SIGNIFICANT OTHERS: A VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER IN THE AFRIKAANS CORPORATE CHURCH

by

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DECLARATION

Student number: 23073854

I declare that *Significant others: A visual analysis of the representation of gender in the Afrikaans corporate church* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Leandra Helena Koenig-Visagie

2 May 2012

"In the Lord, however, woman is not independent from man, nor is man independent from woman. For as woman came from man, so also man is born of woman. But everything comes from God"

(1 Corinthians 11:11 New International Version).

SUMMARY AND KEY TERMS

Title: Significant others: A visual analysis of the representation of gender in the Afrikaans
      corporate church

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Summary

This study explores how contemporary Afrikaans churches represent gender in their visual culture. For these purposes, a Barthean semiotic analysis is done on visual material produced between 2007 and 2008 by three Afrikaans corporate churches in the Pretoria-Centurion area, namely the Dutch Reformed congregations Moreletapark and kerk*sonder*mure ("church without walls"), and Doxa Deo's Brooklyn and East campuses – Afrikaans Apostolic Faith Mission congregations. The analysis seeks to demystify and denaturalise the material's potentially mythical, ideological and hegemonic underpinnings.

Operating from an interdisciplinary theoretical framework comprising aspects of Visual Culture Studies and Gender Studies, this study primarily provides a focused analysis of the representation of men and masculinity in the selected churches according to three themes, namely professional occupation and leadership; physical activity and adventurism; and fatherhood. This focus was adopted owing to the lack of available literature on men and masculinity in the church and Christianity, as opposed to the more ready availability of research on women and femininity. The representation of gender in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo is conceptualised in broad terms through a comparison of the representation of masculinity with femininity as its foil. In this regard gender is analysed in the three churches according to notions of gendered ontology and matters of work, marriage and family. Exscripted, or non-represented, themes are also problematised.

It is argued that the churches under investigation represent gender in dualistic, essentialist and often stereotypical terms. This particular depiction of gender attests to the churches' participation in the biological essentialising of gender, polarising men and women into strict binary dualisms, whilst also visually denying the existence of homosexuality and alternative sexualities. This tendency is problematic, not only because it fails to provide a realistic

portrayal of men and women in the three churches, but also because it visually participates in conservative and fundamentalist gender discourses.

Key terms: gender representation, men and masculinity, Afrikaans corporate church, Dutch Reformed Congregation Moreletapark, Dutch Reformed Congregation kerk*sonder*mure, Doxa Deo, Barthean semiotic analysis, church visual culture, essentialism, biological determinism, gendered binary oppositions, men's ministry, women's ministry, gendering of ministries, exscription.

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The kind support of the various leaders, communications officials and designers from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo is highly appreciated. I was humbled by these congregations' open willingness to participate in this study.

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How does one thank a spouse who was never exasperated by endless nights and weekends of studying? Who patiently supplied coffee, meals, pep talks, the occasional shoulder and afternoon walks to keep me sane? Who in the final days of the writing of this dissertation placed chocolate bunnies on my desk, to keep me positive about staying in front of my computer? Coenrad, I am overwhelmed by your love.

This study is dedicated to my grandmother, Aletta Emerentia Koenig[†] (*Ouma Lettie*), who saw the beginning of this study, but, unfortunately, not the completion.

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[1] In some instances dates are not indicated for Figures in this list. If this is case it has not been possible to establish the exact time of creation of the figure and it can thus be understood to form part of the data sample drawn, which represents 2007-2008. This results from the informal manner in which the churches in this study archive their visual material. For discussion in this regard, see Chapter Five.

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and need for the study

> Enough ink has been spilled in quarrelling over feminism, and perhaps we should say no more about it. It is still talked about, however, for the voluminous nonsense uttered during the last century seems to have done little to illuminate the problem (De Beauvoir 1972:13).

Many of the issues raised by feminism have not been resolved. French feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray (1993:5) describes the problems surrounding sex differences and relations as the issue of the current age. The continuing topicality of feminism is evident in the new streams of enquiry it has birthed, most notably Queer Studies and Masculinity Studies, both concerned with "the problem", as Simone De Beauvoir (1972:13) puts it, of gender. Since 1994 and the advent of democracy, racial and gender transformation have been on the agenda in every sphere of South African society, including the religious sphere. This study seeks to determine the way in which three contemporary Afrikaans[1] corporate churches[2] represent gender to their members and to society in general. I will also reflect on the possible implications these representations may have for post-apartheid South Africa and its official move towards racial and gender transformation and integration in the country, especially since these are highlighted in the South African constitution.

Religious traditions and practices are generally viewed as sacred by their constituents and are not easily or openly contested. Historical Christian and church imagery is believed to be instructive and prescriptive and against this background the demands contemporary church imagery makes can also be considered hegemonic, especially in their prescriptions regarding preferred Christian gender roles and types. This study addresses what Ursula King (2006) calls the mutual blindness between Gender Studies and Religious Studies by exploring, describing and analysing the representation of gender in contemporary church

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[1] The terms "Afrikaans" and "Afrikaner" are used in this study to refer to white Afrikaans-speakers. It is, however, acknowledged that the three churches under consideration, namely kerk*sonder*mure, Doxa Deo and Moreletapark, are open to and accepting of people of other races and speakers of other languages, although these races are not represented prominently in the visual material under analysis in this study.

[2] The term "corporate church" is preferred to "mega church" in this study. The term "mega church", although preferred by the mainstream, is not frequently used in academia to define church size in South Africa, as this term is strongly associated with the large American tele-evangelical congregations. According to Dr Lourens Bosman (2009), minister at Lux Mundi congregation and occasional lecturer at the Department of Theology at the University of Pretoria, the only South African church which can be considered a mega church is the very large organisation Rhema. Dr Bosman believes that the term "corporate church" is a more suitable expression to describe the size and the nature of the three churches under consideration in this study.

imagery from a Visual Culture Studies perspective. For these purposes, a visual Barthean semiotic analysis is carried out on visual promotional material produced by three South African, Afrikaans, corporate churches. The analysis seeks to demystify and denaturalise the material's potentially mythical, ideological and hegemonic underpinnings. This study contributes to the field of Visual Culture Studies as it situates religion as part of visual cultural expression and because contemporary Christian visual culture enjoys little attention from researchers, especially in South Africa (see 1.4). Furthermore, the making and functioning of contemporary church or Christian imagery enjoys practically no attention from scholars,[3] which is in stark contrast with the rich tradition of investigation into religious imagery and its iconographies in Art History. This study is also particularly relevant to South African culture, and especially visual culture, owing to the central role religion has played, and perhaps still plays, in white Afrikaner identity formation.

Since the promotional material generated by churches today is generally not perceived as "high culture" but is rather thought of as mass media or "low culture", it falls outside the conventional art historical sphere of investigation, where it traditionally received most attention. Visual Culture Studies, with its roots in Culture Studies and Art History, its broad and inclusive notion of culture (Agger 1992:2-6), and its ready investigation into everyday symbolic and expressive practices (Lister & Wells 2001:61), can comfortably accommodate the topic under discussion here. In this study, religion is believed to be a form of cultural expression (Lemon 2001:356). The visual material produced by the churches investigated in this study is, therefore, considered as cultural artefacts produced in a religious setting. Not only does the material referred to in this study constitute the visual culture of the three churches, but it also forms part of the wider phenomenon of Christian popular culture as is visible in Christian bookstores, Christian television programmes and Christian magazines. It is also interesting to look at how the so-called Christian gender representations in this study correspond to mainstream gender representation in the mass media, as is considered later in Chapters Three and Four.

This study views church imagery as powerful and in need of interrogation owing, first, to the context in which it exists. The use and circulation of images in churches afford them a certain amount of religious authority. Even the spatial arrangement of a setting such as a church imposes a certain subject position on to all those present. Similarly, the imposing

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[3] Related work, and one of the few in this regard, are those of David Morgan, entitled *Visual piety. A history and theory of popular religious images* (1998), *Protestants and pictures: Religion, visual culture, and the age of American mass production* (1999), as well as *The visual culture of American religions* (2001) edited by Morgan and Promey.

nature of church architecture serves as a case in point, as does the traditional pulpit-pew arrangement on the inside of the building. In this sublime and authoritative context churchgoers receive and interpret imagery from a source of spiritual superiority – the church. Such images are, therefore, genealogically connected to the idea of church images as didactic moral instruction of the illiterate masses through warning and example. As South African religious systems are mostly inherited from Europe, one could assume that this genealogy is applicable to South Africa. Churches deal in the divine and, therefore, seek reverence, not contestation. Second, I consider church images to be powerful precisely because they are created with mythical and ideological meanings in mind, albeit subconsciously, which are enforced by their context. The need for this study is further underlined by a gender audit undertaken in 2007 and 2008 by the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, in association with the South African Council of Churches, in order to determine the status of gender transformation in South African churches.[4]

This study does not seek to explore the theological underpinnings of the representation of gender by the Afrikaans corporate churches in their visual material. It would be deficient, however, not to allude to the theological complexities thereof, as well as the great amount of theological research which has already been conducted on the issue of gender equality, specifically in terms of women in Christianity and in the church.[5] I would like to stress that the issues which underlie the research questions of this study are of a cultural and not a theological nature.

From the literature reviewed, a gap in research on the contemporary representation of gender in the church is recognised. This gap exists not only from a Visual Culture Studies perspective, but also from a theological and literary perspective, as most completed research focuses on the representation of Biblical figures by mainstream culture and representation of the gendered idea of Christ, as is further explored and contextualised in the literature review. Issues of gender in the Afrikaans church, especially beyond that which concerns the position of women and people of alternative sexualities, are also not commonly contested from inside South African theology, as is discussed below.

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[4] This audit formed part of a three-pronged study of gender in the church undertaken in Zambia, Malawi and South Africa, funded by Norwegian Church Aid. The South African study comprised church policy and doctrine review, and focus groups with church members and leaders (Norwegian Church Aid & Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness 2008:43-71).
[5] For example, Bailey (2000); Bruce (1982); Groothuis (2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b); Kaiser (2005); Lemen (2004); Para-Mallam (2001); and Wright (2006). For literature on women ministers in the church see Cornell (2003); Cramer (2003); and Swain (2002).

The scope of this study comprises visual material of three Afrikaans corporate churches from 2007 to 2008 in the Pretoria-Centurion area, namely the Dutch Reformed congregation Moreletapark (hereafter referred to as "Moreletapark"), kerk*sonder*mure[6] ("church without walls")[7] which was formerly known as the Dutch Reformed congregation Verwoerdburgstad) and Doxa Deo, a so-called 'charismatic' Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) Afrikaans church. The emphasis on the corporate church within this study is owing to the availability of researchable data. A vast amount of Afrikaans Christian congregations exist in the Pretoria-Centurion area, but many are too small in terms of members and resources to produce significant amounts of visual material for analysis. Therefore, corporate churches were selected because of their greater proliferation of visual communication.

The term "corporate church" refers to a congregation usually located in a city or large metropolitan area, which has an active membership numbering 350 to 500 or more persons, and that functions as a large organisation (Rothauge 1983:26; Oswald 1991; Mann 1998). All three of the churches considered in this study qualify as corporate churches based on their number of active members. Apart from their definitive size, corporate churches are known for their extensive programming; their small group or cell culture; their charismatic visionary head pastors; their use of corporate communication and branding strategies in order to create unity and identity in large, often fragmented congregations; as well as their command of massive resources. Employing the definition of the corporate church, as used by Arlin Rothauge (1983), Roy Oswald (1991) and Alice Mann (1998) in this study, also aids in understanding the nature of these churches. The characteristics and workings of the corporate church as manifested in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo are described in Chapter Two.

The nature of this study is qualitative and cross-sectional and, as previously stated, it considers visual material from the three churches from 2007 to 2008. Although a longitudinal study might prove to be equally interesting, this particular cross-section is relevant in determining the contemporary representation of gender in the church. It would be equally important to enquire about the representation of gender in other denominations represented in the Pretoria-Centurion area, but such an extension to the topic is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

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[6] This is the church's preferred spelling of their name – with no capital letter and the word "sonder" in italics.
[7] Please note that I have made all translations from Afrikaans to English in this dissertation.

Although this study investigates how gender is represented by three Afrikaans corporate churches, it focuses on the representation of men and masculinity.[8] In general, investigations into the representation of masculinity are scarce, especially when compared to the availability of studies on the representation of femininity, and even more so in a religious context (Conradie 2004:149). Furthermore, various studies on the topic of "women in the church" have been conducted,[9] also using South African data,[10] but the topic of "men in the church" or "men in Christianity" remains under-researched. The *Journal of Men, Masculinities and Spirituality*, established in 2007 does, however, present work on masculinity and Christianity from time to time. Only one study from South Africa dealing with masculinity in an Afrikaans church context is known to exist – Gert Cloete's (2001) Masters dissertation, entitled: *Alternatiewe sieninge van man-wees* (Alternative views of being a man). Cloete's dissertation investigates the influence that dominant social discourses on masculinity exercise on Dutch Reformed men's perceptions of what it means to "be a man". Stella Viljoen's (2008) doctoral research entitled, *New masculinities in a vernacular culture: a comparative analysis of two South African men's lifestyle magazines*, also deals in part with Afrikaner Christian masculinity through her investigation of the, now defunct, Afrikaans Christian magazine, *MaksiMan*. Viljoen (2011:311) believes that for the brief time that the magazine existed, "it offered a unique window onto aspects of Afrikaner Christian masculinity".

Studies on the representation of femininity in Christianity have been relatively well researched. For example, Art History has investigated the depiction of the Virgin Mary (Miles 1992; Katz & Orsi 2001; Wright 2006), Media Studies has considered the depiction of women in religious television (Abelman 1991) and Feminist Theology has looked into the representation of women in Early Christianity (Tulloch 2004). Few studies specifically focused on the representation of contemporary Christian masculinity exist. Owing to this gap in the research, as well as the fact that gender in the church and in Christianity is quite frequently investigated from a feminist and Women's Studies perspective, I choose to employ a slightly different focus and theoretical point of departure. This study therefore concentrates on the representation of masculinity in the church and takes its theoretical motivation from Masculinity Studies, as well as from some aspects of Feminist Theory.

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[8] In this study references to "men and masculinity" and "masculinity" are used interchangeably. Where representation is concerned "men" or the "male body" are considered the main carriers of masculinity. The same principle is applied to references to "women and femininity" and "femininity".

[9] The focus in research on the experiences of women in the church is also a symptom of the common conflation of gender with women (Shefer, Ratele, Srebel, Shabalala & Buikema 2007:1).

[10] See, amongst others, Duff (2006); Holness (1997); Makoro (2007); Pieterse (2002); Ralphs and Kretzschmar (2003); Sparrow (2006); Swemmer, Kritzinger and Venter (1998); Van Helden (2002); Van Rensburg (2002); and Van Schalkwyk (2006).

With its concentration on masculinity, this study investigates the representation of masculinity in the Afrikaans corporate church according to three themes considered central to the construction of dominant heterosexual masculinity: firstly, professional occupation and leadership; secondly physical activity and adventurism; and thirdly, fatherhood. The themes of masculinity representation in this study, derived from various sources in the literature, are all considered to be markers of masculinity, as is discussed in Chapter Three, and are portrayed prominently in the visual sample obtained from the selected churches. A general theoretical background to each theme is provided in Chapter Three.

Whilst this study mainly focuses on the representation of masculinity, the representation of femininity is also considered as it relates to that of masculinity. This relationship between the representation of masculinity and the representation of femininity is explored in Chapter Four, which considers the representation of gender in the Afrikaans corporate church in a broad sense. It is recognised that breaking down the concept "gender" into simply "the masculine" and "the feminine" is highly problematic. I believe, however, that this essentialist breakdown of gender into male and female poles is appropriate in the context of this study.

1.2 Aims and research questions

The aim of this study is primarily to describe and critically analyse the representation of gender in the three Afrikaans corporate churches through a Barthean visual semiotic analysis of their visual material. The representation of the masculine is focused on, but it is from contrasting the representation of both masculinity and femininity in the churches that the most significant conclusions regarding the representation of gender, especially in terms of the creation of binary oppositions, the portrayal of stereotypes and the support of essentialism, may be drawn. David Collinson and Jeff Hearn (2001:150) believe that an "analysis of men and masculinities is likely to be enhanced … when the relation between women and femininity is acknowledged". Masculinity and femininity should be considered in tandem in a Gender Studies investigation, as it is theoretically accepted that masculinity and femininity are constructed in relation, and often in opposition to each other, especially in the semiotic approach (Connell 2001:33). Collinson and Hearn (2001:150) warn, however, that a dedicated and nuanced focus on masculinities could become "a new, and perhaps more sophisticated means of forgetting women, of losing women from analysis and politics". I doubt that this is the case in Masculinity Studies, as through the course of

its development, it has proved itself to be self-critical in this regard. The manner in which Masculinity Studies focuses on identifying, describing and problematising "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 2001:38) reveals its self-critical nature, as it succeeds in this area in laying bare the latent power of men. Certain scholars (e.g., Posner 1995:22; MacKinnon 2003:ix; McKay, Mikosza & Hutchins 2005:170) would also argue that it is precisely because men and masculinity are invisible and taken for granted, that men enjoy privilege and power. For these reasons, an investigation into men and masculinity is not only in order, but also necessary to the feminist agenda of destabilising patriarchy.

The practice of analysing masculinity in contrast to femininity finds application in the recent doctoral study on masculinity in South African magazine culture by Viljoen (2008) mentioned above. Her investigation is mainly concerned with masculinity, but also pays attention to how femininity is constructed, and the meaning this construction implies for masculinity in the two men's magazines she investigates. The decision to concentrate on the representation of masculinity in my study also serves to limit the scope of this dissertation purposefully, whilst allowing a detailed analysis to take place within the chosen theoretical and methodological framework.

As previously mentioned, this study aims to draw aspects of Gender Studies and Feminist Theory, as well as Men's and Masculinity Studies, into a South African Christian context, and to place the issue of Afrikaner identity construction's connection to religion in the context of Visual Culture Studies. This study also, ultimately, considers the visual material of these three churches in light of a greater postmodern, global, Westernised culture within which it functions. The main research question of the study is therefore: How is gender represented in the visual material of three Afrikaans corporate churches and what meanings and implications do these representations hold for the changing society in which they function? Other research questions include:

- How does the representation of masculinity occur in the visual material of the churches according to three themes considered central to social and cultural notions of masculinity?
- How do various socially constructed myths of masculinity manifest in the themes derived from the visual data and what ideological meanings are embodied by them?
- Is gender articulated, in the visual communication under investigation, by constructing the feminine as the opposite to the masculine, and the masculine as the opposite to the feminine?

To sum up, this study aims to provide:

- an overview of the relevant literature and a description of an applicable theoretical framework from Visual Culture Studies and Gender Studies.
- a brief overview of the background of the three Afrikaans corporate churches, focusing on their history, functioning as corporate churches, men's and women's ministries and gender ideologies.
- an introduction and theorisation of the issue of the visual representation of masculinity, as well as its accompanying myths.
- an introduction and theorisation of the concept "gender and Christianity" with specific focus on "masculinity and Christianity".
- a critical visual semiotic analysis of the representation of masculinity in the visual culture of three Afrikaans corporate churches, according to three themes.
- a brief analysis of the way in which the representation of femininity is constructed in contrast to that of masculinity, and an analysis of the representation of gender in the churches in broad terms.

The analysis presented in this study seeks to uproot the mythical, ideological and hegemonic undercurrents of the representation of gender in the Afrikaans corporate church. Led by the analysis of the data and as a response to the research questions stated above, I wish to test the assumption that the selected churches represent gender in dualistic, essentialist and often stereotypical terms, and that this representation attests to the churches' participation in the biological essentialising of gender, which polarises men and women into strict binary dualisms.

1.3 Research methodology

This study is conducted as a qualitative semiotic visual analysis and critique of visual material from the three Afrikaans corporate churches selected according to specific criteria, which are stated below. The research methodology firstly consists of a review of the relevant existing literature, which it draws from and seeks to build on. Secondly, an appropriate theoretical framework is constructed from the two intersecting fields in this study, namely Visual Culture Studies and Gender Studies. The theories outlined below are applied to the analysis of the study's data in Chapters Three and Four. A broad theoretical framework is discussed below, and a contextualisation of the three themes of the representation of masculinity is provided in Chapter Three. Contextualisations such as

this, as well as that of the three churches in Chapter Two, form part of a methodological strategy of incorporating an iconographical concern for context into this study – a decision which is justified in the theoretical framework below.

Thirdly, the research methodology consists of a visual semiotic analysis of the selected samples of visual material from the three churches. The three themes of masculinity are interpreted, situated in and critiqued from the existing theoretical discourse surrounding them in Chapter Three. The data collected was analysed according to Barthes's approach to visual semiotic analysis. Each visual or multi modal text collected which met the sampling criteria discussed below, was treated as a unit of analysis (Du Plooy 2009:56) and coded according to the levels of semiotic meaning discussed below in the theoretical framework. Finally, the previously formulated research questions are answered based on the semiotic analysis and tested against the theory.

A purposive availability sample (Du Plooy 2009:123) of visual material from 2007 to 2008 was drawn from the three Afrikaans churches according to the following criteria: the material must be visual communication, or multi modal texts, and must therefore contain an image or both an image and text, and the material must also contain references to gender, either in the form of depictions of male and/or female figures, or in references to masculinity and/or femininity. These sampling criteria also assist in limiting the scope of the research.

