could be understood as a polarised and gendered use of colour of pink versus blue and the dominant use of blue, with pink only in the background, could perhaps hint at male headship and masculine dominance in the family. This banner contains ideological ideas of patriarchy and compulsory heterosexuality, as it is a man and a woman shown in a romantic relationship in a traditional family configuration.

The front cover of a *ksm* magazine from October 2008 (Figure 40) contains various references to the Harvest Festival (*Oesfees*) discussed as part of Figure 38. The colours used on this magazine cover correspond to the same warm orange colours used to

promote the *potjiekos* event on the *Batteljon 163* programme. However the colours on this cover, a combination of orange, pale green and brown, symbolise autumn, which is out of place, since October is spring in South Africa, although these colours are congruent with the idea of harvest. The warmer clothing worn by the figures on this cover is also somewhat out of place in this light, but it seems as though the designer(s) tried to use some colour co-ordination around a theme: *Oesfees*.

At the top right of the cover one sees the kerk*sonder*mure logo above the magazine's mast, *ksm* – an abbreviation of kerk*sonder*mure. Under the mast a catch phrase appears, "*Ons leef in die sendingveld – gebruik dit, getuig!*" (We live in the mission field – use it, testify!). Four cover lines appear on the magazine: "*Oesfees 2008*" (Harvest Festival 2008); "*Hartklop Jeugfees*" (Heartbeat Youth Festival); "*Gesinskamp*" (Family Camp); and "*Dankbaarheid met 'n Simfonie van Lof*" (Thankfulness with a Symphony of Praise). This issue was clearly brought out in conjunction with the Harvest Festival and the various activities associated with it, such as the family camp and the youth festival. The font used for these cover lines is bold serif-cursive and is more static than the bold sans serif font used for the "ksm" mast of the magazine.
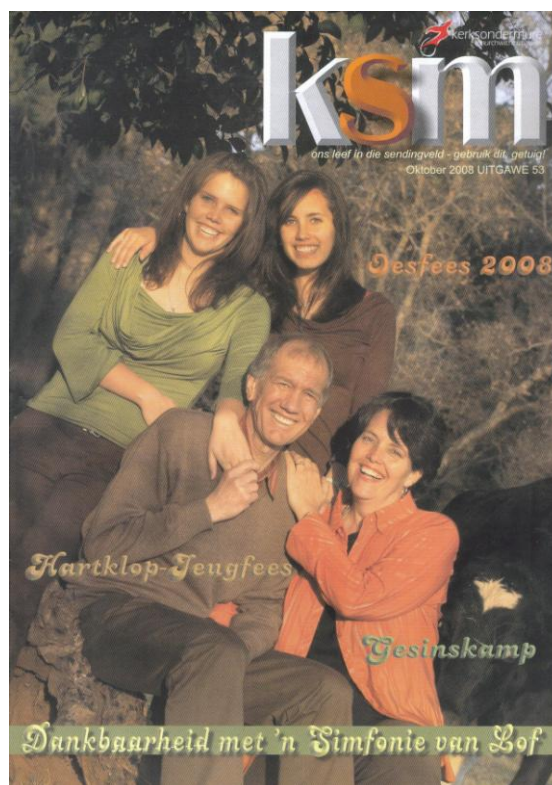

Figure 40: kerk*sonder*mure front cover of *ksm* magazine, October 2008.
(*ksm* 2008:1).