Data collection occurred along the following lines. Communication officials from the three Afrikaans churches were contacted and consulted on the availability of visual material meeting the sampling criteria. A preliminary sample was drawn of such visual material during the proposal phase in 2008 in order to determine the feasibility of this study in terms of availability and accessibility of data. The three participating churches could make data available from 2007 and 2008, which is all they had archived in some meaningful and systematic manner. From this preliminary sample I found that enough visual material which meets the sampling criteria existed and was accessible, though not without some limitations, as is discussed in Chapter Five.

As this preliminary sample was sufficient I decided to adopt it as the study's actual data sample. With the help of the communications officials at the three churches I made a review of all visual material available in order to locate all visual data which met the sampling criteria. Another reason why I decided to use the 2007-2008 sample obtained in

the proposal phase is because the churches, although co-operative, do not concentrate on lending support towards academic studies, especially ones such as a gender study that might provide critique of their practices. The preliminary sampling process alone took two months in terms of planning, preparation, arranging meetings with the churches' communications officials and execution. As the procedures followed were thorough and the sample obtained sufficient, I viewed repeating this lengthy process as an unnecessary expenditure of time. I believe this to have been a good decision, as the next step was to obtain written permission from the churches to use their visual materials, as well as their names in this dissertation and in subsequent academic publications (see Appendices 1-3). Obtaining signed permission letters from all three of the churches took a total of six months. Further sampling would thus have delayed the completion of these administrative processes, as well as this dissertation.

1.4 Literature review

Over the past two decades there appears to have been a trend in research on the representation of gender,[11] especially by the media (e.g., Craig 1992; Nixon 1997; Adams 2003; Foxhall & Salmon 1998; MacKinnon 2003; Schubart & Gjelsvik 2004; Prinsloo 2006). Current research on the representation of gender in the media, according to my research, focuses mainly on the following three areas, namely: film (e.g., Claydon 2005; Hunter 2005; Powrie, Davies & Babington 2004; Lauzen & Dozier 2005); the print media (e.g., Jiwani 2005); and television broadcasting, which focuses mainly on media effects (e.g., Hendriks 2002) and programme content (e.g., Cuklanz & Moort 2006; McCabe & Akass 2006; Agirre 2011).

The area of research on the representation of gender by the media in which the most exhaustive research has been conducted is that of the print media, especially in terms of gender representation in magazines (e.g., Benwell 2003; Crewe 2003; Frisby & Engstroom 2006; Laden 2001; Martinson, Hinnant & Martinson 2008; McRobbie 2000; Royo-Vela, Aldás-Manzano, Küster-Boludo & Vila-Lopez 2007; Viljoen 2008). Research on the representation of gender in magazines can be further divided into research on the representation of gender on magazine covers (Kitch 2001; Yunjuan & Xioaming 2007),

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[11] For example, Davis and Van Driel (2005); Lewis (1995); and Whiteley and Rycenga (2006). The representation of gender in Victorian times has also enjoyed much attention from researchers, such as Finch (1991); Kestner (1995); and Langlinais (2005).

print advertisements in magazines (Ferguson, Kreshel & Tinkham 1990; Morris 2006) and magazines for adolescent girls (Sengupta 2006; Sypeck, Gray & Ahrens 2004).

My study falls in the intersection of the abovementioned prolific research on gender representation and research on the relationship between gender and religion, in the specific area of *the representation of gender in religion*. The topic of gender and religion also seems to have undergone much scrutiny over the past decade, producing a body of research[12] almost equal to that of the representation of gender as such. Research on the representation of gender in religion explores this subject as it manifests in various religions, including: Islam (Hortaçsu & Ertürk 2003; Kahf 1999; Matar 1996; Moallem 2008; Dwyer, Shah & Sanghera 2008); The Church of the Latter Day Saints, or *Mormonism* (Morin & Guelke 1998); Buddhism (Georgieva 1996); religions which practice goddess-worship (Eller 2000); Hinduism (Georgeson 1992); and Christianity (Bartlett 1995; Giles 2002; Milne 2002). Research on the representation of gender in Christianity occurs furthermore in three main streams, namely the representation of Christian gender in the mainstream media (Abbot 2006; Abelman 1991; Warren 2002); the representation of Biblical male or female figures (Bergmann 2007; De Jong 1991; Exum 1996; Kallis 2002; Riegel & Kaup 2005; Tulloch 2004); and, the gendered representation and sexuality of Christ (Horowitz 1979; Johnson 1984; Steinberg 1983).

As is apparent from the above outline of the literature, there has been a significant amount of research on the intersecting areas of this study, namely gender representation, gender and religion and representation of gender in religion. Very little of this research has, however, been directed at the representation of gender in the visual communication of the contemporary church, especially in South Africa, and there is no available research, to my knowledge, on the representation of gender in the visual communication of the Afrikaans church. It is this particular gap in the discourse around the representation of gender in religion which this study seeks to fill.

As mentioned previously, this study investigates gender representation from a Masculinity Studies perspective as an alternative to the common focus on women's issues and feminist frameworks employed in research on gender and religion. The investigation of the representation of masculinity is a fairly new field of enquiry, which grew in popularity

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[12] For example, Cramer (2003); Hacket (1998); Harrison (2007); King and Beattie (2004); Landman (1994; 2007); Morin and Guelke (1998); Pechilis (2008); Stenhouse (2006); Trousdale (2005); Valantasis (2006); and Winter (2003).

amongst researchers in the mid 1990s. The development of this new research stream is considered here briefly. One of the earliest considerations of the representation of masculinity in the media can be found in prominent media theorist, John Fiske's foundational work on television media, *Television culture* (1987). In a chapter entitled: "Gendered television: masculinity", Fiske (1987:198-223) details how masculinity is constructed and portrayed in the popular television series, *The A-Team* (Asheley, Cannell & Lupo 1983-1987). Fiske maintains that action television shows are a masculine type of television, as opposed to soap opera, which is a feminine type of television. In the following decade, the first dedicated volume on masculinity in the media, *Men, masculinity and the media. Research on men and masculinities*, appeared in 1992, edited by Steve Craig.

In 1993, Art History turned its attention to the issue of the representation of masculinity in the form of Carol Duncan's collection of essays, *The aesthetics of power. Essays in critical Art History*. In this collection, Duncan (1993:27-56) dedicates an essay to the portrayal of fathers as masculine embodiments of authority in pre-revolutionary French art. Shortly after Duncan's compilation, the first work dedicated specifically to the representation of masculinity in the visual arts appeared in 1995 as a collection of essays inspired by an exhibition at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with the name, *The masculine masquerade. Masculinity and representation*. The collection of essays, edited by Andrew Perchuk and Helaine Posner, considers the representation of masculinity in contemporary art with a focus on the representation of homosexual masculinity. In the same year, John Lash (1995) published *The hero. Manhood and power*, which considers representations of the male hero throughout Art History. By 1997, Abigail Solomon-Godeau cemented Art History's interest in the topic of masculinity representation in her book, *Male trouble. A crisis in representation*. Similarly, the inclusion of a chapter by Sean Nixon devoted to the representation of masculinity in a volume edited by Stuart Hall (1997), entitled *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, proves the growing significance of the topic to Culture and Media Studies.

Research into the representation of masculinity in the new millennium became more specialised. Masculinity as portrayed in men's magazine culture received increased attention, especially from scholars such as Benthen Benwell (2003), Ben Crewe (2003), and Viljoen (2008). The portrayal of masculine characters in film also received attention

from various scholars.[13] In *Representing men. Maleness and masculinity in the media*, Kenneth MacKinnon (2003) provides a broad theorisation of the representation of masculinity in the media by genre, by considering masculinity in film, television, advertising and mediated sport.

Building on what are now considered the foundational works on Masculinity Studies by authors such as RW Connell (1995; 2001) and Stephen Whitehead (2002), Masculinity Studies has developed a strong presence in South African gender research. In this regard, work by Robert Morrell (1996; 1997; 2001; 2002; 2006)[14] features prominently. One of the first collections of works on South African masculinity is edited by Morrell (2001), namely *Changing men in Southern Africa*, and investigates a wide range of masculinities of both European and African descent in Southern Africa. A subsequent collection of work is *Men behaving differently. South African men since 1994*, edited by Graeme Reid and Liz Walker (2005). Morrell, with Linda Richter (2006), compiled another book on South African masculinity, which is specifically dedicated to fatherhood, entitled *Baba. Men and fatherhood in South Africa*. A recent volume on young South African masculinities has also seen the light (Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema 2007).

Although under-researched, the topic of masculinity in Christianity has been considered by scholars investigating the contemporary American Christian men's movement known as the Promise Keepers (see Chapter Three). Most prominent of these authors is renowned gender scholar, Susan Faludi. In Faludi's (2000) groundbreaking and popular book on American masculinity, *Stiffed. The betrayal of modern man*, she presents research on the Promise Keepers, which includes an ethnographic look at the members of this influential movement in their domestic and local settings. Michael Kimmel (1997); Louise B Silverstein, Carl F Auerbach, Loretta Grieco and Faith Dunkel (1999); and Bryan Brickner (1999) have also contributed to research on The Promise Keepers phenomenon. Notably, Dane Claussen (2000) has edited a collection of works by various authors entitled *The Promise Keepers. Essays on masculinity and Christianity*, as did John P Bartkowski (2004) in a collection named *The Promise Keepers. Servants, soldiers and godly men*. The Promise Keepers phenomenon is widely believed to find its roots in an earlier Christian men's movement called Muscular Christianity, which has received interrogation from various historians, such as Tony Ladd and James Mathisen (1999), and Clifford Putney

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[13] In this regard, see amongst others Barker (2006); Gates (2006); Holmlund (2002); Lehman (2001); Powrie, Davies and Babington (2004); and Spicer (2001).
[14] Also see, more recently, Morrell and Hearn (2012) and Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012).

(2001). The link between Muscular Christianity, rugby and masculine identity construction is also considered to some extent in *Making men. Rugby and masculine identity*, edited by Timothy Chandler and John Nauright (1996). A handful of South African scholars – Broodryk (2010); Du Plessis and Maree (2009); Viljoen (2008); and, Viljoen and Koenig-Visagie (2011) – have recently conducted research focusing on masculinity and Christianity.

While a helpful literature background exists on masculinity and Christianity based on the Promise Keepers and on Muscular Christianity, these bodies of related research investigate two white, American and British Christian fundamentalist men's movements. The fact that these are the most prominent concentrations of literature available is problematic. Arguably, not all Christian-based masculinities are fundamentalist. Furthermore, Christianity is as wide-spread and hegemonic as Western belief systems themselves and therefore finds application in various localities with varied implications for religious gender beliefs. This phenomenon also points to a lack of description of "vernacular masculinities", as Viljoen (2008:ii) uses the term, in research on men and masculinities.

1.5 Theoretical framework of study

A dual theoretical approach, comprising Visual Culture Studies and Gender Studies is employed in this study. Visual Culture Studies is the broader theoretical milieu in which this study is situated and within this area the study of representation and semiotics is concentrated on as the main theoretical approach. Gender Studies is used as an interpretive theoretical approach with a specific focus on Masculinity Studies as well as selected relevant ideas from Feminist Theory. In the first part of this section I provide a brief introduction to Visual Culture Studies followed by an exposition of representation and semiotics as a theoretical approach. In the latter part of this section I provide an overview of the central theoretical ideas in Masculinity Studies, as well as a consideration of certain applicable ideas from Feminist Theory.[15]

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[15] The discussions of literature and theory provided in this chapter serve as broad contextualisations of the topics and issues in this study, some of which are returned to in Chapter Three.

1.5.1 Visual Culture Studies

As mentioned previously, this study falls in the broader theoretical area of Visual Culture Studies, an interdisciplinary approach founded on Cultural Studies, which considers "the visual" as primary and central to culture (Bal 2003:6; Lister & Wells 2001:62-63). WJT Mitchell (1994:11) views this primary concern with the visual as co-incidental with what he calls "the pictorial turn". This idea is taken further in Visual Culture Studies and culminates in the conception that culture is primarily visual (Bal 2003:6). One of the main concerns and interests of Visual Culture Studies is visual representation. Jeanne van Eeden (2010:6) maintains that, "[c]ultural studies holds that the world is constituted by representations that operate from positions of power and that texts are never neutral or transparent". In the next subsection, I consider Stuart Hall's (1997) views on representation, as well as a theoretical and methodological approach commonly connected with the analysis of visual representation, semiotics. Visual Culture Studies lends itself well to a study such as the one undertaken for this dissertation, which crosses disciplinary boundaries between Gender Studies and Religious Studies. Owing to Visual Culture Studies' interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature, it often takes as its prerogative the right to combine and appropriate theoretical frameworks and methodologies from various fields and disciplines. The integrity of the field of Visual Culture Studies lies in the responsibility with which researchers and scholars appropriate such frameworks and methodologies (Lister & Wells 2001:64). Its eclectic tendencies are often considered a strength, as Visual Culture Studies is seldom prescriptive in terms of the use of theories and methodologies (Lister & Wells 2001:90). I, therefore, seek to combine theoretical frameworks and methodologies to form a relevant and applicable approach to this study, which is outlined later in this section.

An important aspect of Visual Culture Studies to note for the purposes of this study is its inclusive notion of culture, which it inherited from Cultural Studies (Agger 1992:2-6). Like Culture Studies, it is interested in problematising and investigating the "everyday" and the "ordinary", whereby it takes everyday and ordinary visual cultural artefacts as material for analysis, a characteristic practice, which dates back to Walter Benjamin's Arcades Project from 1927-1940. Nicholas Mirzoeff (1998:3), a contemporary Visual Culture theorist, famously states that Visual Culture Studies investigates a variety of aspects of visual culture "from oil painting to the internet". Visual Culture Studies, with its Culture and Media Studies heritage, considers a wide range of textual practices and expressed and

represented experiences and takes a constructionist view of culture as constitutive (Lister & Wells 2001:61-62).

It should be noted that although Visual Culture Studies acknowledges its roots in Culture Studies, it does not see itself as "merely a specialized sub-division or extension of Culture Studies, but as a reworking of the whole field of concern" (Lister & Wells 2001:62) with a definite and dedicated focus on the visual aspects of culture. Similarly, Mieke Bal (2003:7) believes that "[i]nterdisciplinary study consists of *creating* a new object *that belongs to no one*". But it is also for its intensive focus on the visual that Visual Culture Studies receives critique, as not all culture and all experience can be explained through an analysis of the visual.[16]

As a result of this all-embracing definition of culture, Visual Culture Studies can support a study, such as this one, which investigates how churches represent gender to their congregation members and to the public. In Culture Studies, according to Martin Lister and Liz Wells (2001:61), "[c]ulture is taken to include everyday symbolic and expressive practices". Religion, as mentioned previously and for the purposes of this study, is believed to be a form of social and cultural expression (Lemon 2001:356). The visual communication produced by the churches investigated in this study is, therefore, considered to be a set of visually expressed cultural artefacts produced in a religious setting. In these terms the data obtained for this study, namely various visual materials such as brochures, posters, announcement pamphlets, newsletters and website imagery, are considered the visual communication of these churches and therefore also constitute the visual culture[17] of these churches. From a different perspective, these visual materials could also be considered to be the corporate communication of the churches and suitable methodologies and theoretical frameworks could be drawn from the field of Organisational and Corporate Communication for its analysis and interpretation. Visual Culture Studies, in its interdisciplinarity and inclusivity of various forms of visual culture is, however, more than sufficiently suited to accommodate a study of the data, which is considered to be symbolic expressions of culture and lends itself to an analysis of visual representation

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[16] Bal (2003:6) views this primary regard for the visual as a form of visual essentialism, which insist on the purity of images and desires "to stake out the turf of visuality against other media or semiotic systems".

[17] In recent years space itself has been considered as culturally constructed and a part of visual culture. Such notions of cultural space have formed the basis of certain investigations into visual culture and the emerging interest in spatialisation in Visual Culture Studies is hereby acknowledged. The physical space of the churches in this study will not be investigated as part of their visual culture, mostly because church buildings do not provide visual representations of men and women for gender analysis, as is the sampling criterion for the data as explained in section 1.3.

through semiotics. The compatibility of Visual Culture Studies and the study of representation and semiotics results from their shared constructionist view on culture and the production of meaning, which is considered below.

1.5.1.1 Representation

In Visual Culture Studies, images are understood to be representations (Lister & Wells 2001:64), and the study of representation through an investigation of visual language and visual culture is central to Visual Culture Studies. According to Hall (1997:16), "representation is the production of meaning through language". In this sense, representation is believed to refer to the description, depiction, portrayal or symbolising of something (Hall 1997:16) and the term is also used as such in this dissertation. Furthermore, the study of representation also takes a constructionist approach to how meaning is produced in culture and to representation itself as constitutive (Hall 1997:5-6) of (a) reality. In this field the opinion is held that everyday culture cannot be separated from the practices of representation, visual or otherwise, in that representations form part of broader social discourses (Hall 1997:6). According to MacKinnon (2003:23), "[t]he way we think about gender … is both reflected in and produced by the images that surround us in our culture".

Notions of representation have, however, changed dramatically over time.[18] I therefore acknowledge that other definitions, interpretations and applications of representation are also used in academia, but for the aims of this study representation is used as it is conceptualised and employed by Culture Studies, especially in the work of Hall (1997) and with a focus on visual semiotics as theorised by Barthes (1972; 1977) as a mode of analysis.

The study of meaning in representation has become prominent as part of what Hall (1997:2) calls a greater "cultural turn" in the social sciences that is concerned with meaning. According to Hall (1997:3), "[w]e give things meaning by how we represent them". Meaning is, therefore, constructed though representation, but it is also the result of signifying practices (Hall 1997:24). Representation is conceptualised as a practice itself (Hall 1997:34) and is not neutral or innocent. Owing to its nature as a constitutive practice, the study of representation is important to Gender Studies, because identity is constructed

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[18] Julie Reid (2008:197-226) provides a chronological account of the development of ideas around representation from Plato to Baudrillard.

and articulated by way of representation. According to David A Bailey and Stuart Hall (1992:21), "identities are positioned in relation to the discourse around us. That is why the notion of representation is important – identity can only be articulated as a set of representations". The construction of gendered and sexual identities is, therefore, primarily a matter of representation. Regarding the representation of social gender groups, Richard Dryer (1993:1) states that, "how social groups are treated in cultural representation is part and parcel of how they are treated in life … poverty, harassment, self-hate and discrimination … are shored up and instituted by representation". In Chapter Three, a focused theoretical background is provided for the representation of masculinity.

The study of representation concentrates on visual language (its strongest tie to Visual Culture Studies) which is considered both a producer and a reflector of the world (Hall 1997:7). The notion that representation simply depicts the world as it is, like a reflection in a mirror, is rejected and problematised in the study of representation, especially in light of the fact that culture and meaning are both considered to be constructed. In the constructionist approach a separation is made between "the *material* world, where things and people exist, and the *symbolic* practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate" (Hall 1997:25). This approach therefore acknowledges the importance of symbolic practices in everyday life, and for Visual Culture Studies, the symbolic operates strongly, although not solely, on a visual level. Hall (1997:9) stresses the fact that one must, however, study the physical material forms in which the symbolic circulates. In the case of this study, these physical forms are the visual material collected from the three churches.

1.5.1.2 Visual semiotics (and iconography)

In light of the previously discussed ideas around Visual Culture Studies and representation, I will now consider the chief methodological approach of this study, namely visual semiotics. Semiotics, representation and Visual Culture Studies are closely related in the sense that "the semiotic approach provides a method for analyzing how visual representations convey meaning" (Hall 1997:41). Traditional visual semiotics, as developed by the French critic, Roland Barthes (1972; 1977), is preferred in this study – a choice which is justified later in this section. First I will consider what constitutes a semiotic analysis according to Barthes and will then look at perhaps his greatest contribution to the field of semiotics – the theorisation of culturally constructed social myth.

Barthes's method builds on Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's theory on the components of the sign. A sign is the most basic semantic unit of meaning and it consists of two parts, according to De Saussure, namely the signifier, which is the form or vehicle of the sign, and the signified, which is the concept or idea related to the sign (Hall 1997:31). Barthes (1972:113) explains that the sign is the associative total of its signifier and its signified, its form and its related concept. In his groundbreaking essay "Myth today", part of a collection of essays entitled *Mythologies* (first published in 1957), Barthes (1972) employs De Saussure's linguistic theory and transposes it for use on visual objects. According to Hall (1997:36), De Saussure himself foresaw the possibility of developing his theory to a broader "science that studies the life of signs in society". Barthes successfully adapts a linguistic theory to the reading of "the everyday" and popular culture and treats ordinary activities and objects as texts that produce meaning and which use "languages" that can be read (Hall 1997:36). Barthes (1972:110) states explicitly that his theories are not limited to "oral speech", but are also applicable to other "modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, publicity …". In his applications of his theory, Barthes was concerned with figurative images, specifically photographic images (Van Leeuwen 2001:92). Owing to this open-ended idea of what might constitute the "language object" or "mode of representation" (Barthes 1972:115), Barthes's semiotics falls in comfortably with the corresponding agenda of Visual Culture Studies. Hall (1997:36) states:

> The underlying argument behind the semiotic approach is that, since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning they must make use of signs; and in so far as they do, they must work like language works, and be amendable to an analysis which basically makes use of Saussure's linguistic concepts …

Barthes's (1972) theory can be seen to function in terms of levels or "layers" (Van Leeuwen 2001:94) of meaning of signs and codes. The first level or layer of meaning is the level of denotative meaning, which Barthes (1972:117) simply refers to as "meaning". This is a descriptive level and involves "obvious interpretation" (Hall 1997:38) and simplistic or basic meaning on which there would be wide consensus. According to Malcolm Barnard (2001:149), "[d]enotation is the kind of meaning understood when shapes, lines, colours and textures are understood as representing things in the world". The second level of meaning, that of connotation or "signification" according to Barthes (1972:116), comprises broader associated meaning, where one begins to "interpret the completed signs in terms of the wider realms of social ideology – the general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and value systems of society" (Hall 1997:38). According to Barnard (2001:149), "[c]onnotation

is often explained as the thoughts, feelings and associations that accompany one's perception of an example of visual culture". It is also on this second level, that of signification, where Barthes believes myth functions (Hall 1997:39; Van Leeuwen 2001:97). Barthes (1972:115) contends that myth is a metalanguage, functioning on top of a first semiological system (the level of denotative meaning), on a second semiological system (the level of connotative meaning). Barthes (1972:115) provides the following diagram to explain his theory on these levels of meaning and on his theory of myth:
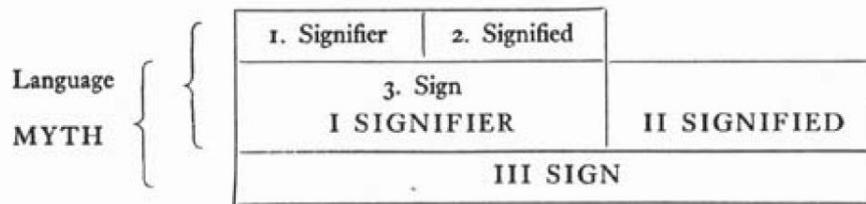
Figure 1: Diagram of Barthes's theory on language and myth.
(Barthes 1972:115).

On the first level of denotation, or language, one finds De Saussure's signifier and signified which form their "associative total" (Barthes 1972:114), the sign. Barthes (1972:117) refers to this sign in the first order or level as the "linguistic sign". On the second order, that of connotation or myth, the linguistic sign is hollowed out and robbed of its meaning and made a signifier to a new signified, that of myth (Barthes 1972:114). The linguistic sign now becomes the mythical signifier, which is an impoverished sign which has regressed from meaning to form (Barthes 1972:117). According to Theo van Leeuwen (2001:39), "[t]he first, completed meaning functions as the signifier in the second stage of the representation process, and … yields a second, more elaborate and ideologically framed message or meaning". It should be noted that Barthes uses the term "linguistic" in "Myth today" in its broad sense, in that various modes of representation, or language objects, especially the visual, can also function like languages in their construction of meaning.

In "Myth today", Barthes (1972) provides a technical exposition of how myth is constructed through providing explanations of analytical separations of signifier, signified and sign. He applies his theory more instinctively (Hall 1997:42) in the other essays in *Mythologies*, which discuss myth in various cultural practices and objects. I use his theories as an analytical methodology in Chapters Three and Four through employing an analysis of the levels of meaning according to the following levels or layers: firstly, denotation; secondly,

connotation/myth; and, thirdly, ideology. In order to avoid being overly technical, I do not venture into discussions on which sign is hollowed out or robbed to form which signifier for which myth. This would, however, be appropriate for a dedicated mythic analysis, which is not the main aim of this study. I am rather concerned with the total meanings of the images produced by the churches, but I also discuss which myths manifest in the material and which ideologies are at play.

Barthes's ideas about what myth is and how it operates in culture are, nevertheless, relevant to this study. There exists a vital distinction between Barthes's idea of socially constructed myth and the conventional notion of narrative myth, though one could argue that narrative myth might feed into social myth and vice versa. Narrative myth can be understood, in this regard and for the purposes of this study, to refer to the folklore, fiction and mythology of cultures, such as Greek mythology and Norse mythology. Van Leeuwen (2001:97) explains that myths are, in Barthes terms, "very broad and diffuse concepts which condense everything associated with the represented people, places or things into a single entity". A common misconception is that myths are untrue or false, by some means, but this is not the case for Barthes's social myth. Barthes (1972:121) maintains that "*myth hides nothing*: its function is to distort, not to make disappear". The distortion Barthes refers to is the hollowing out of the meaning and history of the linguistic sign in order to appropriate it as the mythical signifier for the mythical signified. Distortion also aids the naturalisation of myth, which is discussed later in this section.

Myth, for Barthes (1972:109), is a "system of communication", "a message", "a mode of signification", "a form" and, most importantly, "a type of speech". This speech is not limited to oral speech as discussed previously, but can include other language objects and modes of representation. Myth, it seems, can employ any language object to its purposes, it "sees them all as the same raw material; their unity is that they all come down to the status of language" (Barthes 1972:114). A single myth can, therefore, appear across various language objects. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, the same myths of masculinity appear in various media and in various discourses. The myth of the male breadwinner is a case in point. This persistent masculinity myth appears in literature, in film, in television, in news media and in various other languages, objects or modes of representation. This is possible, because "it is the language which myth gets hold of to build its own system" (Barthes 1972:115). Myth is a metalanguage: it is a language of other languages.

Myth, furthermore, produces and reproduces ideology (Barthes 1972:137-141). Van Leeuwen (2001:97) states that myths "are ideological meanings, serving to legitimate the status quo and the interest of whose power is invested in it". The myth of the breadwinner, for instance, upholds ideologies of patriarchy and of capitalism (see Chapters Three and Four). Barthes (1972:112) articulates the relationship between myth and ideology in the following way: "This is the case with mythology: it is a part of both semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology as it is an [*sic*] historical science: it studies ideas-in-form".

As myth is culturally and socially constructed it is never innocent or neutral, as previously stated. In this regard, Barthes is particularly interested in how myth is "naturalised" (Van Leeuwen 2001:97), and made to appear "common sense" in various ways. Myth "assumes the look of generality: it stiffens, it makes itself appear neutral and innocent" (Barthes 1972:125). Myths are naturalised through the mere fact that they are represented. According to Barthes (1972:117), "signifiers are credible wholes, they have at their disposal a sufficient rationality". This idea also contributes to the power of images as well as visual representations, that as signifiers they appear already cohesive and therefore demand to be taken as natural and as evidence of reality. Myth is further also naturalised through its ability to manifest across various language objects, as already discussed.

Myth is naturalised, paradoxically, though distortion (Barthes 1972:121-122). Myth does not refute reality or history completely, but appropriates if for its own purposes. Myth robs the linguistic sign of its meaning and its history, but the sign remains and is used as myth's signifier. It is because there is "enough reality" in myth that we believe it and accept it as natural. Barthes (1972:125) believes that, "[m]yth is speech stolen and restored. Only, speech which is restored is no longer quite that which was stolen: when it was brought back, it was not put exactly in place". Distortion of reality, therefore, naturalises myth. Ambiguity also aids in naturalising myth as there is a constant oscillation between the language system, on which myth is built, and the myth system. Barthes (1972:123) states that:

> myth is a double system … its point of departure is constituted by the arrival of meaning … the signification of myth is constituted by a sort of constantly moving turnstile which presents alternatively the meaning of the signifier and its form, a language-object and a metalanguage, a purely signifying and purely imagining consciousness … The meaning is always there to *present* the form; the form is always there to *outdistance* the meaning. And there is

Myth is hegemonic, it seeks to "tell us how things are", or how they should be. In this sense myth "points out and notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us" (Barthes 1972:117). There is always motivation behind mythical signification and its intentions define it (Barthes 1972:124-125). In its naturalisation of ideology, myth depoliticises speech (Barthes 1972:142) according to its own hegemonic agenda. The myth is taken as a fact (Barthes 1972:131).

A final idea from Barthean semiotics which is used in this study is anchorage. In "Myth today", Barthes (1972:115) states that, "the semiologist is entitled to treat the same way writing and pictures: what he [sic] retains from them is that they are both *signs* …". Barthes here starts to refer to the notion of analysing image and text together, which he takes further in *Image-music-text* (1977), where he develops the idea of anchorage, whereby text which accompanies an image serves to anchor the intended meaning of the image. "[A]ll images are polysemious", according to Barthes (1977:38-39) and anchoring text functions to stop "connoted meanings from proliferating". In this regard the image and its accompanying text is considered a single "indivisible unit of analysis" (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2001:7) and is thus applied in Chapters Three and Four.

Although this study employs semiotics as a basis for its analysis, it utilises a combination of traditional Barthean semiotics, as well as certain elements of iconography from Art History in an attempt to remedy some of the problems which have been identified with semiotic analysis. Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (2001:5) encourage the combination of elements from different approaches and believe that, "the choice of an appropriate method of analysis is dependent on the nature of the project in which it is to be used, on the visual material that is being investigated, and on the goals of the research project … sometimes several methods may be necessary". Barthes's conceptualisation of semiotics is preferred as a basis for analysis for its roots in structuralism which facilitate systematic and methodical analysis, as well as for its particular relevance to gender analysis. Owing to semiotics' structuralist foundations, it lends itself particularly well to critical gender inquiry, which itself is often concerned with the embedded structure of gender in culture. According to Connell (2001:33), the semiotic approach "has been widely used in feminist and poststructuralist cultural analyses of gender … It renders more than an abstract contrast of masculinity and femininity". Barthean semiotics is also preferred, in this regard, for its ability to peel away the layers of meaning of a text, revealing its

underlying myths and latent ideologies. The issue of uncovering myth and ideologies in cultural artefacts is also relevant to gender analysis, as gendered myth, especially in the form of stereotypes, as well as ideology, such as patriarchy and essentialism, often forms the topics of gender investigations.

Barthes's version of semiotics, and the iconographic method (also simply referred to as "iconography"), as developed by Erwin Panofsky (1955), are considered to be corresponding theories. They both share an interest in representation, as well as the views that meaning is layered and that there are "hidden meanings in visual texts" (Van Leeuwen 2001:92, 94). Van Leeuwen (2001:100) argues that the three layers of pictorial meaning in iconography – namely, representational meaning, iconographical meaning, and iconological symbolism – relate closely to the levels of meaning developed by Barthes. Representational meaning is close to denotation as it is the basic meaning, primarily of natural subject matter represented (Van Leeuwen 2001:100). Similarly, the layer of iconographical meaning could be viewed as close to connotation as it denotes ideas or concepts attached to the representational meaning, the "secondary or conventional subject matter" (Van Leeuwen 2001:100). Finally, iconological symbolism, described by Panofsky (1955:55) as "those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion", is the equivalent of ideological meaning, according to Van Leeuwen (2001:101).

The main difference between Barthean semiotics and iconography is that whereas the former considers the image as crystallised, frozen and separate from its temporal and physical setting, iconography ventures into a discovery of the context of the artwork. It is on the issue of a neglect of context[19] that conventional semiotics receives the most critique (Barnard 2001:163) and it is also in this area where I supplement the visual semiotic analysis used in this study with the iconographic approach. Just as the iconographer would go into great depth of background and contextual research regarding the artwork, I have attempted to employ this method in order to situate the findings of this study in the broader discourses of gender and its representation. In Chapter Two, for example, I provide a contextualisation of the three churches investigated here in order to provide insight into the context of their functioning, their production of visual communication, as well as their gender ideologies. As part of this methodological tactic, further theoretical background is also provided for the three themes of masculinity representation in Chapter Three.

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[19] This problem is allegedly eradicated in one of the latest revisitings of semiotics, known as social semiotics. See, amongst others, Hodge and Kress (1998) and Van Leeuwen (2005).

Another strength of combining Barthean semiotics and iconography, apart from a resultant deeper sense of context, is that whereas semiotics is based on linguistic theory, iconography is based on pictorial, or art historical theory. Iconography, in its investigation of pictorial convention, according to Lister and Wells (2001:71), "allow[s] us to start from noticing things about images rather than about written language and then seeking to apply linguistic concepts to images". Iconography therefore allows for the analysis of images *as images*. Lister and Wells (2001:73) also call for a looser and more intuitive application of visual analysis in stating that, "it has become clear that a too rigid application of systematic methodologies for visual analysis, which take written or spoken language as a model, is self-defeating. There is always a tendency to miss the specificity of the medium, and the practices built around it in social use, where signification actually takes place". In this regard I believe the combination of Barthean semiotics and iconography to be symbiotic, but as previously mentioned, I am committed to a more intuitive application of Barthes's theory, as he himself applied it in the essays in *Mythologies*. For De Saussure meaning could be mapped systematically, but as Hall (1997:42) points out: "Barthes also had a 'method', but his semiotic approach is much more loosely and interpretatively applied", especially in his later work. My commitment to a looser application of Barthes's theories is not intended as a sidestepping of proper methodological practice, but rather as a purposeful methodological strategy in acknowledgement of the nature of visual analysis. Furthermore, the practice of using a looser application of methodology is a widespread phenomenon in research using semiotic analysis. Communications research expert, Gertruida du Plooy (2009:220) acknowledges this practice and states that "[t]he requirements of a reliable measuring instrument (analytical scheme), of drawing an accurate and representative sample, and of treating units of analysis equally are to a certain extent relaxed". The belief that semiotics can bring to the social sciences a "more scientific" approach to the least scientific object of inquiry – culture – has been recognised as problematic (Hall 1997:34-35).

Although I am opting to supplement Barthes's approach to semiotics with the method of background contextualisation from iconography, I would also argue that in this sense, Barthean semiotics' greatest point of critique – its disregard of context – is perhaps also one of its greatest strengths. The manner in which Barthean semiotics is able to isolate an image, as well as the structural roots of this methodology, makes it applicable to "any and all examples of visual culture" (Barnard 2001:163). These characteristics render this approach to semiotics particularly relevant to my study, which applies the same mode of

analysis to different types or genres of visual texts, such as website imagery, printed material, print advertisements and magazines.

On a final note regarding my analysis of meaning in the churches' visual materials in this study, I wish to clarify my use of the term "discourse". I recognise that references to "broader discourses" start to venture into the area of Foucauldian discourse analysis, but as this study already employs a double methodology of semiotics and iconography, I believe it to be in order to avoid venturing into the theoretical and methodological complexities of Foucault's approach. I make use of the term "discourse" in this study in a more general sense – as an agent for the production of meaning – which is also the sense in which Barthes uses the term in "Myth today" in various instances. Foucauldian analysis would use the term in a specific manner to refer to issues of the production of knowledge and power, not merely the production of meaning (Hall 1997:43).

1.5.2 Gender Studies

This section provides a Gender Studies framework for this study, compiled from Masculinity Studies and certain applicable ideas developed in feminist scholarship. As mentioned previously, the theories discussed here constitute an interpretative framework applicable to the analysis and interpretation of findings in Chapters Three and Four.

1.5.2.1 Feminist foundations

Apart from its rigorous critique of patriarchy, feminism has also succeeded in problematising notions of biological determinism and essentialism. The idea of biological determinism is based on biological differences between the two sexes, male and female (Bem 1993:6). According to biological determinism, gender – a cultural construction – is determined by sex – a biological given – and this belief supports dominant heterosexualism. Biological determinism finds its justification in various scientific explanations about the intrinsic differences between men and women, ranging from theories on genetics to neurological and cognitive development (DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007:30-34). These scientific-biological accounts of sex difference play an important role in social and cultural ideas concerning gender differences and roles. The male–female[20] gender binary so prominent in culture is hereby believed to be naturally derived from sex differences (DeFrancisco & Palczewski 2007:30). According to Sandra

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[20] In this study binaries are indicated with an em dash to signify poles of binary oppositions.

Lipsitz Bem (1993:6), these "biological accounts of male-female difference and male dominance … have emerged since the mid-nineteenth century [and] have merely used the language of science … to rationalize and legitimize the sexual status quo". In biological determinism the belief is held that,

> [t]here is something genetically inherent in the male of the species … that makes them the naturally dominant sex; that 'something' is lacking in females, and as a result women are not only naturally subordinate but in general quite satisfied with their position, since it affords them protection and the opportunity to maximize maternal pleasures. Which to them are the most satisfying experiences of life (Ortner 1998:27).

Theories of biological determinism and male physical dominance function to uphold social gender beliefs and also give rise to androcentricism, whereby the male or the masculine is perceived to be not only dominant in society, but also central. Women, as secondary in society, are perceived in terms of their sexual or reproductive responsibilities towards men, or in terms of their domestic responsibilities in male-dominated households (Bem 1993:42). Bem (1993:1) states that, "[t]hroughout the history of Western culture, three beliefs about women and men have prevailed: that they have fundamentally different psychological and sexual natures, that men are inherently the dominant or superior sex, and that both male-female difference and male dominance are natural".

Biological determinism fuels a social gender belief, which is that owing to the intrinsic biological differences between the sexes there are also essential differences between men and women, who are gendered as essentially masculine or essentially feminine. According to this belief, "sex differences between men and women have been culturally constructed into gender differences between men and women" (Peach 1998:11). These ideas of biological determinism and essentialism have been problematised by feminism, Queer Theory and Masculinity Studies, especially in terms of the social constructionist approach. The latter approach holds that gender, like meaning, is socially constructed and culturally learnt (DeFrancisco & Placzewski 2007:51). According to David Gutterman (2001:58),

> the axis that serves as the fundamental basis for gender identity in the West clearly functions along [the] organization of same/different. The perception that men and women are "opposite sexes" (with accompanying "genders" – masculine/feminine) creates the expectation that one is either a man or a woman and that these two categories are essentially separate. This sense of difference then becomes the demarcation of otherness when gradations of value are placed on the two distinct domains.

Essentialism has also been problematised within Art History, especially in the work of Norma Broude and Mary Garrard (1982; 1992; 2005), who state that, "[t]he definitive assignment of sex roles in history … has created fundamental differences between the sexes in their perception, experience and expectations of the world, difference that cannot help but have been carried over into the creative process, where they have sometimes left their tracks" (Broude & Garrard 1982:7). Elaborate lists of culturally constructed gender binary oppositions have been compiled by various scholars, giving an account of how essential differences between men and women have been articulated (see, for example, Fiske 1987:203). Biological determinism and essentialism construct gender in binary terms at opposite poles as feminine female and masculine male; such gender binaries have proved to be particularly relevant to an interpretation of the findings of this study.

What is important to recognise regarding biological determinism and essentialism in the context of this study is that this belief is particularly prominent in Christian doctrine, especially doctrine that is based on a rather literal interpretation of the Bible. In Christianity gender differences are generally believed to be part of God's creation and of God's divine design of human beings (Bem 1993:1). To go against this design is often considered a sin in Christian discourse, especially where homosexuality is concerned. Likewise, in certain contexts, the Christian notion of male headship maintains the idea that men are sanctioned by God to be the head of or over women and the Pauline writings are often cited as motivation for this idea (McCloughry 1992:61). Male headship is further supported by the fact that in the Bible both God and Jesus are men. The image of God is a Man. This association of manliness with ultimate authority aids the male headship doctrine. Christian men often strongly identify with the masculinity of God and frequently adopt Jesus as a role model (cf. Faludi 2000:238). In Chapter Three, further background is provided on the topic of "gender and Christianity", with specific focus on "masculinity and Christianity".

In attempting to explain the universal subordination of women in a ground-breaking essay entitled "Is female to male as nature is to culture?", Sherry Ortner (1998) interrogates not only the fact that gender binary oppositions are constructed, but also how these binaries are aligned and valued. Following De Beauvoir's ideas from *The Second Sex*, Ortner (1998:29) argues that the universal, or pan-cultural secondary status of women in society results from the notion "that women are being identified or symbolically associated with nature, as opposed to men, who are identified with culture". According to Ortner (1998:28-29), every culture devalues and seeks to exert control over nature. Owing to women's physiology and their natural reproductive functions they are believed to be closer to nature

and are, as a result, devalued, controlled and subordinated in the same way as nature is by culture. This nature–culture split is, for Ortner (1998:288), an artificial and conceptual one, as no such distinction can be made in reality. There is, however, as a result of this distinction, a strong association between male and culture and between female and nature, the one highly valued and the other devalued. "In Western culture", according to Gutterman (2001:58), "that which is usually associated with men (activity, culture, reason) is usually held in higher esteem than that which is associated with women (passivity, nature, emotion)".

Another prominent gender split in cultural practice is the activity–passivity binary which is articulated in Laura Mulvey's (1975:8) essay, "Visual pleasure and narrative cinema", in which she theorises the scopophilic nature of narrative cinema. In scopophilia – the pleasure of looking – the female image is presented as a passive object subjected to a curious and controlling male gaze. Women, therefore, connote an erotic "to-be-looked-at-ness", whereby woman is constructed "as image" and man "as bearer of the look" (Mulvey 1975:11). "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance", according to Mulvey (1975:11), "pleasure in looking has been spilt between active/male and passive/female". Mulvey furthered ideas developed by John Berger in a BBC television series published in book-form in 1972 as *Ways of Seeing*, wherein he addresses "ways of seeing" across various forms of visual culture ranging from high art to popular media. Much of Mulvey's work echoes Berger's (1972:47) notion that, "*men act* and *women appear*". Masculinity is thus constructed though action and femininity though inaction, passivity or the appearance as mere image-object.

A final gender binary relevant to the analysis in this study is the separation between public and private space. Nancy Duncan (1996:127-145) explores the binary opposition of public versus private space and investigates the cultural association of the feminine with the private and the masculine with the public. In terms of the public–private binary, women are believed to belong in the private sphere of domesticity and men are believed to belong in the public sphere of politics and paid work (Duncan 1996:129), although men move seamlessly through both. According to Duncan (1996:128), the public–private dichotomy is gendered and thus "employed to legitimate oppression and dependence on the basis of gender; it has also been used to regulate sexuality". From the above discussion, the following aligned sets of culturally constructed gender binary oppositions are employed in the analysis and interpretation of this study:

Male – Female

Culture – Nature

Active – Passive

Public – Private

The background theories from feminist scholarship discussed here regarding biological determinism, essentialism and their resulting gender binary constructions are mostly applicable to the interpretation of this study's findings in Chapter Four. An account of the main ideas in Masculinity Studies follows, which serves as a general introduction to the analyses of the churches' images representing masculinity in Chapter Three.