The photograph on the magazine cover shows a male figure surrounded by three women. The male figure is one of the ministers at kerk*sonder*mure, Dr Riaan Pienaar, and the women are his wife, who visibly wears a wedding ring, and daughters. They are all sitting outside under the trees (which hold connotations of closeness to nature in terms of the Harvest Festival) and from their physical proximity to one another one deduces that they are a close-knit family. As in Figure 39, all the members of the family have big smiles on their faces and typify the myth of the happy nuclear family. In this sense, the minister and his wife represent a heterosexual couple who have married and have had children – the conventional formula for the nuclear family, supporting compulsory heterosexuality and patriarchy. The portrayal of a family in conjunction with the Harvest Festival ties together ideas of gratefulness and abundance with notions of family values, as well as values of human multiplication – an idea which has an important place in Christian ideology. To the right of the family, there is a large black cow. This animal could be included here to connote ideas connected with the harvest, as well as wholesomeness and naturalness, but also signifies the agricultural roots of the Afrikaner people as farmers, or *boere*, who are considered to be humble people of the land.

The women in the photograph are not overly feminised, as they are only signified as female through their long hair, the jewellery and makeup that they are wearing and their breasts. The women are lovingly laying their hands on their father/husband's shoulder and the family is holding hands, acting as a sign of intimacy, love and adoration. In this sense the male figure appears as the venerated and respected patriarch of the family, a head of a household comprising women. His role as husband and father is conflated, and so are the roles of his wife and daughters.

As mentioned previously, the minister and his family are almost like public figures in a church community as everybody in the congregation knows who they are – hence their spot on the congregation's magazine. This family is often employed as a role model family in the church and sometimes has to endure critical scrutiny and even interference from the congregation members, especially when the wife or children are acting inappropriately in the eyes of the elders or leaders. The minister's family is thus idealised and stereotyped. A certain set of familial expectations rests on each member of this family. The minister is often viewed as a representation of God, or at least a human being who is believed to be very close to God, and is, therefore, expected to be a perfect father and husband, heading up a perfect, holy household. Similarly, the minister's wife, or *pastorievrou* (parish wife), represents idealised womanhood in Afrikaner culture (Viljoen & Viljoen 2005:99). With

such perfect ideal parents, the children are, resultantly, expected to exhibit only exemplary behaviour and both the minister and his wife are severely judged and criticised if this is not the case. Owing to these somewhat unattainable expectations, a minister's children are often believed to rebel against, not only their parents' authority and these impossible roles, but against the institutionalised church and religion itself.

Op pad (En route), Moreletapark's magazine, advertises a "*Pa & kind-kamp*" (Father and child camp) in their October issue of 2008 (Figure 41).[29] The camp advertisement contains a body of text and a photograph of a male adult hugging a child in front of him. Owing to the context of the photograph in the advertisement, one assumes that they are father and son. The father is wearing sunglasses, signifying that he is outside in the sunlight, and a t-shirt. His dress connotes a casual outdoors look and he is staring off into the distance in front of him. His son, the boy, is positioned nestled under his chin and appears to be of a different race than his father. This representation is rather strange in Moreletapark's context. As is the case with all the churches in this study, Moreletapark has practically no black congregation members, let alone mixed race couples and families. The participation of black people in the churches in this study is mainly through special African services, which are conducted in African languages and are therefore mostly unattended by the white, Afrikaans church members. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that Figure 41 constitutes a realistic portrayal of father-son relationships in kerk*sonder*mure.

Figure 41: Moreletapark "*Pa & Kind-kamp*" (Father and Child Camp) print advertisement in *Op pad* magazine, October 2008.
(*Op pad* 2008c:11).

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[29] This figure is printed in pink for the same reason discussed in footnote 20 above.

Like his presumed foster father, the boy is also staring out of the picture plane to the right. The fact that the two figures are staring off into the distance gives the idea that they are outside looking at something, enjoying the view, or surveying the landscape in a colonial-type gaze. The edges of the photograph containing the father and son are irregular and intruded upon by fine strokes from the outside of the frame. These fine lines could be understood to look analogous to thin blades of grass, also creating the sense that they are outside.