1.5.2.2 Masculinity Studies

The study of men and masculinities has developed fairly recently, especially over the past two decades (Connell, Hearn & Kimmel 2005:1). The concept of "masculinity" in this field can be understood to mean "the discourses and practices which indicate that someone is man, a member of the category of men" (Collinson & Hearn 2001:147). There is therefore a theoretical separation of the male human, a biological entity, and masculinity, a culturally constructed gender identity. The study of men and masculinities acknowledges its "feminist parentage", according to Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett (2001:3), "for one of the direct consequences of feminist thinking and action has been to expose and highlight the power, position and practices of men". Feminist critique of patriarchy has, therefore, resulted in the conceptualisation of men as gendered by themselves (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:3). According to RW Connell, Jeff Hearn and Michael Kimmel (2005:1):

> The field of gender research has mainly addressed questions about women and has mainly been developed by women. The impulse to develop gender studies has come mainly from contemporary feminism, and women have therefore mainly been the ones to make gender visible in contemporary scholarship and public forums. Revealing the dynamics of gender, however, also makes masculinity visible and problematizes the position of men.

The study of men and masculinities (hereafter referred to as "Masculinity Studies") has contributed a number of key ideas related to broader gender inquiry, which includes the notion of multiple masculinities, hegemonic masculinity, masculinism, and the crisis of masculinity hypothesis. From its inception, Masculinity Studies has recognised the existence of various forms of masculinity, or "multiple masculinities" (Whitehead 2002:3), dependent on the various social, cultural, economic and ethnic settings which produce

masculinity as a cultural identity construct. As in feminism, the social constructionist approach to gender is also prominent in Masculinity Studies. Masculinity, in this view, is not a monolithic entity, but a fluid identity, which is never fixed or stable and is always changing (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:8). The acknowledgement of multiple masculinities in Masculinity Studies does not, however, draw attention away from the fact that men's domination over women at different levels of society, culture and practice is persistent and continuous (Collinson & Hearn 2001:153). In these self-aware terms Masculinity Studies has, as central to its theoretical and methodological points of departure, fostered the notions of hegemonic masculinity and masculinism.

Connell (2001:38) develops the idea of "hegemonic masculinity",[21] which is identified "as the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women". This form of masculinity, which functions to keep men in power and women powerless, is also referred to as normative or dominant masculinity and men who aspire to it "still act dominant and 'hard', deny their emotions, resort to violence as a means of self-expression, and seek to validate their masculinity in the public world of work rather than in the private world of family and relationships … such performances not only often go uncriticized, [but] are lauded by many, both women and other men" (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:7). Dominant or hegemonic masculinity should, however, not be understood as a form of masculinity, but rather as a pervasive and prolific configuration of power. Hegemonic masculinity is, according to Connell (2001:38), "not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations".

Arthur Brittan (2001:53) refers to this configuration of power which privileges men, as "masculinism", which "is the ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination. As such, it is the ideology of patriarchy". Brittan (2001:53) further states that, "[m]asculinism takes it for granted that there is a fundamental difference between men and women, it assumes that heterosexuality is normal, it accepts without question the sexual division of labour, and it sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres". Masculinism, the ideology of patriarchy, is also believed to be resistant to change (Connell 2001:53). Therefore, whereas masculinities are understood to be multiple

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[21] Since the mid-2000s the appropriation and application of the concept "hegemonic masculinity" in academia has been problematised. For recent discussions this regard, see Hearn and Morrell (2012) and Messerschmidt (2012). For the purpose of this study, I employ Connell's definition of hegemonic masculinity as outlined above.

and various, the power which supports male domination and superiority, masculinism, has proven to be consistent.

Dominant masculinity is constituted through warding off threats against it, especially in the form of femininity and homosexuality. In a polarised view of gender, masculinity exists only in contrast to femininity (Connell 2001:31) and is constituted as not-feminine and not-homosexual. Normative masculinity, furthermore, makes heterosexuality compulsory (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:19). Through compulsory heterosexuality, strict binary or polar definitions of gender are constructed and maintained through biological determinism and essentialism. According to Gutterman (2001:62), "the cultural demand for heterosexuality creates the need for clear markers of gender so that sexual partners can be 'correctly' chosen". Binary constructions of heterosexual masculinity and femininity serve the function of clear gender markers. This constitutes the heterosexual matrix, in Judith Butler's (1990) terms, which dominates Western culture (Gutterman 2001:61) and whereby heterosexuality is constructed as normative. Butler's (1990) heterosexual matrix can also be referred to as the "gender order", in "which males are the primary beneficiaries" (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:12). Men benefit from masculinism, hegemonic masculinity, the heterosexual matrix and the gender order through what Connell (2001:40) refers to as the "patriarchal dividend", which is "the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women".

The notion of representation as constitutive of reality and identity gains importance in a study on gender, as cultural signifying practices are often taken up by individuals as gender role performances (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:18). In a gender framework, and from a performative view of gender (Butler 1990), portrayals of men and women constitute the "gender scripts" (Whitehead 2002:170) that culture provides for the correct (Brod 1995:15) performance of gender roles. Because individuals tend to tailor the way they live their lives – even on a subconscious level – according to the "scripts" provided by cultural representations, the content of these scripts demand denaturalisation and demystification as hegemonic and ideological texts. In the context of this study, the churches' visual material portrays certain ways of being a man and being a woman and, therefore, can be understood to be the gender scripts that these churches prescribe for their members.

An idea which is frequently posited and problematised in Masculinity Studies, is the notion that masculinity is in crisis. Whitehead and Barrett (2001:8) argue that for masculinity to be in crisis, there needs "to be a core masculinity; something which is natural to men and

which men can aspire to and hold under most conditions". The masculinity that is experiencing threat, it seems, is dominant hegemonic masculinity. Various scholars have dedicated work to this idea that masculinity is under threat, most notably Leanne Payne (1978), in *Crisis in masculinity*, Anthony Clare (2000) in *On men. Masculinity in crisis* and Susan Faludi (2000) in *Stiffed. The betrayal of the American man.* The topic of masculinity in crisis is also explored in a number of journal articles by South African author Jennifer Lemon, in *Popular culture and the 'crisis of masculinity'* (1992a*), The crisis of masculinity and the renegotiation of power* (1992b), and *Masculinity in crisis?* (1995).

In crisis in masculinity theory, it is commonly proposed that masculinity is experiencing a crisis owing to: the advances of feminism and the demand for women's rights; post-industrialisation, major job losses for men and economic disenfranchisement; and the pressures and effects of consumerism (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:8). The "masculinity in crisis theory" is employed in explaining the prevailing backlash against feminism, as well as men's use of violence directed at women and other men in order to sustain their dominance and "points to crisis tendencies … in the modern gender order" (Connell 2001:44). As hegemonic masculinity finds itself under threat these "[c]risis tendencies may … provoke attempts to restore dominant masculinity" (Connell 2001:45). Such attempts commonly manifest in machismo and aggressive masculinity, a turn to outdoorism, as well as homophobic and anti-feminist tendencies, which culminated in the rise of new men's movements such as the Christian Promise Keepers and the mythopoetic movement (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:4) (see Chapter Three).

The notion that masculinity is in crisis is, however, contested and problematised in academia and Whitehead and Barrett (2001:6-10) provide a noteworthy critique of the idea that masculinity is in crisis: masculinity remains dominant in culture, men still enjoy better employment and remuneration than women, traditional forms of masculinity remain persistent, and claims that masculinity is crisis have been made before at other points in history. Whitehead and Barrett (2001:8) state that:

> A study of historical debates about men and masculinities reveal an interesting pattern. For it is apparent that whenever larger social and public concerns raise their head … then very quickly the issue of boys/men come to the fore: usually how to change them, control them, provide them with purpose, or simply avoid the worst excesses of anti-social male behaviour. What emerges, in fact, is a moral panic around men and masculinity, which can quickly turn into a backlash against women and feminism.

The real crisis is not, it seems, in masculinity but, as Connell (2001:44) implies, in the greater gender order itself. Masculinism then reacts and overcompensates for its loss of face. It could also be argued that the strong tendency to focus on masculinity as though it were in crisis might be a political attempt to restore dominant hegemonic masculinity itself.

1.6 Overview of chapters

This study's background, research problems, research design and methodology was discussed in this chapter. I also described the study's position in the available literature and motivated its necessity. The broad theoretical framework in which this research is situated was also discussed here.

Chapter Two provides a contextualisation of the three Afrikaans churches used in this study as corporate churches, as well as an introduction to their ministry structure, with specific focus on their gendered ministries. The nature of communication and visual culture is also discussed in this chapter and an introduction is provided to the gender ideology present in the three churches, by way of a description of their men's and women's ministries.

The gender ideology of the three churches in this study is expanded in Chapters Three and Four. The representation of masculinity in the churches, the main focus of this study, is analysed and discussed in Chapter Three according to the three themes mentioned earlier: professional occupation and leadership; physical activity and adventurism; and fatherhood.

In Chapter Four, I discuss and critique the representation of femininity in the three churches in relation to the representation of masculinity discussed in Chapter Three. In this chapter I consider the representation of gender in the three churches in broad terms. The representation of femininity is, however, treated as a foil to that of masculinity and therefore does not receive the same depth of analytical and theoretical treatment. This chapter is particularly concerned with the nature of gendered ontology in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo, as well as with issues relating to family. I also refer to certain elements which are not represented in the visual material collected from the three churches in his chapter, especially to the lack of representation of alternative sexualities.

In Chapter Five I provide a summary of this dissertation as well as a discussion of the contributions and limitations of my research. Suggestions for further research are made in this chapter. I also draw my final conclusions and contextualise and problematise the findings of my study in the global context of the rise of neo-conservatism and religious fundamentalism in the West.

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXT AND GENDER IDEOLOGY OF THE SELECTED CHURCHES

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the relevant background information on the three churches in order to contextualise this study and to sketch the characteristics and workings of the corporate church. Firstly, Rothauge's (1983) ideas around church size categories are explained to serve as a backdrop to an understanding of the corporate church. With a discussion of the definitions and characteristics of the corporate church, Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo will be positioned as corporate churches in terms of their active member numbers, locations and ministry formats. Secondly, I provide a description of the gendering of ministries at the three churches by discussing their men's and women's ministries and their latent gender ideologies.

The largest congregation featured in this study, the Dutch Reformed congregation Moreletapark, has experienced rapid growth in the past 20 years. Founded with 2 100 members in 1985 by means of a split from Pretoria-Oosterlig congregation (Meer oor Gemeente Geskiedenis 2010), it has since grown to a staggering 17 000-member strong congregation with a 7 100-seater church auditorium. Moreletapark is also the largest Dutch Reformed congregation in the world.

The Dutch Reformed congregation kerk*sonder*mure was founded in 1986 under the name *Nederduits Gereformeerdre Gemeente Verwoerdburgstad* (Dutch German Reformed Congregation Verwoerdburgstad), referring to the former name of the suburb now known as Centurion, in which the church is located (NG gemeente Kerksondermure 2011). Owing to the name change of the suburb, the congregation changed its name to kerk*sonder*mure (church without walls) in 2006. The name change also reflects an ideological shift in the church to openness and inclusivity. kerk*sonder*mure is the second largest Dutch Reformed congregation in the world.

"*Doxa deo*" is Latin for "the glory of God". Owing to the amalgamation of the two former AFM churches, Corpus Christi and Fontana, the ever growing Doxa Deo church was founded in March 1996 (Doxa Deo 'n kort historiese oorsig 2008). The then newly founded Doxa Deo would function as one congregation with two campuses, namely the Brooklyn campus and the East campus, which survive to this day as the axis of the already 18-campus-and-counting organisation. The Brooklyn and East campuses accommodate

2 000 and 1 000 people respectively per worship service each Sunday. These two campuses work very closely together on various fronts and most of the visual data collected for this study from Doxa Deo is shared by the Brooklyn and the East campuses. An image or advertisement that is created at the East campus will, therefore, often also be used by the Brooklyn campus and vice versa (Van der Linde 2008). In general, Doxa Deo functions as a bilingual organisation, switching between English and Afrikaans. For the purposes of this study I consider the Doxa Deo Brooklyn and East campuses as Afrikaans churches, owing to the fact that in these geographic areas, they function in mainly Afrikaans communities. The language used in the data from Doxa Deo in this study does, however, alternate between English and Afrikaans.

2.1 Church size categories and the Afrikaans corporate church

Routhauge (1983:1), the initiator of categorising churches according to size, develops four main categories of churches, primarily according to active member numbers: the family church, the pastoral church, the program church and the corporation church. Active members are considered to be those individuals who attend worship services and church activities at a given congregation with some measure of frequency. Active member numbers are usually determined by considering the average attendance of main worship services over a one-year period (Rothauge 1983:1). Apart from basing his theories on church size and active member numbering, Rothauge (1983) also considers the nature of interpersonal relationships and the format of ministry in a given congregation. Although Rothauge's theories on church size categories are rather aimed at gearing congregations towards better new member ministry, they can illustrate the functioning of the three churches and shed light on the nature of the visual material under analysis in this study. A brief explanation of the family church, the pastoral church and the program church is provided, after which the corporate church is discussed in greater detail to include a positioning of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo according to Rothauge's definitions and theories and Oswald (1991) and Mann's (1998) expansions and comments on Rothauge.

Mann (1998:20-21) makes two useful divisions of Rothauge's categories. She firstly distinguishes between churches which function as organisms and those which function as organisations and secondly, between churches which are group-centred and those which are pastor-centred. According to Mann (1998:20), the two churches which function as and

resemble an organism are the family church and the pastoral church and the two churches which function as an organisation are the program and corporate church.

Organism churches have an intuitively apprehended central relationship in which the congregation's identity lies inherent. In the case of the family church this central relationship exists between the congregation members as a primary group or single cell, and in the case of the pastoral church between the central pastor and the congregation members (Mann 1998:20). Identity in the organism is not shaped or planned, but is inherent in the central relationships. In the larger organisation churches, the program and the corporate church, owing to varied membership and planning, identity is not so apparent or intuitively grasped and the leadership invests much energy into constructing a unifying identity for the diverse congregation (Mann 1998:21), which is often accomplished through communication and branding strategies (see 2.2). Organisation, therefore, serves to bring the group together under a single, planned identity.

In the group-centred versus pastor-centred distinction, Mann (1998:21) refers to the manner in which the organism or organisation centres its life: around the group or around the central pastor. According to Mann (1998:20-21), the family and program churches are more group-centred as opposed to the pastoral and corporate churches which are more pastor-centred. The family church is group-centred because of its close relational ties and the program church because the congregation is too large for the pastor to take personal care all the members (Mann 1998:22). The pastoral church is, as the name suggest, more pastor-centred, as in this setting close relationships develop between the pastor and the congregation members, because they are few enough for the pastor to take care of. In the corporate church a central figure is needed "to project a large enough symbolic presence … to unify a diverse and energetic community" (Mann 1998:23). A short description of the other three types of churches, namely the family church, the pastoral church and the program church, is given to contextualise the corporate church and to place the three churches in this study in Rothauge's (1983) framework.

2.1.1 The family church: a group-centred organism

Set in rural areas, small towns and some urban centres and with up to 50 active members, the family church, according to Rothauge (1983:3), has "the basic dynamics of a one-cell unit, such as a family with strong parental figures in control of the norms and changes in the family life". Strong interpersonal ties and one-on-one relationships characterise the

family church and it is also known for mutual ministry and co-operation (Rothauge 1983:3). Owing to the intimate love and care between congregation members, communication is not limited to that which happens inside church walls but extends to extra-congregational interpersonal communication between members of 'the family' (Rothauge 1983:4). The congregation member is conceptualised as being part of a collective or family and not necessarily as being an individual (Rothauge 1983:7), which is more likely to be the case in the larger churches in Rothauge's model, such as the program church and the corporate church.

2.1.2 The pastoral church: a pastor-centred organism

Unlike in the family church, clergy find themselves at the centre of the pastoral church (Oswald 1991:3). The central pastor acts as the leader of the church, surrounded by a leadership circle (Rothauge 1983:10). With between 50 and 150 active members, the pastoral church is slightly larger than the family church and is usually set in towns and suburbs with two to three cells of close relations and pastoral care (Rothauge 1983:10). Mann (1998:4) describes the pastoral church as "a multi-cell organism — a coalition of several overlapping family-friendship networks unified around the person and role of the pastor".

The family structure of the family church is not entirely dissolved by the larger numbers of the pastoral church, as it operates, according to Rothauge (1983:11), "as a super-family with a 'big daddy'". For Oswald (1991:3), the pastoral church has a "sense of itself as a family where everyone knows everyone else". Strong feelings of belonging and of oneness can therefore be found in the pastoral church and interpersonal relationships between congregation members remain a prominent trait (Oswald 1991:4).

The central leader provides pastoral care for virtually all members of the congregation and members respond with loyalty and attention (Oswald 1991:3). The prominence of the central leader increases more and more, also to outsiders or prospective members of the church (Rothauge 1983:12), which culminates at times in a prominent and sometimes charismatic persona, similar to the one found at the head of the corporate church. With a larger congregation such as the pastoral church, communication between the leadership of the church and the congregation members becomes more important for effectiveness (Rothauge 1983:11). The interpersonal communication between congregation members, in terms of church life, starts to be encroached upon by organisational communication.

Organisation in the pastoral church is flexible and casual and changes to incorporate different tasks, as according to Rothauge (1983:16), "organization is not a key issue in their life. Strong family ties and an effective pastoral leader stand out in vital churches of this size". Because of its multi-cellular structure, versus the single-cellular structure of the family church, the pastoral church can offer its members and involved parties a greater diversity of talents and associations (Rothauge 1983:25).

2.1.3 The program church: a group-centred organisation

The program church has 150 to 350 active members and is usually set in larger towns, urban and growing suburban areas (Rothauge 1983:17). Owing to this increase in numbers, the central leader or pastor can no longer keep contact with the entire congregation and he or she now acts as enabler or chief administrator of the church (Rothauge 1983:17). The pastoral work of the clergy therefore now resides in administration, which according to Oswald (1991:5), centres around planning and producing quality programmes for the church. Personal care for members by the pastor is replaced by various programmes (Oswald 1991:5).

Church life evolves around a variety of programmes, groups, activities and worship services. The success of a program church depends on democratic organisation and leadership by the laity, who take over some of the pastoral functions (Rothauge 1983:17-18; Oswald 1991:5). The central leader's pastoral caregiving is now directed at the lay leaders of the abovementioned programmes and activities (Oswald 1991:5). The father-figure of the pastoral church becomes a facilitator, and according to Rothauge (1983:18), "[t]he major decisions are made in representative governing bodies, such as the vestry and program councils".

In such a large congregation, creating good communication and unity is very important (Rothauge 1983:18). Members might often feel as though too many things are going on at the church without their knowledge and it is therefore essential to ensure that events are communicated adequately and that programme areas are integrated meaningfully (Rothauge 1983:19). Church members are viewed as individuals, rather than as part of a collective as is the case in the family and pastoral church (Rothauge 1983:20). Interpersonal relationships are therefore no longer so close and intimate and some members might know one another only superficially, owing to the congregation's size (Rothauge 1983:25).

2.1.4 The corporate church: a pastor-centred organisation

For brevity's sake, the characteristics of the corporate church are discussed here in conjunction with an exposition of the relevant information on the three Afrikaans churches which position them as corporate churches. As mentioned in the Introduction, Rothauge (1983) devised and uses the term "corporation church", whereas Oswald (1991) and Mann (1998) use the term "corporate church" under Rothauge's exact definition. In this study the more contemporary term, "corporate church" is preferred to the older "corporation church", as the word "corporate" holds some useful associations in the mind of the reader which will aid in the understanding of the workings of this particular size church in the contemporary context of 2007-2008.

As previously mentioned, the corporate church functions as a large organisation encompassing active membership of 350 to 500 and over and it is usually set in cities and metropolitan areas (Rothauge 1983:26). Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo could all be defined as being corporate churches on the basis of size and setting. Both set in affluent Eastern Pretoria, Moreletapark and Doxa Deo have high active member numbers, Moreletapark with roughly 17 000 (Rabie 2009/03/24) and Doxa Deo with 11 679 people attending services each week over their 13 campuses (Van der Linde 2009/03/31). Doxa Deo's service attendance, therefore, averages 898 members per campus. Set in the equally affluent suburb, Centurion, just south of Pretoria, kerk*sonder*mure similarly hosts 11 000 members (Loubser 2009/04/06). All these churches fall comfortably in the 350-500 and over active member parameters for the corporate church.

The corporate church manifests in more complexity and diversity than the other size churches. In this pastor-centred organisation, the central pastor, amongst other pastors, now appears as the head pastor who becomes a personage in the church and community owing to his or her prominence and "acquires a legendary quality over a long pastorate" (Rothauge 1983:26). The head pastor is viewed and appreciated as a charismatic individual and a public or even celebrity figure (Oswald 1991:7; Rothauge 1983:29). The head pastor is still an administrator as the central pastor is in the pastoral church, but acts in this case more as "a chief administrative officer of substantive operations" (Oswald 1991:7).

The pastor-centredness in the corporate church is, however, different from the pastoral church as very few congregation members actually know the head pastor personally.

According to Rothauge (1983:26), an interpersonal relationship between clergy and church members is not a necessity in the corporate church. Mann (1998:23) points out that the head pastor acts as a symbolic presence, an identity in terms of which to understand the church's purpose. Rothauge (1983:26) similarly states that "[t]he head pastor becomes a symbol of unity and stability in a very complicated congregational life". Unifying prominent head pastors are present in all three of the churches in question. Doxa Deo and Moreletapark have a head pastor figure in their respective prominent senior pastors, Pastor Alan Platt and *Dominee* (Reverend) Dirkie van der Spuy. To a less public extent, kerk*sonder*mure has *Dominee* Fanie Venter as leader minister.

Doxa Deo's Alan Platt can be seen as an almost celebrity-like figure within Gauteng and perhaps even in national Christian circles, as he often acts as guest speaker at Christian conferences and gatherings. Rev. Dirkie van der Spuy from Moreletapark has also become quite a public figure in recent years, unfortunately thanks to media attention to a high court ruling in 2008 on Moreletapark's employment termination of a music teacher on the grounds of the teacher's homosexuality. Van der Spuy also publicly barred an appearance at Moreletapark church by the homosexual singer-performer-standup comedian Nataniël (De Villiers 2005). Reverend Fanie Venter from kerk*sonder*mure is, although well known in his community, not as publicly prominent as Platt and Van der Spuy.

Apart from their public prominence, for whatever reason, two of the head pastors of this study's churches are cited for giving their churches new direction under visionary leadership. Alan Platt has been with Doxa Deo since its inception in 1996 and with his city-reaching strategy built the Doxa Deo empire up to a 18 campus-strong organisation spread all over South Africa and abroad (Alan Platt senior pastor … 2006). Van der Spuy is credited with starting the very popular and effective *Omgeegroepe* (Care Groups) ministry at Moreletapark in 1988 (20 jaar van Omgeegroepe … 2009). The *Omgeegroepe* ministry has since spread to many other Dutch Reformed congregations over South Africa.

The basic outline of the program church still exists in the corporate church, but in a much more multi-dimensional manner "with more divisions of activity and more layers of leadership ranks" (Rothauge 1983:27). Also similar to the program church, the lay leadership takes on a multi-level function, with the opportunity to climb the ladder of influence (Rothauge 1983:27). The staff is a sizeable one comprising various skilled professionals (Mann 1998:5). Each of the three churches enjoys a large and diverse staff.

Moreletapark has ten full time ministers (Oor die leraarspan 2009) and they also have a number of communication, administration and technical staff. kerk*sonder*mure has five full time ministers (Ons predikante 2008), and communication and administration staff. The Doxa Deo Brooklyn campus in Pretoria has 24 central ministry staff members (Span en personeel). The Doxa Deo East campus in Pretoria has 20 members in its leadership team and six members in its support team (Leierspan en Ondersteuningspan). Other staff members include administration, communication and technical personnel.

Programming at the corporate church is so extensive it even reaches into the daily aspects of members' lives. Rothauge (1983:27) cites the following as examples of programming at the corporate church: recreation facilities; various music groups, such as choirs; social activities for the youth; hospital facilities; affiliated retirement housing; and business networking. All three churches in this study have massive ministry program portfolios and in all three cases include: main worship services; ministries according to age groups, such as youth and children's ministries; marriage ministries; arts ministries; community and outreach programs; counselling services; training and enrichment courses; cell or Bible study groups; and men's and women's ministries. Doxa Deo is the only church that has its own school, which includes a pre-school, primary school, college (high school) and after school caretaking facilities (Doxa Deo skool 2008).

This diverse and wide-ranging nature of programming leads to the creation of small groups where personal relationships between congregation members tend to develop, as the corporate church is too large for all the members to "know everyone" (Rothauge 1983:27). Small groups are brought together during the Sunday worship service, which stands out as an event on the church's weekly schedule and is constructed as a rich experience of the highest quality for its large congregation (Oswald 1991:6). In the light of its nature and prolific programming, Mann (1998:5) views the corporate church as "a significant institutional presence in its community". The relationship between the church and the congregation is like that between an organisation and the public. Good public relations are paramount. Communication between the church as organisation and the members happens in a formal context.

One characteristic of the corporate church which should not be understated is its command of abundant resources (Oswald 1991:6), and this is also the case in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo. As financial matters are often of a sensitive nature and because some of the churches requested specifically not to have any of their

financial data discussed in this dissertation, the specifics of their monthly income are not represented here in detail. I believe it would suffice to say that one can deduce from the fact that these churches are set in affluent areas, Pretoria East and Centurion, they enjoy substantial monthly contributions from their large number of members on top of support from the larger organisations with which they are affiliated. Moreletapark and kerk*sonder*mure are both part of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), under the central leadership of the General Synod and Doxa Deo subscribes to and forms part of the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in South Africa. All of these churches, therefore, receive monetary support from their parent organisations.

Another indicator of the reach of churches' income and resources is the large estates they own, often in more than one location. kerk*sonder*mure's large worship and administrative church building is located on the corner of Hendrik Verwoerd Drive and Hippo Avenue in Centurion. Expansion into various satellite campuses, another common trait of the corporate church (Rothauge 1983:29), further testifies to Doxa Deo's growth and means.

In 1992, the Moreletapark congregation acquired a piece of land on Rubenstein Drive in Moreletapark, where they built the first of their impressive buildings for R4 680 595. For the year 2002/2003, Moreletapark drew up a R16,3 million budget with over 12 000 members and 300 *Omgeegroepe* (Care Groups)*.* Under the leadership of the famous Christian speaker, Dr Bruce Wilkinson, R59 million was raised in the worship services for a new congregation centre. Building on the new *Woodlandssentrum* (Woodlands Centre) on De Villebois Mareuil Drive in Woodlands, Pretoria, started in 2005. Moreletapark had to hold six worship services at the Rubenstein centre on a Sunday morning to accommodate everyone. Personnel started the big move to the new Woodlands Centre in December 2009 (Rabie 2010), where the church is currently based. This new larger centre has four halls, adequately equipped studios for television and radio broadcasts, six kindergarten classrooms, and a play area. In addition, the congregation plans on opening a restaurant on the premises (Rabie 2010).

2.2 Communication and visual culture in the corporate church

With a great command of resources, as well as a great demand from church members, comes the need for and use of various avenues of communication. The corporate church's prolific production of communication material is one of the main reasons why it was selected for the purposes of this study. Each of the churches selected for this study

employs various avenues of communication with their members, such as advertisements, in-house magazines, interactive multi-media websites and announcements and presentations in the main worship services.

Visual culture is created in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo in similar ways. Sunday services form the basis for all communication in the church and it is also the foundation of the church's visual culture. At these services announcements are made before the sermon and printed versions are made available at the entrances to the church's main auditorium. During the announcements made by, usually, a member of the church's leadership, the three churches commonly employ digital slide presentations, showing advertisements of the church's activities, projected onto screens over or near the pulpit. On both these digital slides as well as on the printed announcement pamphlets the church will have its visual "look and feel" represented, mostly through the display of logos and visual identity elements.

In the churches' foyers one commonly finds, apart from the announcement pamphlets, various other printed materials ranging from posters to prospectuses, flyers, and brochures. All three of the churches also publish their own newsletters in the form of glossy magazines. Moreletapark publishes *Op pad* (En route), which was named *Nuwe Dimensie* (New Dimension) until early 2008; kerk*sonder*mure has a publication named after its abbreviation *ksm*; and Doxa Deo produces *focus* magazine. These newsletter magazines mostly contain feature articles on the churches' activities as well as articles containing a spiritual message, which are mainly written by the leadership or prominent figures in the church. These publications are important carriers of the visual culture of these churches, as they are read by most church members. Churches such as the ones in this study have significant numbers of elderly people, who are often unwilling to engage with the church through electronic avenues, such as the internet. This segment prefers printed materials and therefore reads these newsletter magazines religiously.

The church website is also a vessel for visual culture in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo. The website serves as a central point of communication in these churches for members of the church as well as interested members from the public. Digital images that are used in the slide presentations on the Sunday services are often used on the website as well, and vice versa. Sometimes a single design is used in various media, for instance as a projection in the service, on the website, as well as in printed form. This is also the case with almost all digital images used as data in this study. The data used in

this study are representative of the various "spaces" or applications of visual culture in the three churches discussed above.

The audiences of this visual communication from the three churches are mainly Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans (Van Aswegen 2009; Rabie 2009/12/08; Van der Linde 2008), with the exception of a few members from other language and racial groups, and are also from middle to higher income groups. The visual communication of the three churches is mostly created by professional graphic designers in collaboration with dedicated communication teams. Moreletapark and Doxa Deo have full-time graphic designers on staff who do most of the design work. At Moreletapark, designs for printed materials and electronic marketing have to be approved by the Communication Manager or Communications Officer before release (Rabie 2009/12/08). Doxa Deo and kerk*sonder*mure follow similar collaborative processes.

In my opinion, Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo do much to establish their churches as brands and therefore employ certain corporate branding strategies. The head pastors of the three churches have become, to a certain extent, the "faces" of their respective church-brands. Each of these churches also has their own logos (Figures 2-4), colour schemes and use vision-mission statements. Doxa Deo even has a CD containing its branding material and instructions for communicators at the church. Typical of the organisation-type church in Mann's (1998:21) terms, a great deal of effort is put into constructing a sense of identity in the corporate church. Here the corporate branding phenomenon of the mission/vision statement and strategic plan manifests towards this end of identity construction. Doxa Deo's city-reaching strategy has already been mentioned and it unites its members under the following slogan: "Touching cities, changing nations" (The Doxa Deo dream 2006). Doxa Deo has also articulated specific mission, vision and strategy statements.[1] Moreletapark has extensive articulations of various mission, vision and value statements[2] for the congregation itself and even for separate ministries.

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[1] Doxa Deo's vision statement reads: "Doxa Deo aims to transform 12 strategic international cities thereby influencing the nations with the primary focus being city-reaching and city-transformation" (The Doxa Deo dream 2006). The church's mission statement is: "Doxa Deo is a church with a city transforming strategy striving to establish the Kingdom of God in every facet of the community. Campuses are the primary vehicle facilitating processes and ministry to transform the cities. This is achieved by developing the potential of the people living in the cities in order to: Surrender – a Passion for God reflected in a life of integrity; Serve – 'n [*sic*] Passion for people reflected in a life of service; [and] Subdue – 'n [*sic*] Passion for the Kingdom reflected in a life committed to city transformation" (The Doxa Deo dream 2006). Doxa Deo also uses the following strategic statement or slogan: "mobilizing … infiltrating … modeling" (The Doxa Deo dream 2006).

[2] Far too many of these statements exist to be represented here adequately. Moreletapark has the following main vision statement, as translated: "We dream that everyone will be a follower of Jesus, who will make followers of Jesus" (Oor ons gemeente 2009). "Our journey[:] Be like Jesus, Do what Jesus does; [and] take people along on the journey" as translated, is used as main mission statement (Oor ons gemeente 2009). For

kerk*sonder*mure also follows this route of comprehensive verbalisation of mission, vision, values and identity statements.[3] Various ministries and programs at the three churches also receive their own branding (see 2.3).

Figure 2: Moreletapark's logo,[4] 2009.
(Welkom by Moreletapark Gemeente 2009).

Figure 3: kerk*sonder*mure's logo, 2010.
(Voorblad 2010).

Figure 4: Doxa Deo's logo, 2010.
(Welkom by Oos Kampus 2010).

further descriptions of the vision and mission statements of particular ministries please consult Moreletapark's website.
[3] Again these statements are various and miscellaneous. kerk*sonder*mure strives towards the following core values, when translated: "Relationships: We exist for relationships with God, believers and the world. Fulfillment: We live surrendered to and in the power of the Holy Spirit that cultivates true life change… Followers: We help one another to be radically obedient followers of Jesus. Renewal: We want to share in God's passion to bring his world to renewal (wholeness). Diversity: We welcome the fact that not everyone is, thinks, feels and does the same. We thus welcome diversity and attempt to be contemporary" (Meer oor ons 2008). Mission and vision statements for separate ministries are available on kerk*sonder*mure's website.
[4] The colour of this logo could not be reproduced here to look exactly like in the original electronic file. This is the case with most images containing blue in this dissertation. My analyses are, however, based on the original images.

2.3 Gendered ministries

As previously mentioned, all three churches in this study have various ministries – a feature the corporate church inherited from the program church. Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo have great numbers of ministries, representing diverse activities and interests in the churches. For example, Moreletapark boasts over 50 different ministries which include the following: the *Omgeegroep* ministry; an arts ministry; various ministries according to life phases, such as age and marital status; community and social ministries; training opportunities; prayer ministries; a gifting ministry; men's and women's ministries; missionary work and evangelism; technical support; an African ministry; a Christian book store and a kindergarten (Bedieninge 2009). kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo each have unique diverse ministry structures as well.

Emerging from the Christian belief in essentialism (discussed in Chapter Three) the gendering of ministries in churches is commonly practiced. All the churches under consideration in this study follow this trend: Moreletapark has the *Mannebediening* (Men's Ministry) and the *Vrouebediening* (Women's Ministry); kerk*sonder*mure has the *Vonkel Vroue* (Sparkle Women) women's ministry and the *Adam Bediening* (Adam Ministry) men's ministry; and *Doxa Deo* has the Flourish women's ministry and a men's ministry which is branded in a weaker fashion than the Flourish ministry. Certain types of ministries are also regularly associated with specific genders – the hospitality ministry, for example, is often associated with femininity, as are arts, handwork or crafting ministries. Most forms of leadership and teaching ministries in these churches are often associated with masculinity. This preoccupation with gender roles is founded on essentialist beliefs about gender, which assume that each gender has its own function to fulfill.

Material from the churches' men's and women's ministries are especially suited to the sampling criteria used in study, as their promotional material is mostly visual or multi modal and contains depictions of male and/or female figures or references to masculinity and/or femininity. A large part of the data analysed in this study is, therefore, produced in relation to the three churches' men's and women's ministries, but the ministries are not the only originator of the data, as is discussed in Chapters Three and Four respectively.

Although one can appreciate that branding is needed in the corporate church to create unity and identity in large fragmented congregations, one wonders, however, at the agenda behind the gendered branding of ministries, a practice common in mainstream

product marketing. The existence of these gender-branded ministries warrants description and discussion, not only because they produced a significant part of the data sampled for this study, but also because they can provide clues about the congregations' possible gender ideologies. Official formulations of gender ideology do not exist in the three churches in this study. I would assume that this is because gender remains a highly contentious topic in the church and that as a result, churches do not want to expose themselves by formalising their position, nor open themselves up to critique by instating policies on gender. The beliefs uncovered in this study are, therefore, "unspoken" ideologies in the three churches. A discussion of the information available on Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo's men's and women's ministries at the time this study's data sample was drawn is given below.

2.3.1 Men's ministries

On Moreletapark's website, the *Mannebediening* (Men's Ministry) has its own page (Mannebediening 2008) which contains the following statements regarding the men's ministry, when translated:

Mission

We attempt to win other men for God continuously. To also equip them as spirit-filled, faithful disciples of Jesus and then to mobilse them to lead more men to Jesus.

Vision

That every man will be a man after God's heart. So he will also be a blessing unto his family and others.

How is this vision and mission attained?

We attempt to get other men involved in our activities. As such he becomes isolated from his responsibilities and worries. Then we try to create an atmosphere which is, depending on the situation, conducive to teaching or for contemplation and self-investigation, or conducive to a true meeting with God.

Activities

A-teams: Where 3 to 5 men to talk one another on a weekly basis about their spiritual growth and about things that matter in their lives.

Worship evenings

A get-together on a Friday or Saturday for praise and worship.

Camps and caucusing

We leave the city and go and isolate ourselves in the bushveld. This gives us the opportunity to experience and appreciate God's love anew.

Father and child camps

During these weekends dads are strengthened and re-equipped for his [*sic*] role as father. The emphasis falls on strengthening the bond between a dad and his daughter or son, however.

4 x 4 camps

This is like a regular men's camp, except that we also give boys time to play with their toys for a bit.

Outside-congregation men's camps

We also offer men's camps and caucuses for other congregations, if they ask us.

The Lord wants to bless every man, his wife and children through Moreletapark's Men's Ministry.

In the information above regarding the *Mannebediening*, it is evident that activity is stressed in this ministry. In the example discussed here from the *Mannebediening*, one finds abundant references to mobility and to outdoor activities. In the above text one also sees how masculinity is linked to godliness, as each man is envisioned as a man after God's heart and as it is the ministry's mission to make more men disciples of Jesus. Men are also framed in the context of their families in the *Mannebediening* website information above. Chapter Three conceptualises and discusses each of these topics.

A document entitled "*Hoekom 'n Mannebediening*?" (Why a Men's Ministry?) (Appendix 4), received with the data collected from Moreletapark, serves as a manifesto for the church's gender ideology regarding men and masculinity. The document explains Moreletapark's understanding of Biblical male roles in marriage, the family and in the workplace. A full analysis of the gender statements in this document would be in order, but for the sake of brevity I highlight only a few. Translated, the opening statement firmly frames Afrikaner society as patriarchal:

In especially the Afrikaans society, the patriarchal principle still applies strongly, that is where the man is still head of the house, even though he does not serve the Lord. If you have reached the man and he starts on a journey with the Lord, you have immediately reached the family. Testimonies [of] where this has happened confirm it unequivocally.

Regarding the above statement Moreletapark seems to be condoning male patriarchal headship inasmuch as it provides a spiritual entry point into the family. Male headship and breadwinning is a prominent theme in the data in this study and these roles are offset against subordinated female roles of service and caregiving. In the "*Hoekom 'n Mannebediening?*" document women's roles in the family are downplayed, whereas men are made solely responsible for the morality and spiritual wellbeing of the entire family. In this case one could argue that the sex awarded the most responsibility is the sex to which the most power is attributed.

A man's responsibility to his children is stressed in the document, especially as a role model. In the following translation the appropriate type of relationship between a man and a woman is also prescribed:

> The man is head of the house and he must take on the responsibilities that the Lord placed on him. As early as Genesis 3:16 it is written "…Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you". 1 Corinthians 11:3 says "Now I want you to realise that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God". This is the order that God instated.

Judging from this document, Moreletapark espouses a fairly conservative gender ideology; the origins of such traditional Christian gender beliefs are discussed in Chapter Three. A further indication of Moreletapark's gender ideology regarding men and masculinity is found in two articles and an electronic document related to their *Daniëlkonferensie* (Daniel conference) held from 14-16 March 2008. Figures 5 and 6 show two articles which serve to advertise the Daniel conference in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine. The first article (Figure 5) explains that the Daniel conference is derived from the Esther conferences (discussed in 2.3.2 below) and a general call for South Africa to turn back to God. The Daniel conference fashions this call exclusively for men. The first paragraph of the article sketches the perceived dire South African situation by referring to, as translated: "crime, murder, abortion, divorce, HIV/AIDS, moral degeneration, famine, financial crises and loss of employment". This citation of disaster factors is common in the crisis in masculinity hypothesis, which promotes the idea that men and masculinity are in a state of crisis, also in South Africa, owing to various social, political and economic factors.

Figure 5: Moreletapark "*Suid-Afrika, draai terug na die God van Daniël!*" (South Africa, turn back to the God of Daniel!) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, December 2007/ January 2008. (De Villiers 2007/2008:5).

Figure 6: Moreletapark "*Daniël-konferensie vir mans wat 'n verskil wil maak*" (Daniel conference for men who want to make a difference) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, February 2008. (De Villiers 2008:5).

The Biblical figure of Daniel is strongly related to Christian masculinity through these two articles. Similar to the tone of the Esther conferences, a certain measure of nationalist sentiment is present in Moreletapark's appropriation of the story of Daniel. According to Biblical lore, as representatives of Jewish nobility, Daniel and three of his friends were held captive in Babylonia and were trained as advisors to the court. Despite their Babylonian education, Daniel and his friends never forsook their Jewish beliefs and customs, for which they were persecuted, but survived miraculously. Daniel's steadfastness, in this regard, is highlighted in the first article, as the author asserts future hope for the dismal South African situation and, as translated, stresses Daniel's: "non-negotiable loyalty and dependence on God". Masculine headship and authority are also foregrounded in the first article with this statement, when translated: "We are convinced that the Lord is calling up the men of South Africa now to a Daniel conference, to meet the God of Daniel and to take authority over their families and over South Africa". This sentiment is echoed in a similar statement in the second article (Figure 6), translated as: "The call is for *you* as man: come attend the Daniel conference and take authority over the future of your family and South

Africa. Come become the difference you want to see in your family, our country and in the world". Male superiority in both public and private settings is thus promoted. An electronic document providing an account of the Daniel conference (Shields 2008), received with data sampling from Moreletapark and attached as Appendix 5, makes a similar claim in this regard, which reads, when translated:

> The solution for South Africa is not set in a couple of men in political, economic or military positions of power, but that every father, as head of his family, will be converted and will accept God Triune, as his only saviour and sanctifier. Family structures and unconditional obedience to Him [God] is non-negotiable.