One recognises that this advertisement is not a feminised image, but appears rather masculine with its bold sans serif font and set structure. The layout is statically arranged into two blocks in a grid (the photograph on the left and the text block on the right) and there is little dynamism on the picture plane. The text invites fathers to come and enjoy the quiet of the bushveld with their sons or daughters in a little tent on a game farm (*wildsplaas*) near Kwaggasrus (see Figure 28 for discussion). The advertisement promises good food, activities and a camping spot for R600 per father-child pair. Figure 41 holds the same associations of masculine outdoorism, adventure and exploration as some of the figures in the previous section on physical activity and adventurism.

Figure 42 also represents an advertisement for the Father and child camp, but in the form of a flyer that was included in the printed Sunday service announcements. This flyer also has a fairly masculine design with the same bold, static sans serif font and rigid grid layout structure as in Figure 41. The light scribbling around the font for "*Pa en kind*" (father and child) and "*Navrae*" (Enquiries) shows some attempt to make the flyer appear less formal, but in its totality the flyer is quite serious for a camp where there will be playing, outdoor activities and sleeping in tents. From Figures 41 and 42 one notices that an emphasis is placed on father and child (son) bonding through physical activity. This emphasis is also seen in an advertisement for Father and Son Paintball (Figure 43) in Moreletapark's *Op pad* magazine of September 2008.

The flyer (Figure 42) has basically the same text as the advertisement in *Op pad* (Figure 41) and therefore has the same connotations as discussed previously. The flyer does, however, have a different photograph than the print advertisement. The photograph shows a man and what appears to be a very young boy standing with their backs to the viewer. As with the previous example we assume that they are father and son. We identify them both as male from their short haircuts, loose-fitting t-shirts and trousers. They appear to be standing on a hill top on the grass, outdoors, and the father is pointing at something in the

distance in front of him with his right hand. When inspected closely, he also seems to be wearing sunglasses, connoting that he is outdoors in the sunlight, like the father in the print advertisement for this camp. In front of the father-son pair there is a big open sky filled with clouds, connoting possibility and future, as in Figures 12, 13, 19, 21, 28 and 34.

Figure 42: Moreletapark "*Pa en kind-kamp*"
(Father and child camp) flyer.

What is noteworthy in terms of these two advertisements (Figures 41 and 42) for the Moreletapark father and child camp, is that although the text takes pains to point out that fathers can bring their sons and/or daughters to the camp, the photographs used in the advertisements suggest something else. Not a single girl is depicted in these advertisements. Fathers appear to be camping with their sons, and not their 'children' – the inclusive term used in an attempt to be gender-neutral. The fact that camping fathers are only portrayed with their sons conveys the stereotypical idea that girls would prefer not to go camping, for this would mean getting dirty and giving up comforts. In this context, the text, which merely pays lip service to gender inclusivity, gives the idea that girls would be tolerated at the camp if they were to decide to go, which seems unlikely, or more

importantly, if a father does not have a male child to bring along. One suspects that the attempt at gender-neutrality in these advertisements is not for the sake of daughters, but for the sake of son-less fathers, who would be excluded from the camping activity, were it a father and son camp. In both Figures 41 and 42 one sees fathers portrayed in a public context of physical endurance and challenge, as described by Prinsloo (2006:134). Figures 41 and 42, therefore, perpetuate myths of male physical prowess, male propensity towards outdoor activity as well as male conquest of nature. These myths are enforced in a parental context where bonding happens between fathers and their sons. These masculinity myths support the myth that the female is the weaker, less active and more domesticated sex, and are therefore also an ideology of male physical dominance.

Figure 43: Moreletapark "*Pa en Seun Paintball*" (Father and Son Paintball) print advertisement in *Op pad* magazine, September 2008.
(*Op pad* 2008b:9).