The abovementioned document also places the burden of national redemption squarely on men's shoulders with the following statement, as translated: "The solution for this country's problems lies in the men of South Africa's ability to turn themselves back to God, to admit we were wrong and to become unconditionally obedient to Him [God] … The men in this country must let the kingdom of God relive".

kerk*sonder*mure's *Adam Bediening* (Adam Ministry) has similar activities and ideologies as *Mannebediening*. A bookmark containing general information about the ministry states, when translated, the following: "The Adam Ministry of kerk*sonder*mure equips men (with the necessary skills) to live out our God-given role as King, Priest and Prophet visibly in our homes, church and in the world. (society/community). [*sic*] Our ministry focuses on various different facets of manhood". This text contains strong traces of Christian male headship ideology, which is central in Christian gender ideology and is further investigated in Chapters Three and Four. It is interesting that kerk*sonder*mure attributes the role(s) of king, priest and prophet to men, as these roles are attributed to Jesus in the Bible, and not to all men. Reference to the male role(s) of king, priest and prophet is also made in the "*Hoekom 'n Manne bediening?*" (Why a men's ministry document) discussed above. One, therefore, again sees a problematic conflation of manliness with godliness and authority – a common practice in Christian culture. The excerpt above also stresses men's roles as influencers, not only in their immediate context, but also in the public world. This stands in contrast to the mostly private and domestic roles reserved for women in the churches in this study, as discussed in the following section. The rest of the bookmark contains contact details of men responsible for various functions or activities in the ministry similar to that of the *Mannebediening* at Moreletapark, such as Adam camps, Father-child camps, and Adam breakfasts. The *Adam Bediening*'s activities are discussed in Chapter Three as Figure 27.

Doxa Deo's men's ministry does not have a specific name, unlike its women's ministry. Some of this ministry's material is discussed in Chapter Three as Figures 12 and 13. Like the *Adam Bediening* bookmark discussed above, these figures stress men's careers and success in the public world. Doxa Deo's gender ideology is also hinted at in an article in *focus* magazine (discussed in Chapter Four as Figure 67) entitled, "*Manne 'n perfekte afdruk*" (Men a perfect imprint) (Krüger 2008:24). The article is about a series of early morning men's meetings held at Doxa Deo's Brooklyn campus attended by about 250 men. The author, Jéhan Krüger, uses masculinised terms to describe the men's spiritual experience, such as "*Gideonsbende*" (Gideon gang). He also emphasises heroism in Christian men, arguably a practice made popular by Christian self-help author John Eldredge (2001) discussed in Chapter Three. Masculine authority is also highlighted in this article in the following statement, as translated: "He [God] calls each of us to be a brave hero; to reach the highest highs and to act and speak with authority". Proclamations of feminine authority are nowhere to be found in the data of this study. As is the case in Moreletapark and kerk*sonder*mure's ideology regarding men, this article also associates masculinity with Christ, as men are called a "perfekte afdruk" (a perfect imprint) of Jesus, their prototype, which is a mystery to mirror (Krüger 2008:24). The article also refers to men's marital and financial problems, linking them with both the private realm of marriage and the public realm of breadwinning (see Chapter Three).

2. 3. 2 Women's ministries

Similar to Moreletapark's *Mannebediening*, the *Vrouebediening* (Women's Ministry) also has its own webpage on the church's website (Vrouebediening 2008). The following is stated about the women's ministry, when translated:

> The *Vrouebediening* is for all the women of the congregation and wider.
>
> We have various opportunities throughout the year at which women are built up spiritually, socialise together and glorify and praise God's name. There is something for everyone!
>
> Our Vision
>
> Spirit-filled women who, in dependence on God, live out their creation purpose in their marriages, families, communities and the world.
>
> Our Mission
>
> Create opportunities where the Holy Spirit can set women free, can equip and inspire them in order to live out their creation purpose in their marriages, families, communities and the world.
>
> Our activities
>
> Quarterly mass meetings – women's festivals where ministry opportunities are created (700+ women).
>
> Camps: where women can be sequestered to receive teaching, experience God and minister to one another with prophecies, counseling and love (±220 women per camp).
>
> Participation of as many women as possible in weekly Bible study groups. Different groups cater for women with young children, also for those who wish to attend without their children.
>
> An intercession team which prays for the activities of the *Vrouebediening*, the country and for all women in need. This team is divided into prayer groups that have regular prayer events.
>
> Women's Mornings where current issues are discussed / where spiritual ministry is served.

In the above information on the Moreletapark *Vrouebediening*, spirituality and social relationships are stressed. Spirituality is brought even more to the fore in that women are envisioned to be filled with the Holy Spirit and through the women's intercession[5] and prayer teams. An essential female creation purpose is also referred to (indicating the

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[5] In Christian belief intercession is praying which is done on behalf of someone or something else.

gendered nature of Christian calling, as is also the case in the other churches' women's ministry material), which must be lived out for the benefit of husbands, children, communities and the world. Women are thus established as servants of others, using their gifts and talents not for themselves, but for those around them. As also with Doxa Deo and kerk*sonder*mure, gender specific camps, meetings and Bible studies are hosted, pointing to the idea that Christian men and women practice their faith in dissimilar ways.

In terms of the Bible study groups it is indicated that particular allowances are made for women with young children, insinuating that women are mainly responsible for infant child care. This close association between women and primary childcare is common in the data from all three churches. In the information on the *Vrouebediening* webpage, it is mentioned that the ministry wants to create opportunities for the Holy Spirit to set women free, but this freedom is, paradoxically, not an individualised freedom – as envisaged by the women's liberation movement – but a freedom whereby service and self-sacrifice to others are implied.

A further hint at the gender ideology connected to Moreletapark's women's ministry and a reference to the connection between femininity and nationalism[6] is found in a letter to women from Moreletapark's *Vrouebediening* about the *Ester Konferensies* (Esther Conferences) of 2007 (Figure 7). Presumably the Ester Conference(s) is the female counterpart of Moreletapark's Daniel Conference. The letter invites women to national Esther Conferences held in several districts in South Africa after the success of the first conference in March 2007 in Pretoria. The Biblical tale of Esther is often cited as an example of Christian femininity in Christian teaching because it places prominence on the importance of female beauty, as well as female self-sacrifice for the nation.[7] The tale of Esther involves a Jewish virgin, Esther, being chosen from a number of possible women to marry the Persian king, Ahasuerus. Esther is described to have been very beautiful and managed to captivate the king, who then chose her as his new wife, after expelling his first wife for disobedience. Because Esther enjoyed so much favour with the king, she later managed to successfully prevent the genocide of her people, the Jews.

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[6] For a discussion on the relationship between gender and nationalism in the Afrikaner context, see McClintock (1993).
[7] Esther had to approach the king out of turn, an offence punishable by death, in order to invite him to a banquet where he was successfully reminded that Esther's Jewish cousin, Mordecai, had saved him from an assassination attempt. This led the kind to honour Mordecai and bestow rights on the Jews, by which they could protect themselves against their enemies.

Figure 7: Moreletapark "*Ester Konferensie 2007*"
(Esther Conference 2007) letter.

The story of Esther implies that women can make a difference through their beauty, captivating nature and self-sacrifice for the benefit of their nation. It is this theme with which the Esther Conference(s) is imbued. On the letterhead in Figure 7, the slogan under "*Ester Konferensie 2007*" reads: "*Gekroon vir die Koning ter wille van jou volk*" (Crowned for the King for the sake of your Nation). One assumes that "king" in this context refers to God. The letter suggests that women should be crowned and become Christian servants for the sake of South Africa. Although the whole of South Africa is referred to in this regard, the Afrikaner nationalist term "volk" (nation) is used, instead of the less-politically laden word "nasie" (nation).

In this letter, women are again strongly associated with spirituality as "a shift in the spiritual dimension" is referred to. The connection between spirituality and femininity is further investigated in Chapter Four. In the letter Jesus is conceptualised as women's first love in this letter, linking women to Jesus on a romantic level. Other feminised Christian references are also present in the letter. Women are said to be "clothed in Jesus" when

they leave the conference, invoking the image of women in white dresses discussed in Chapter Four. Reference is also made to women being crowned as Queen Esther was, in order to apply the favour they enjoy with the King [God], to the benefit of the people whom they stand in for. The issue of Afrikaner nationalism is of concern here, as the question begs: For whom do white Afrikaner women stand in for? Surely the Afrikaner people are implied in this regard, deduced from the fact that Esther stood in for her ethnicity, the Jews, in the Biblical story to which this letter owes its theme. These themes are also represented in a feature article (Figure 8) in Moreletapark's *Nuwe Dimensie* (New Dimension) magazine, which describes the Jewish Purim festival, which celebrates Ester's story and Jewish deliverance from genocide.

Figure 8: Moreletapark "*Purim - Die fees van Ester*" (Purim – The festival of Esther) feature article in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, March 2007.
(Maree 2007:14).

An article which reports on National Women's day of 9 August as well as the National Esther conference of 2007, entitled: "*die sluier is gelig*" (the veil is lifted) (Figure 9), appears in Moreletapark's *Op pad* (En route) magazine. On the right side of the article's layout three photographs are shown of people praying at an event. In the bottom left corner of the layout, a female figure is shown with closed eyes, raising her face upwards. The tone of the article is similar to that of the Esther Conference letter (Figure 7). In the opening paragraph, the author makes the following statement, as translated: "Women's Day, 9 August 2008, was different to other Women's Days. This year women did not celebrate their rights, but their relationship with Christ" (Meyer 2008:3). This statement betrays an obvious, though unmotivated, aversion to the celebration of women's rights.

Figure 9: Moreletapark "*die sluier is gelig*" (the veil is lifted) feature article in *Op pad* magazine, September 2008. (Meyer 2008:3).

A year programme for kerk*sonder*mure's *Vonkelvroue*[8] (Sparkle Women) was collected during data sampling (analysed in Chapter Four as Figure 53). The section on the right of the *Vonkelvroue* programme displays general information about the ministry, which warrants discussion here. The *Vonkelvroue* logo is portrayed as superimposed over these images and the phrase "*in aksie*" (in action) appears under the logo in a strip of pink, reading, together with the logo, "*Vonkelvroue in aksie*" (Sparkle women in action). In the bottom two thirds the ministry's vision and mission statements are provided, offering a glimpse of kerk*sonder*mure's gender ideology regarding women. When translated this section reads as the following:

> *Vonkelvroue* in Action[9] is kerksondermure's [*sic*] women's organisation which takes hands together [*sic*] to offer various opportunities throughout the year to women of the congregation and area and to grow together spiritually and to enjoy womanhood.
>
> Here is our vision and mission which form the point of departure for every event that we organise:
>
> Our Vision. To reach out to women in a creative manner in order to empower them spiritually and emotionally, while glorifying God's name. We, therefore, want to make a difference in their lives and want to bring about life change.
>
> Our Mission. To make God a reality in the lives of our women, to reach them through the use of our gifts and talents. (But this alone in prayer, on our knees and in His [God's] power.)

These statements about the *Vonkelvroue* ministry share many commonalities with website information for Moreletapark's *Vrouebediening* discussed before. An emphasis is placed on spiritual growth, as well as spiritual and emotional empowerment of women (achieved through relationships with one another), which again connects women to spirituality and emotionality. One also notices essentialist hints at the uniqueness of womanhood and the idea that women should use their gifts and talents in a creative way for the good of others. From these statements, it is clear that the main action which the ministry busies itself with is that of organising and hosting events, as is also apparent from their calendar on the left side of this figure. It is, therefore, also implied that their gifts and talents mentioned, would be employed to successfully run events. Women are thus typecast into domestic roles in the church, and service is prominently connected to femininity in this regard. The "action"

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[8] The women's ministries' names are problematised in Chapter Four.
[9] This phrase indicates that the full title of the kerk*sonder*mure women's ministry is "*Vonkelvroue* in Action" as opposed to merely "*Vonkelvroue*". This is, however, one of only two uses (see also Figure 53) in the data collected for this study of this full title and it stands in opposition to the name reflected as "*Vonkelvroue*" on the logo (see Figure 52).

which is proposed in the *Vonkelvroue* material is, therefore, different from the "action" implied in the *Adam Bediening* material, which entails attending breakfasts (not necessarily cooking them), worshipping and camping, as can be seen on their programme in Figure 27.

No general information similar to that regarding *Vrouebebiening* and *Vonkelvroue* considered above was available on Doxa Deo's Flourish ministry when the data sample was drawn. Flourish ministry does, however, produce a large amount of visual material, which is analysed in Chapter Four. The exact flavour of Doxa Deo's ideology is, however, illuminated by an article entitled "And God Created Woman …" (Appendix 6), which I received from their communications official during data collection for this study. The article was written by a woman named Carol-Anne van Loggerenberg, who is responsible for the financial management of the church, together with her husband, Muller van Loggerenberg. The article's main argument is that women are endowed with unique spiritual gifts. In this article, Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1) makes the following statement:

> God wants to liberate women in a way that releases them into their full purpose – without undermining their original design. True submission is often understood by men and women. Women do not need another liberation movement, they need to allow Christ to transform their lives and restore their creation purpose. We need to surrender to Him. Instead of trying to prove yourself ("God, let me show you what I can do"), let God show you what He can do through you.

Apart from this statement's open disdain for the women's liberation movement, it implies that women have an original design for a specific creation purpose, into which they must be restored. The essentialist and biological determinist undertones of this statement are quite obvious and it implies that a Christian person's destiny or calling on earth is gendered according to his or her biological sex. It is interesting to note that this emphasis on creation purpose is not present in Doxa Deo's men's ministry, or in those of the other churches. It is almost as if the male creation purpose of headship and breadwinning, discussed in Chapter Three, is taken for granted, to such an extent, it does not even need mentioning.

The essentially female, unique gifts which Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1-2) believes women are endowed with are influence, emotions and spirituality. She struggles to provide Biblical, or even logical, justification for why these gifts are essentially feminine. In terms of influence, Proverbs 31 is cited, and the influence a woman is gifted with, from this

example, is not in the public sphere, but in the domestic sphere. A woman's timidity, generosity, willingness to serve and submission to her husband are especially stressed by Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1-2). One finds it difficult to understand what type of influence is implied in this regard, as a woman's passivity and servitude is emphasised in this article. It is also strongly inferred that women are supposed to use their gifts and talents, which in some cases are implied to be essentially feminine, to the benefit of others and not themselves – an idea which stands in direct opposition to the active public career life and individual pursuits emphasised in Doxa Deo's men's ministry materials. These ideas are genealogically connected to the ideology of the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) pertinent in Afrikaner culture (see Chapter Four).

In terms of the so-called feminine gift of emotionality, Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1) fails to provide any Biblical evidence which can substantiate her claim that women are necessarily gifted with emotion, but seems to depart from a purely cultural stereotypical belief that women are more emotional than men. Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1) warns that women should not abuse their gift of emotionality by losing control of their tongues, whereby another cultural stereotype is implicated, namely that women are more prone to gossip than men. Such behavioural warnings are not aimed at men in the churches' material.

The final female gift which Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:1-2) mentions is that of spirituality. Here the church is personified as a woman, which is not out of the ordinary in Christian metaphor considering that Jesus describes the church as His bride in the Bible. She seems to take this notion rather literally and attempts to imply that this means that women are gifted spiritually. Van Loggerenberg ([sa]:2) fails to provide scriptural justification for her belief that women are necessarily gifted with spirituality and provides the following un-referenced quotation as substantiation for her claims: "Christ's love makes the church whole. His words evoke her beauty. Everything he does and says is designed to bring the best out of her, dressing her in dazzling white silk, radiant with holiness". Although the article is rife with essentialism and sentimentality, it does support the notion in this study, elaborated on in Chapter Four, that physically attractive female figures are employed to signify spirituality. From Van Loggerenberg's article, it appears that the belief that women are more spiritual than men, although Biblically unfounded, has some purchase in Christian culture.

This chapter functioned as background for the visual data analysis that follows in Chapters Three and Four. The three churches involved in this study were considered from an

operational and visual cultural perspective. Each church showed itself to have a formidable impact owing to its size, membership numbers, estates and command of resources. It was justified as to why all three of the churches can be seen as corporate churches and are therefore suitable for a study of this nature as they produce sufficient communication for analysis. A discussion of the phenomenon of gendered branding of ministries in the three churches was also offered. This discussion serves as an introduction to issues of Christian gender ideology, which is theorised in more detail in Chapter Three. In the next chapter, the findings of semiotic analyses of the visual communication of these churches are discussed in order to describe and critique their gender representation practices from a theoretical point of view.

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*sonde*mure's *ksm* magazine, shows Afrikaans gospel artist, Louis Brittz, as a professional musician, an occupation which implies a certain amount of technical skill.
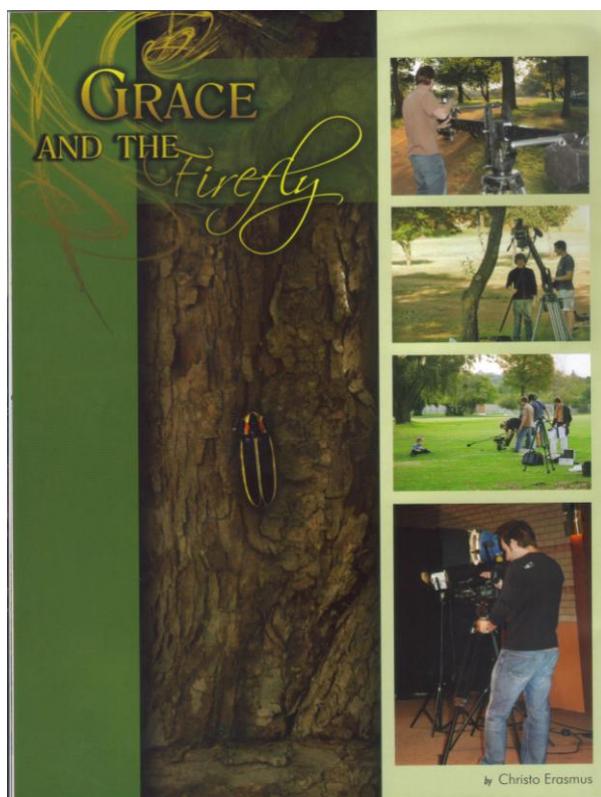

Figure 17: Doxa Deo "Grace and the firefly" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Erasmus 2008:19).

Figure 18: kerk*sonde*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.
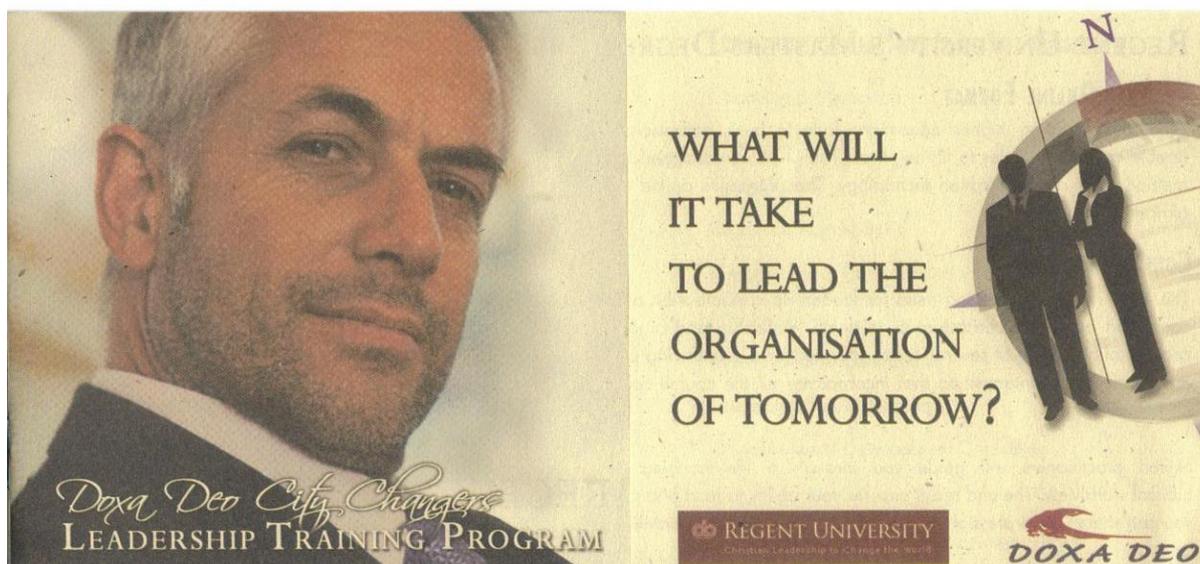

Figure 20: Doxa Deo "City Changers Leadership Training Program" brochure.

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.

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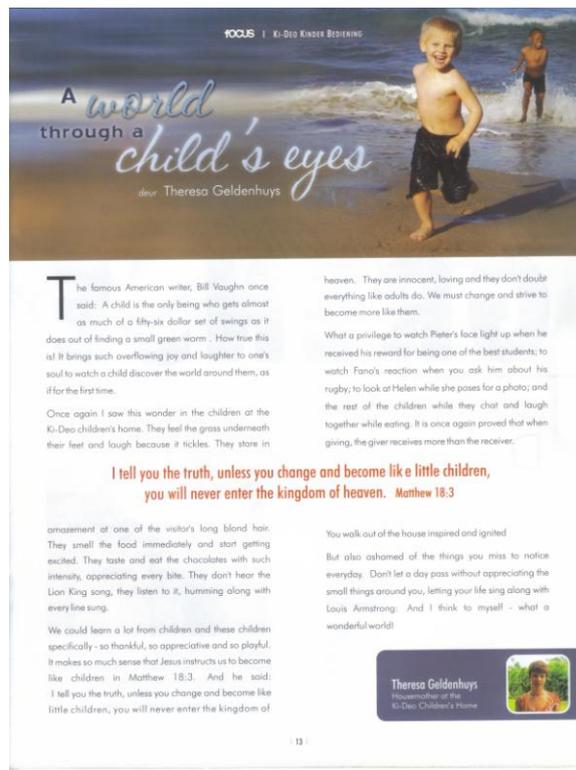
Figure 26: Doxa Deo "A world through a child's eyes" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008.
(Geldenhuys 2008:13).

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.
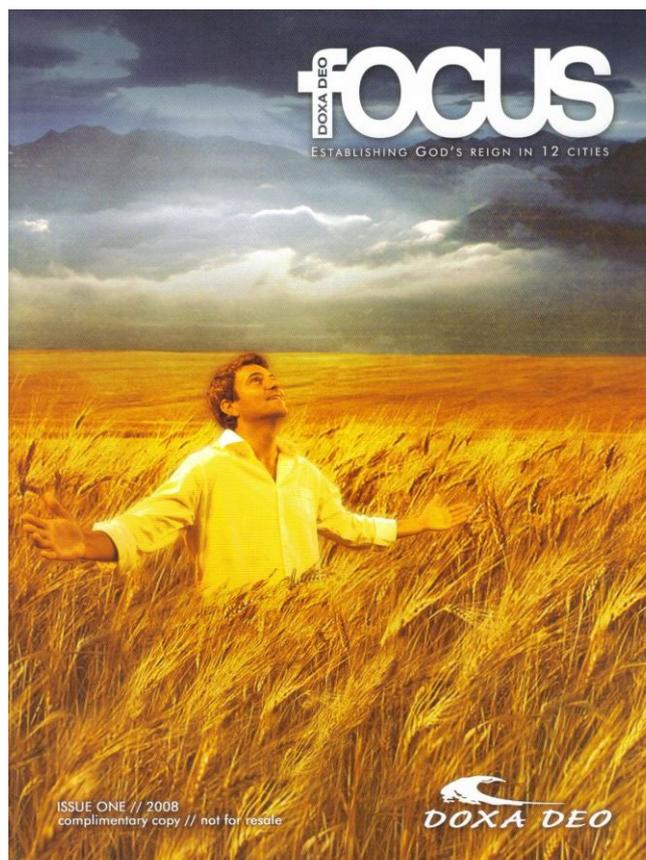
Figure 35: Doxa Deo front cover of *focus* magazine,
Issue One 2008.
(*focus* 2008a:1).

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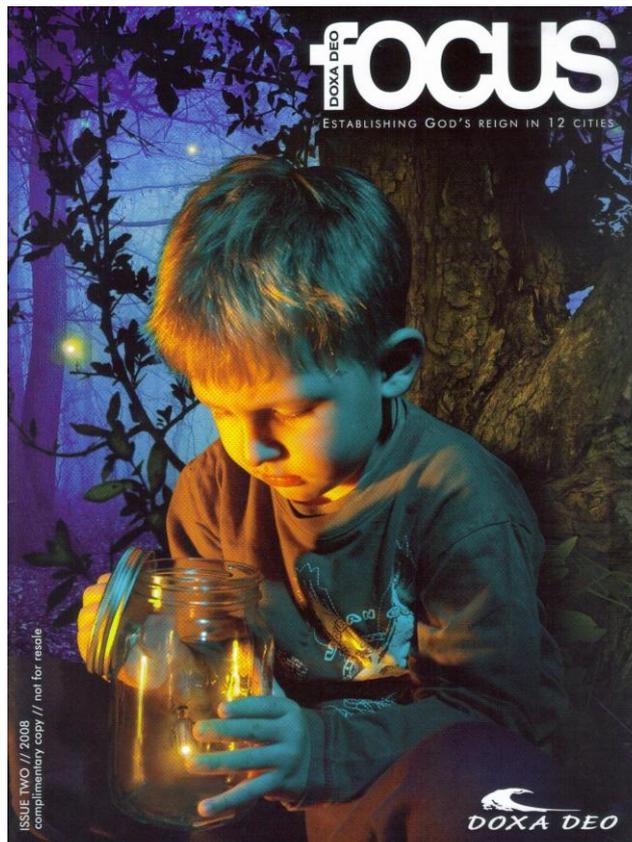
Figure 36: Doxa Deo front cover of *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008.
(*focus* 2008b:1).

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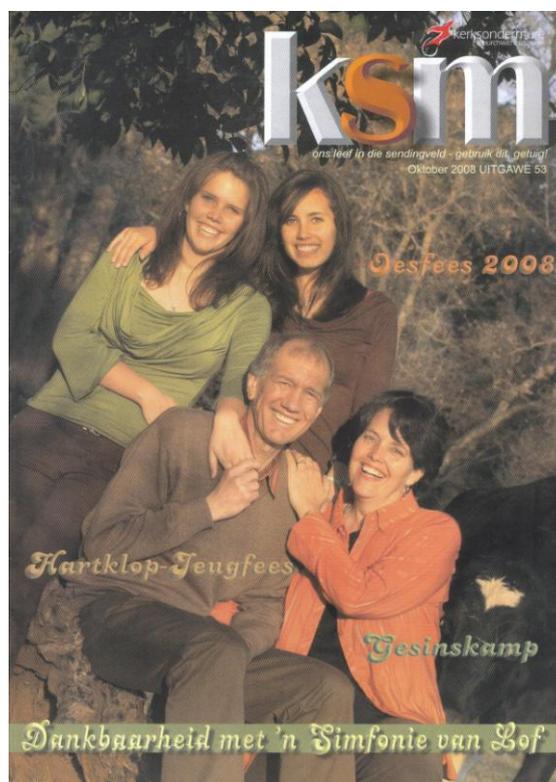
Figure 40: kerk*sonder*mure front cover of *ksm* magazine, October 2008.
(*ksm* 2008:1).

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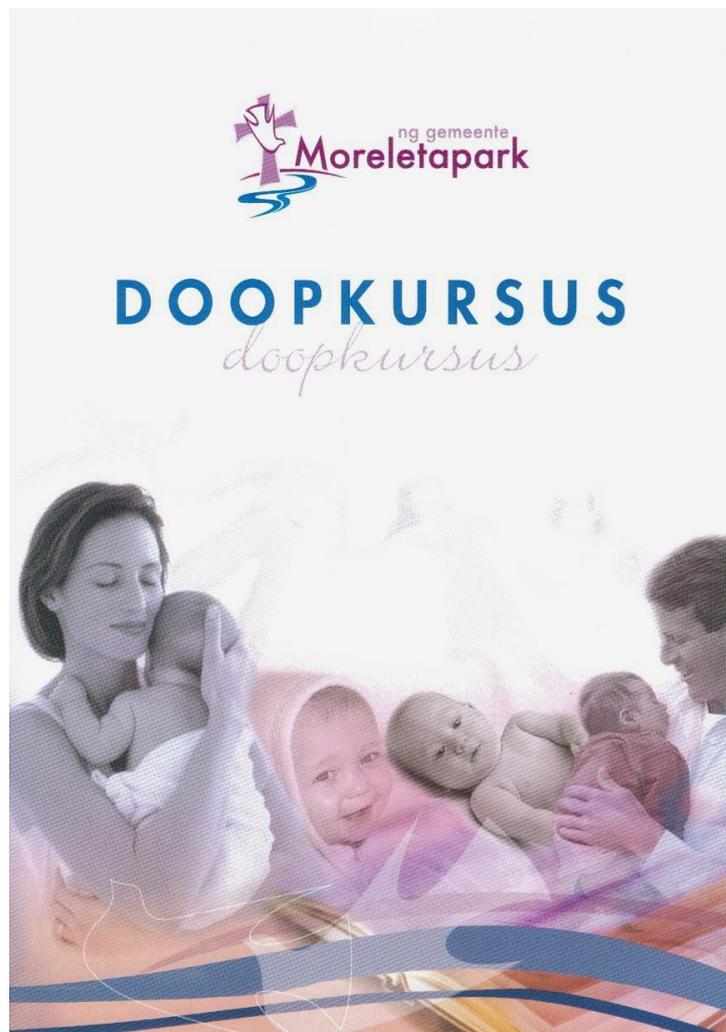
Figure 44: Moreletapark "*Doopkursus*" (Baptism Course) file.

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*sonder*mure 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*sonder*mure 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.

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS – THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER
IN THE SELECTED CHURCHES

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

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

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

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

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

4.1 Gendered ontology

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

4.1.1 Pink is for girls, and blue is for boys

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

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

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

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

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

appears: "to grow well & luxuriantly thrive". This phrase repeats the theme of flowers growing and thriving as is implied by the ministry's name, and also connects to ideas of luxury, opulence and abundance in its use of the adverb "luxuriantly". This word may have certain materialistic connotations and one wonders at its exact purpose in this Christian women's ministry context, as Christianity is known for forsaking worldly riches in favour of spiritual riches. Similarly, it is common knowledge that the Bible preaches against greed and vanity.
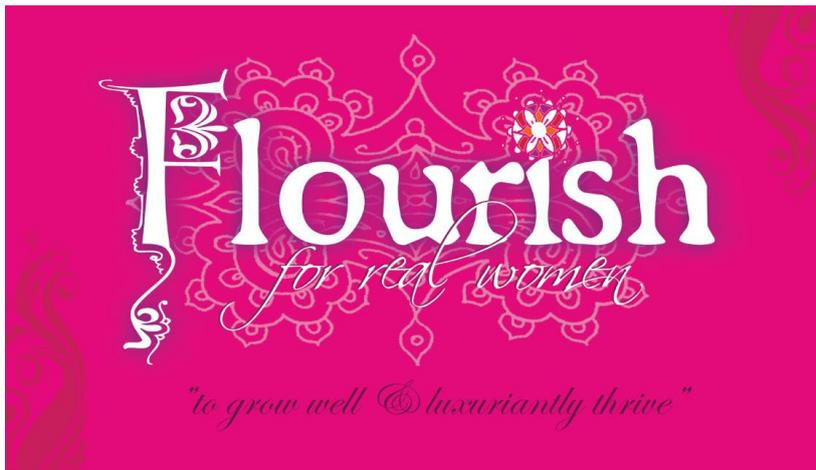
Figure 45: Doxa Deo's "Flourish" ministry logo.
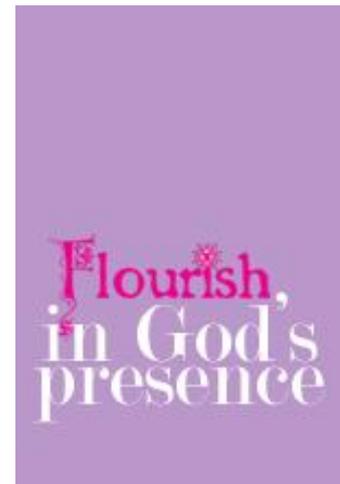
Figure 46: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry image.

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

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

The next image, Figure 47, advertises a worship event hosted by Doxa Deo's Flourish ministry and shows the propensity for decoration. Feminine colours are again used in conjunction with cursive fonts. We assume the posture of the female figure's body in this image is used here to imply connotations of worship, as she appears on an image meant to advertise a worship event. She seems to be praying, or to be enraptured in worship, bending backwards and turning her face up to the heavens. On the right side of the image a pink orchid appears signifying femininity and underlining the flower theme of the Flourish ministry. Dennis-Bryan, Hodgson and Lockley (2008:83) maintain that, "[i]n the West [the orchid] represents luxury, beauty and refinement, and is also a symbol of perfection. The spots on the orchid are thought to represent the blood of Christ". The orchid in this image is used for these purposes, and its connection to Christianity is not coincidental. Above the orchid is a graphic element of organic swirling lines in pink, similar to the graphic elements in Figure 45.
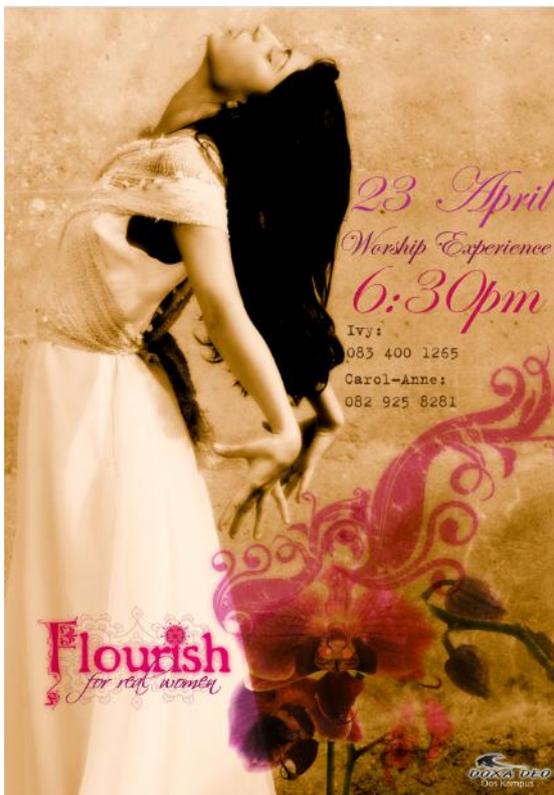
Figure 47: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry "Worship Experience" image.
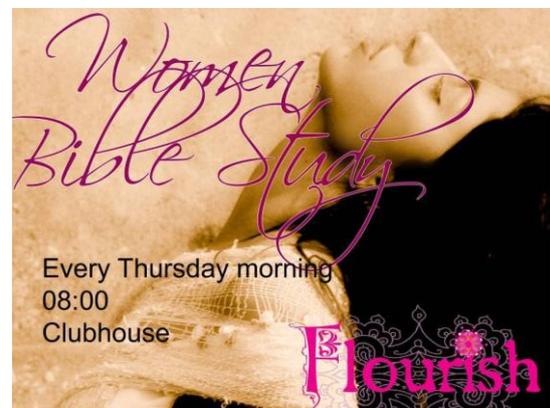
Figure 48: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry "Bible Study" image.

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 49: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry event registration form.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 52: kerk*sonder*mure "*Vonkelvroue*" (Sparkle Women) ministry logo.

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

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

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

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

Figure 53: kerk*sonde*mure "*Vonkelvroue Jaarprogram 2008*"
(Sparkle Women year programme 2008).

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[3] This belief arises from the Biblical tale of a dove bringing hope of life in the form of an olive branch to Noah after the devastation of the earth by God's wrath.
[4] The Holy Spirit is believed to be one component of the Holy Trinity, which descended on Christ in Biblical tales in the form of a dove.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 54: kerk*sonder*mure "*Vonkelvroue Portefeulje 2008*"
(Sparkle Women Portfolio 2008).

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

Figure 55: Moreletapark "*Vrouebediening*" (Women's Ministry) website banner. (Vrouebediening 2008).

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

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

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

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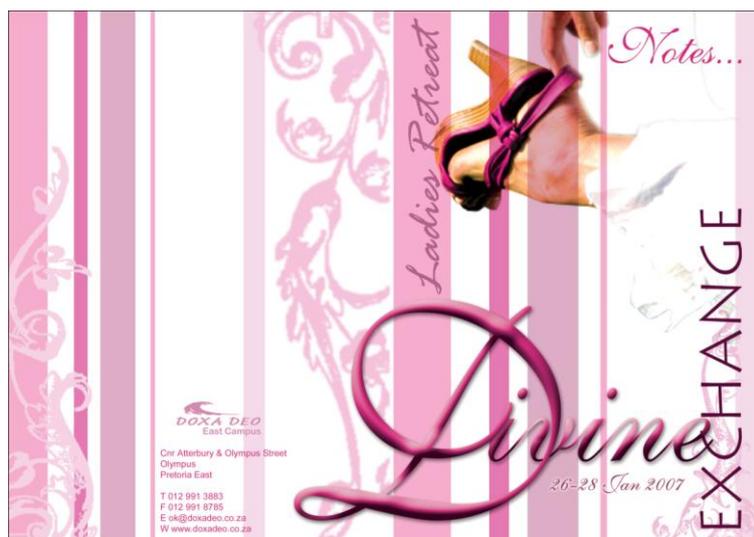

Figure 57: Doxa Deo "Flourish" ministry "Ladies Retreat" image.

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

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

Figure 58: kerk*sondem*ure "*Vonkelvroue*" (Sparkle Women) ministry camp flyer.

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

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

Figure 59: kerk*sonder*mure "*Radikaal Vonkelvrou*" (Radical Sparkle Woman) feature article in *ksm* magazine, July 2008. (Janse van Rensburg 2008:4).

Another feature article appears on the same page as the *Vonkelvroue* camp story in Figure 59, namely an article on midwives, entitled: "*SIFRA Vroedvroue in diens van Jesus en die Gemeenskap*" (SIFRA Midwives in service of Jesus and the Community). The SIFRA[5] article seems to be strategically paired with the *Vonkelvroue* camp article and functions to connect femininity with primary childcare – a signifying practice which is common in the data from all three churches and is discussed later in this chapter.

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

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

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

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

4.1.2 Men and women at worship

The active–passive gender duality is not only common in material generated by Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo for their men's and women's ministries, but also appears in other examples. Both men and women are shown as praying or 'at worship', but even this seemingly neutral depiction of a common Christian activity is marked by essentialist tendencies. Praying and worshipping men are shown to be much more active and dynamically portrayed than their passive and static female counterparts. Women are often shown to be sitting down while worshipping,[6] whereas men are shown standing. Figure 61, a website banner for Moreletapark's prayer and worship ministry, *Tehila Huis van lof- en aanbidding* (Tehila House of prayer and worship[7]) provides an example of a female figure sitting down while worshipping. This image can be contrasted with images of men worshiping while standing up, as, for example, in Figure 35 that depicts a man standing in a wheat field with outstretched arms, staring up into heaven. In Figure 61, the female figure's arms are raised above her head, which is a visual code commonly used to signify worship or prayer in religious contexts. She is identified as female and also somewhat feminised in this context through her long hair.

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

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

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[6] It is acknowledged that this is not the case in Figure 47, which represents the Flourish worship event.
[7] Presumably the house of prayer referred to here is a chapel or room in the church building consecrated for prayer.

delicate, a connection appears to form between female beauty and the act of worship, similar to that between female beauty and spirituality. To a certain extent the nature of femininity and beauty in the data in this study is portrayed as almost angelic, representing women as 'beautiful angels'. Another praying female figure represented as sitting down is found in Figure 63, a feature article on the "*CIP-Wêreld-konferensie*" (CIP-World Conference) "Children in Prayer" event. This purple layout depicts the figure of a girl in white clothing sitting at a table praying with a Bible open in front of her. Through this image femininity is associated with passivity and spirituality, as even though the conference is for children, an image of a girl was selected to embody prayer.
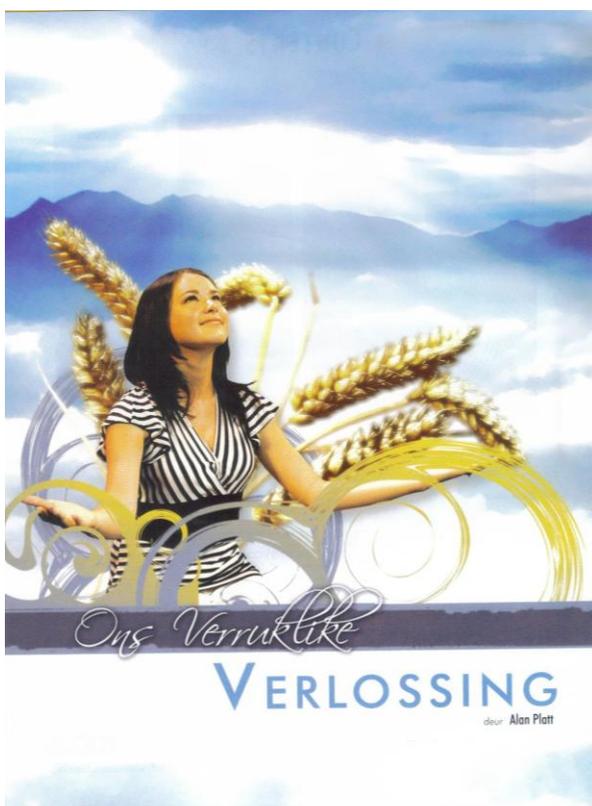
Figure 62: Doxa Deo "*Ons Verruklike Verlossing*" (Our Enraptured Salvation) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Platt 2008a:4).

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

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

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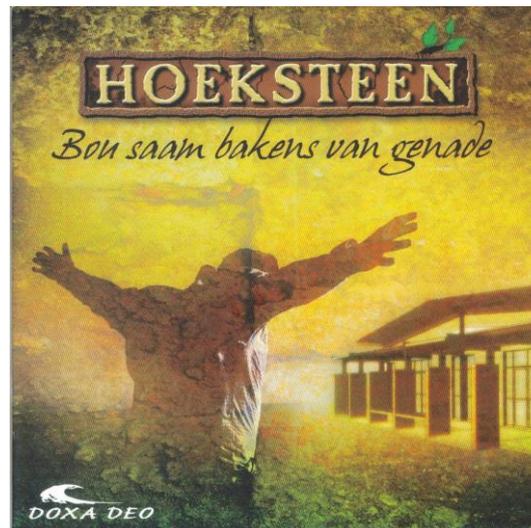

Figure 64: Doxa Deo "*Hoeksteen*" (Cornerstone) brochure.
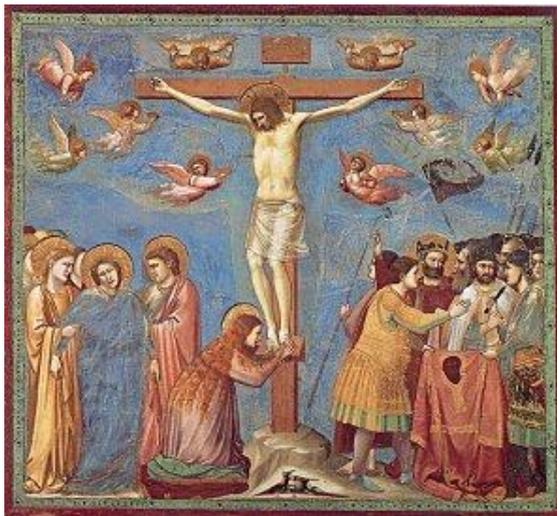
Figure 65: Giotto, *Crucifixion*, c. 1305. Fresco. Arena Chapel, Padua. (Adams 2002:475).