The final figure for the theme of fatherhood is a file for materials used in Moreletapark's Baptism[30] Course (*Doopkursus*) (Figure 44). The bottom of the file is populated by various human figures. To the left there is an adult woman holding a baby. From the context of the file, we assume she is the newborn child's mother and she is wearing a wedding ring. The woman's eyes are closed and she gently and lovingly embraces her precious new baby. She is dressed in white and the baby is wrapped in white towel, which symbolises the purity and innocence of the newborn. To the right there is an adult male also holding a baby; one assumes that he is the father of the child. He is dressed in a masculine button-up shirt. The baby has a sweater on and appears to be asleep on its father's chest, who is

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[30] The Dutch Reformed Church believes in infant baptism, as opposed to adult baptism which is practised by Doxa Deo. The Dutch Reformed Church views infant baptism as a dedication of the child to God. The child has no say in the matter and the initiative is believed to lie with God who welcomes the child into the family of the church. Doxa Deo, as an Apostolic Faith Mission church, believes that the decision to dedicate one's life to God lies with the individual, who then has an opportunity to do so when he or she feels ready spiritually. This form of adult baptism is called "*groot doop*" in Afrikaans and is heavily opposed by the Dutch Reformed Church, which views the practice as Pentecostal and charismatic.

looking down on it adoringly. At the very bottom of the composition there are two curved lines, one thick and one thin, superimposed over a book, which one presumes to be the Bible. Two stylised doves that look quite similar to those found on the Moreletapark logo, are superimposed over the Bible and the curved lines. One dove is solid and the other is a mere outline. Doves, in a Christian context, connote the Holy Spirit, as well as peace and new beginnings. Judging from the content of this file children are believed to be precious gifts from God.

The colours used on the Baptism Course file are mainly white, blue, grey and pink and orange pastels. It can be argued that these are more feminised colours than those used in the other figures in this chapter. This file also appears more feminine than the other figures, owing to the use of a cursive font. Cursive font, it seems, is only used, to a limited extent, in a quarter of the figures analysed as representing masculinity in this chapter.

Figure 44: Moreletapark "*Doopkursus*" (Baptism Course) file.

A visual separation between mother and father is constructed on the file. In fact, one can not even be sure that they are a couple. From left to right the photograph on the file represents its human figures in the following sequence: mother-baby-baby-baby-baby-father. The assumed parents appear to be literally connected by the children, and the babies outnumber the parents in this figure. This over abundance of babies on the Baptism Course material is rather peculiar given the fact that families in the Dutch Reformed Church seldom baptise more than one baby at a time unless they are twins. This is because Dutch Reformed parents baptise their babies within the first couple of months after their birth. Siblings born apart are practically never allowed the opportunity to be baptised together, unless there are extenuating circumstances involved.[31] Nevertheless, four babies seem to be somewhat of an overstatement of the Christian virtues of reproduction in this case.

The Baptism Course file is the only unit of analysis in the data set collected for this study which depicts a man with a baby. Although portrayed as such, the father in this file forms a rather small part of the composition. In literal terms, only about a quarter of his body is actually represented and he is much less prominent than the mother figure. This practice reinforces the stereotypical, patriarchal and essentialist idea that women are the primary caregivers to children and that fathers are not as important in this equation as mothers are. As discussed previously, these views form the basis for the essentialist belief of parenting, whereby women are relegated to perpetual childcare roles. This low prominence of the father in this file, as well as the fact that there are no other representations of fathers with small children in the data set,[32] creates the impression that fathers in the churches in this study do not engage in 'new fathering' practices. This impression is significant, as the literature suggests that 'new fathers' are an affluent middle-class phenomenon. The church members of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo are, almost without exception, affluent, middle-class, white Afrikaans-speakers from Pretoria East and Centurion suburbia. This poses the question as to why men are not represented as involved with infant childcare, as given their demographic positioning they are quite likely, in theory, to engage in 'new fathering'. It could be that the churches espouse conservative values around traditional, essential parenting and patriarchal notions of the proper, nuclear family, which is further investigated in Chapter Four.

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[31] What is common in terms of the joint baptising of siblings is that newly-converted parents, in this case, often baptise the entire brood together at once, as they did not believe in this ritual when the children were newborns.
[32] As will be discussed in Chapter Four, women are far more frequently shown with infants than men are.

To summarise the findings regarding the representation of masculinity thus far one notes that calm and uncluttered layouts are preferred, using stereotypically masculine colours and bold, static fonts. Unlike mainstream media representations of masculinity, one does not see a range of masculinities represented in the visual culture of Moreletapark, kerk*sondem*ure and Doxa Deo, but one preferred masculinity, namely white, middle-class, heterosexual Christian masculinity. Therefore, as in the mainstream media (Prinsloo 2006:134), the data from the three selected churches show a representational preference for dominant masculinity. Dominant masculinity's pervasive power is enshrined by prolific media representation (MacKinnon 2003; Craig 1992), and this seems to be the case in the three churches in this study as well. MacKinnon (2003:9) believes that hegemonic or dominant masculinity is embedded in representational practice in general. Posner (1995:22) further asserts that the West has enormous investment in mainstream masculinity: white, heterosexual and dominant. In this regard, the churches in this study appear to participate in Western conceptions about dominant masculinity, as they also hold up this brand of masculinity as an ideal to their audiences, or congregations, by giving it representational priority, or by lending it legitimacy through signification.

The hegemonic masculine masquerade (Brod 1995:13) is upheld and maintained in these churches and men are portrayed as having archetypal functions as heroic protectors/providers, especially in their adventurous physical activities, their careers and in their families. In line with Viljoen's (2009) findings, the symbolic burden of public labour is placed on men in the visual culture of the three selected churches. The dominant form of masculinity shown in the visual communication of these churches, therefore, constitutes a masculine Christian ideal. As with most ideals, this ideal is likely to be unattainable, and as I argue in Chapter Four, the representation of dominant masculinity emphasised in the three selected churches is likely to be incongruent with real life gender experiences of the men (and women) in these churches.

Male ontology is constructed in the visual culture of Moreletapark, kerk*sondem*ure and Doxa Deo as physically active – an orientation concerned with bodily activity, not bodily appearance. As mentioned previously, the mainstream media reinforces *and* destabilises dominant understandings of masculinity simultaneously (McKay *et al* 2005:284). The churches in this study only reinforce such dominant understandings, without challenging hegemonic masculine norms. I have argued, throughout this chapter, that ideologies of capitalism, patriarchy and masculinism are produced and reproduced in the data collected for this study. One also sees hints of compulsory heterosexualism in the emphasis on a

dominant form of masculinity, as well as on same sex socialisation between parent and child and traditional family structures.

A further emphasis is placed on men's public lives, especially in relation to their careers and individual pursuits for success. Indeed, the myth of the lone male hero pursuing the "heroic project" features prominently. Men are also more commonly conceptualised as leaders, heads and breadwinners. Little emphasis is placed on male relationships, apart from the father-son relationship, which is portrayed in relation to male bonding and masculine sexual socialisation activities, such as camping and outdoor adventure. Viljoen (2011:324) maintains, that in *MaksiMan*, "sport serves as an entry point into the difficult business of fatherhood". This appears to be the case in Moreletapark and kerk*sonder*mure as well, as many of the images associated with fatherhood contain references to physical activity. The data in this study differs from that of studies conducted on the mainstream media, in that fatherhood is represented fairly frequently (cf. Prinsloo 2006:132). A tendency to refer to fatherhood regularly is also found in *MaksiMan* (Viljoen 2011). Although fathers are not absent in the data in my study, there exists a type of absence of fathers from primary childcare, as is evident in the comparison between fatherhood and motherhood in this study (see Chapter Four).

In the following chapter the findings regarding the representation of masculinity in the three Afrikaans corporate churches discussed above are compared to the representation of femininity in the visual data collected from the three churches. Chapter Four therefore provides a further interpretation by considering how femininity is portrayed in relation to masculinity and by placing such portrayals in the context of broader discourses on gender, particularly those concerned with gendered ontology, labour and power relations in the family.