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

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

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

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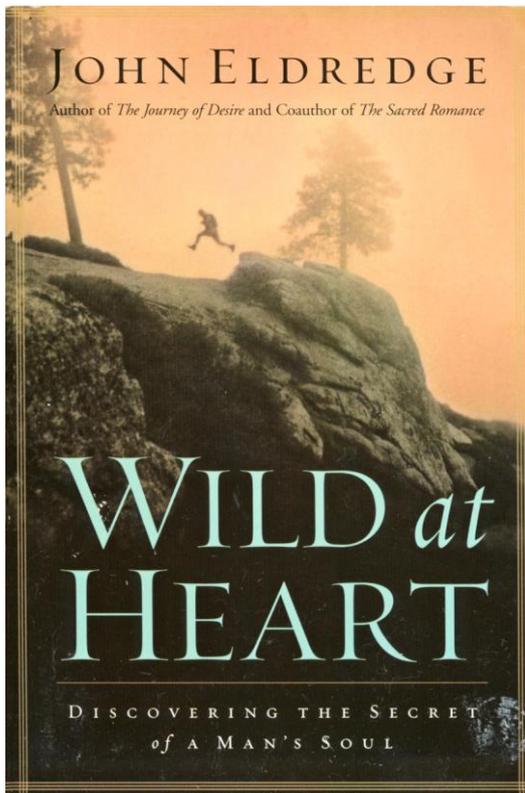
Figure 68: *Wild at heart* book cover.
(Eldredge 2001).
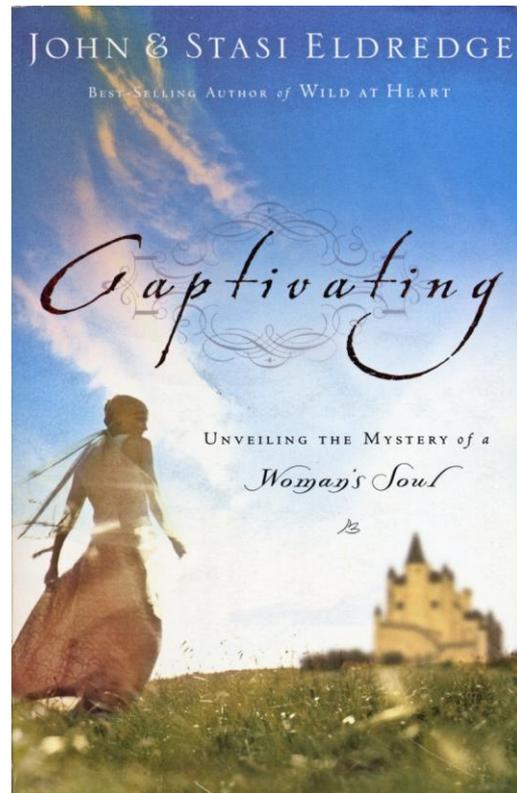
Figure 69: *Captivating* book cover.
(Eldredge & Eldredge 2005).

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

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

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

Figure 70: Moreletapark painting in the church's foyer.[8]
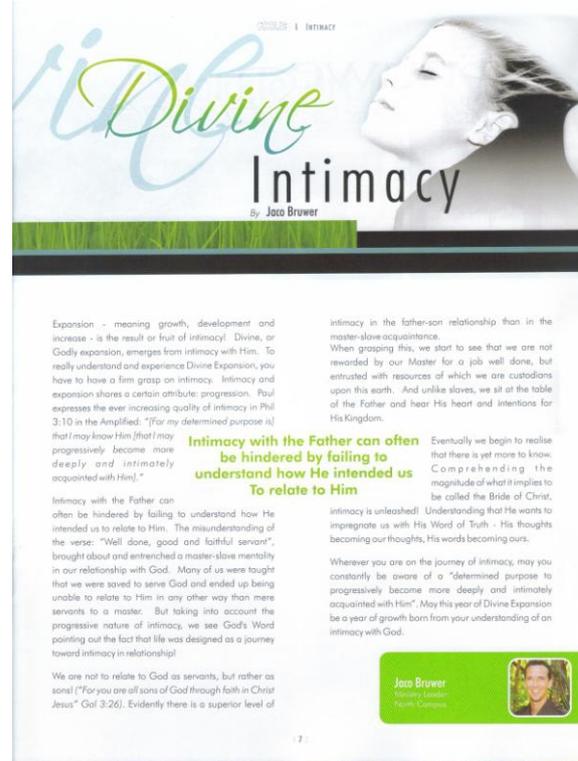
Figure 71: Doxa Deo "Divine Intimacy" feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Bruwer 2008:7).

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

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[8] The artist's name, as well as the creation date of this painting is unknown.
[9] The signifying practice of employing female figures as personifications of "desiderata and virtues" is explored in depth by Marina Warner (1985:xix).
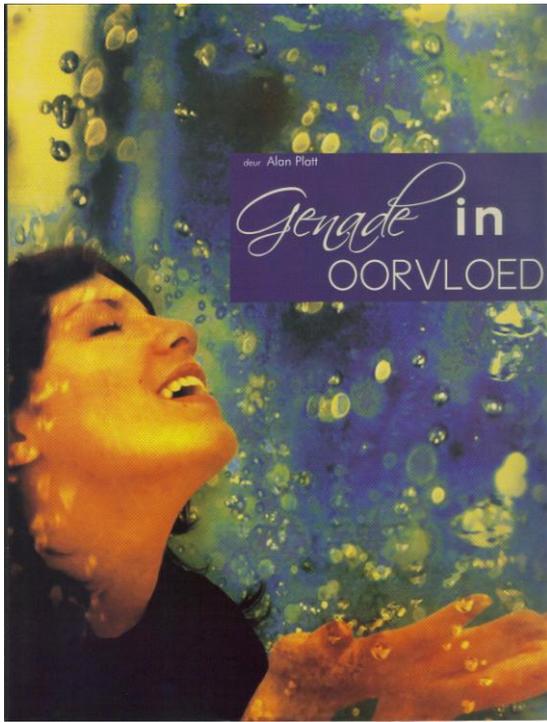
Figure 72: Doxa Deo "*Genade in Oorvloed*" (Grace in Abundance) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue Two 2008. (Platt 2008b:4).
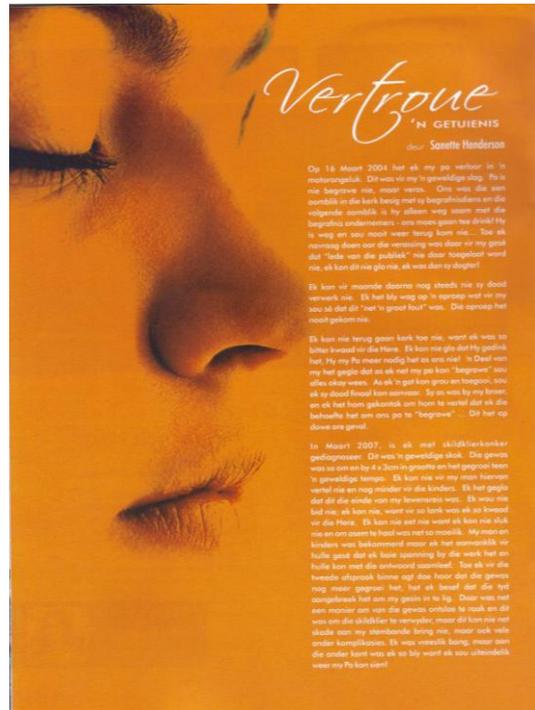

Figure 73: Doxa Deo "*Vertroue 'n Getuienis*" (Trust a Testimony) feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008. (Henderson 2008:20).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 75: Doxa Deo "Flourish Conference" bookmark.

Figure 76: Doxa Deo "Flourish Conference" image.

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

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

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

4.2 Family matters

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

4.2.1 Work and children

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apart from being portrayed as mothers with infants, women are also frequently depicted in connection to activities concerning children (see Figures 79-81 and 83-86). Figure 78 is a flyer for a seminar hosted by kerk*sonder*mure, which features child-rearing expert, Hettie Brittz[11] (wife of popular Afrikaans Christian musician, Louis Brittz), entitled "*Kweek Kinders met Karakter. Kweek Gesonde Gesag*" (Cultivate Children with Character. Cultivate Healthy Authority). The background of this image is green with a flower and leaf motif. Pink and blue fonts are used for the text, as well as both cursive and bold fonts. This practice seems to strike a balance between the feminine and masculine appearance of the image. The same could be noted regarding Figures 79 and 80. Creating such a balance between the visual femininity and masculinity of an image, could result from a desire to appeal to parents of children of both genders.

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

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[11] Hettie Brittz runs a ministry and business based on her expertise independently from kerk*sonder*mure.

Figure 78: kerk*sonder*mure "*Kweek Kinders met Karakter. Kweek Gesonde Gesag*" (Cultivate Kids with Character. Cultivate Healthy Authority) seminar flyer.

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

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

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

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

Figure 79: kerk*sonder*mure "*Mini-Kinder-Oesfees Alwena en Pêllies*" (Mini-Children's-Harverst Festival Alwena and Pals) flyer.

Figure 80: kerk*sonder*mure Soekie from "*Radikids*" event flyer.

Figure 81 represents a feature article in *ksm* magazine on the children's holiday programme hosted by kerk*sonder*mure. The layout has photographs around its edges depicting various activities which children engaged in during the holiday programme; femininity is again associated with childcare and children's entertainment in various ways. The phrase "*Vakansieprogram 2008*" (Holiday Programme 2008) is written in pink capital letters and the layout's background also shows hues of pink, soft yellow and orange. From the photographs around the edges it seems that women were mostly involved in hosting the holiday programme, although children of both sexes are portrayed almost in equal numbers. At the top left corner of the layout, above the phrase "*Vakansieprogram*" a photograph of three young women with two elderly women[12] is shown. In the next two photographs to the right a woman in black is shown teaching a lesson in front of a class of toddlers. At the bottom left corner of the layout women are depicted dishing up food for the elderly, once again referring to a woman's role as caretaker and servant, not only of children, but also of others.

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

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

Figure 81: kerk*sonder*mure "*Vakansieprogram 2008*" (Holiday programme 2008) feature article in *ksm* magazine, July 2008. (Vakansieprogram … 2008).

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

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

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

Figure 82: kerk*sonder*mure "*Weesgerus Gesinne 'kook' by gesinskamp…* " (Rest assured families "rocked" at family camp…) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008. (Du Preez 2008:5).

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

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

Figure 83: kerk*sonder*mure "*MOPS-sondermure*" (MOPS without walls) feature article in *ksm* magazine, October 2008. (MOPS-sondermure 2008:7).

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

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

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

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

Figure 85: Moreletapark *CMR* brochure.

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

Figure 86: kerk*sonder*mure "*Maak hart oop vir pleegouers*"
(Open heart for foster parents) feature article in *ksm*
magazine, September 2008.
(Maak Hart Oop … 2008b:5).

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

where both the Brooklyn and East Campuses of Doxa Deo are based, and because of this one would not assume that the white man is the black baby's father[14] (also see Figure 41).
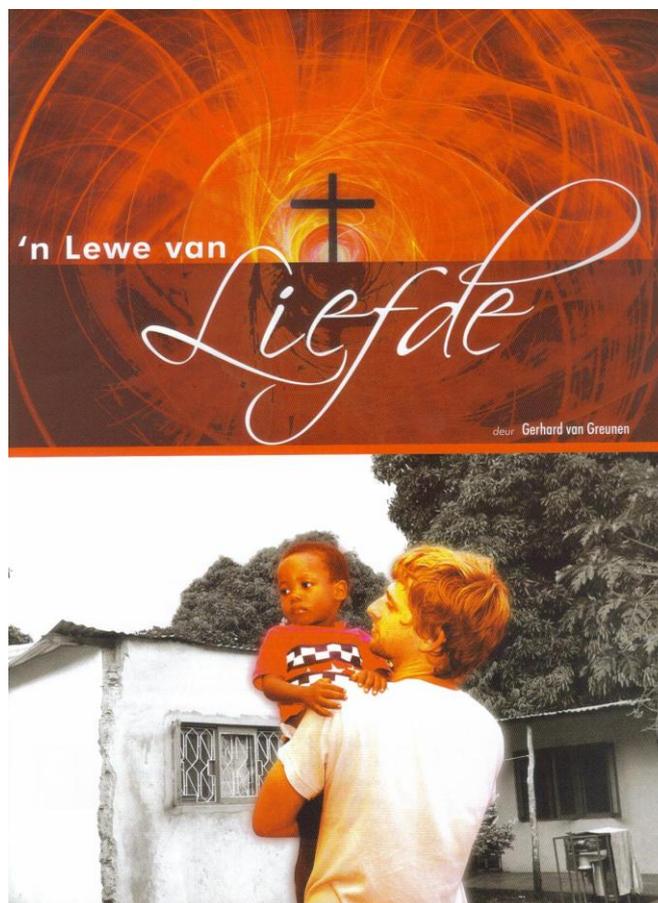

Figure 87: Doxa Deo "*'n Lewe van liefde*" (A life of love)
feature article in *focus* magazine, Issue One 2008.
(Van Greunen 2008:12).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.2 Love is marriage

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

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

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

Figure 88: kerk*sonder*mure "30 Plus" ministry programme.
(30 Plus 2008).
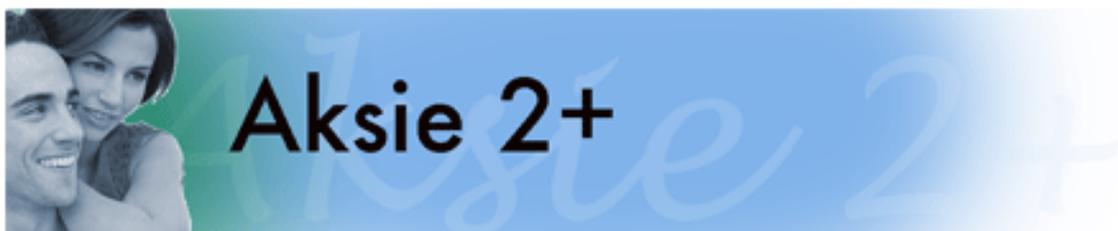
Figure 89: Moreletapark "*Aksie 2+*" (Action 2+) ministry website banner.
(Aksie 2+ 2008).

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

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

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

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

Figure 92 shows an advertisement for Moreletapark's "*Huweliksweek*" (Marriage week). A photograph, similar to that of Figure 90, of a male and female figure shown kissing in a field is provided. As in Figure 90, this creates a romantic, intimate scene of a heterosexual couple. The speaker for this week is a man, Arnold Mol, holding the same implications as discussed above.
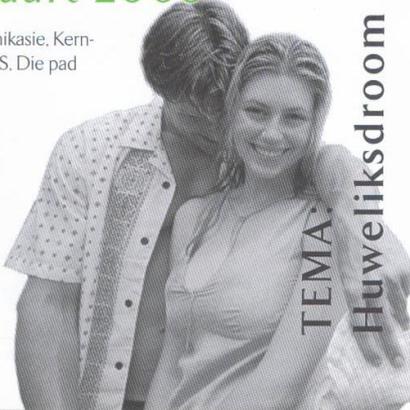
Figure 91: Moreletapark "*Huweliksverryking seminar*" (Marriage enrichment seminar) print advertisement in *Nuwe Dimensie* magazine, February 2008. (*Nuwe Dimensie* 2008:11).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 94: kerk*sonde*mure "*Gemeenteraad Retreat*" (Congregation Board Retreat) invitation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 Exscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

"In naming gender, one is not simply naming a (sexual) division of labour; one is rather, naming a system of power, further denoted variously as patriarchy, sexism, male dominance, and so on" (Brod 1995:15).

This study described and critically analysed the representation of gender in three Afrikaans corporate churches. This comprised a Barthean semiotic analysis of visual material collected from selected Afrikaans churches in the Pretoria-Centurion area, namely Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo. The study was conducted and conceptualised within an interdisciplinary framework and comprised theories and methodologies appropriated from Visual Culture Studies and Gender Studies. This chapter provides a summary of the dissertation, as well as a review of the main findings and implications thereof. I also outline the limitations of this study and the contribution it makes. This is followed by suggestions for further research and some concluding remarks regarding the connection between the findings of this study and the rise of global Christian neo-conservatism and fundamentalism.

5.1 Summary of chapters

Apart from sketching the background and need for this study, Chapter One provided the methodological and theoretical framework for the research conducted. From the literature reviewed, I identified a gap in available research on gender in the visual culture in the contemporary church and in Christian culture. There also seems to be a particular lack of research into men and masculinity in the church and Christianity, especially in South Africa. This omission of masculinity in studies on gender in the church and Christianity led me to adopt the representation of men and masculinity in the church as this study's focus, as issues regarding women and femininity in the church and Christianity have received a fair amount of attention from South African scholars.

Chapter Two provided a discussion of the context of the three churches selected for this study. Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo were conceptualised as corporate churches, and the visual culture of these churches was described. I also considered the

phenomenon of the gendering of Christian men's and women's ministries prevalent in all three selected churches, as well as the tendency towards the gendered branding of these ministries. These descriptions were called for, as visual material from the churches' men's and women's ministries makes up a large portion of the data for this study

Chapter Three started with a theoretical exploration of the representation of masculinity and its associated myths. I also considered the relationship between gender and Christianity, as well as between masculinity and Christianity specifically and placed this relationship within the South African context. The connections between Christian gender beliefs, biological determinism and gender essentialism were highlighted. In this chapter, I discussed the representation of masculinity in the three churches, which was organised and discussed according to three recurring themes in the data, namely: professional occupation and leadership; physical activity and adventurism; and fatherhood. These themes are considered by various scholars to be central themes in the cultural construction of adult masculine identity. The centrality of the Christian notion of male headship and the breadwinner myth was focused on.

In Chapter Four, the representation of gender was considered in broader terms as it appears in the visual culture of the three churches. Here the representation of femininity was discussed as a foil to the representation of masculinity and in so doing the construction of dominant masculinity in the data from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo was underlined. The highly essentialised nature of gender as it appears in these three churches was stressed. This chapter paid specific attention to the construction of gendered ontology in the churches and focused on the passive and decorative functions women and femininity assume in the three selected churches, in contrast with the active and leadership functions connected to men and masculinity. Matters of gender in family contexts were also considered, as well as the subordinated and domesticated roles connected to women and femininity in opposition to the dominant and public roles attributed to men and masculinity. Certain non-represented, or exscripted, gender aspects were also problematised.

5.2 Conclusions and implications

An analysis of the gender portrayals in the visual material produced by Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo reveals that gender representation occurs along unusually strict, separated lines. I believe this gender division to be out of the ordinary because when

these representations are compared to the mainstream media, which portrays an array of gender and sexual identities, the church images show a decisively neat division of the sexes as either essentially masculine or essentially feminine – as polar opposites, or 'significant others', in terms of gender identity. As is apparent when comparing the figures discussed in Chapter Four to those analysed in Chapter Three, the stereotypical colours blue and pink are primarily used as a visual shorthand to signify masculinity and femininity – akin to the gendered branding of products seen in mainstream advertising (particularly that targeted at children). Nothing appears in between the two visually constructed gender poles – pink and blue – to represent diversity in lived performance of gender. Metaphorically speaking, one sees nothing on the continuum of gender identity, no purple (which might, according to this overly simplistic semiotic, represent homosexuality or bisexuality), bluish pink (masculine femininity) or pinkish blue (feminine masculinity). Indeed, through their strict polarisation of the sexes and their focus on marriage and traditional notions of family, the compulsory imperative of heteronormativity appears to be at play in the churches' visual culture. It almost seems as though the male–female dualities discussed in Chapter One were used as a blueprint for gender portrayal by the three churches.

It was found in this study that the three selected churches maintain the "masculine masquerade" (Brod 1995:13) through depictions of heroic masculinity as active adventurers, career men and breadwinner fathers. Whereas male ontology is constructed as being physically active and adventurous in the visual data in this study, female ontology is constructed as being beautiful and through this beauty, acts as a symbol for the spiritual. Masculine ontology is therefore associated with *doing*, whereas feminine ontology is associated with *appearing*. As a result, decoration and beauty are strongly associated with Christian femininity. Attractive female models in white clothing, with slim bodies, soft facial features and long hair are commonly employed in the churches' women's ministries' material. Close-up camera shots of female models are also frequently used, resulting in the abstraction of their bodies and faces, thereby objectifying their feminine forms. Male bodies are neither objectified nor eroticised in the data of this study (Nixon 1997).

All the feminine elements present in the visual material discussed in Chapter Four stand in stark contrast to the masculine elements discussed in Chapter Three. There is, therefore, a great visual difference between the representation of masculinity and that of femininity in the materials from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo: masculinity is constructed as everything which stands in opposition to femininity and vice versa.

Stereotypically masculine elements are preferred in the churches' visual culture where men and their activities are depicted. Masculine colours, such as blue, grey and red are privileged and so are bold, static fonts and capital letters.

It is clear that Christian beliefs in essentialism and biological determinism are strong influences in the visual culture of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo, which feature prominent depictions of dominant notions of both masculinity and femininity. Masculine essential instrumentality is constructed in opposition to feminine essential ornamentality. As representations are commonly understood to be idealised versions of the reality they depict, as discussed in Chapter One, one could argue that specific gender ideals regarding Afrikaner Christian masculinity and femininity are embodied in the data in this study. Ideal Christian masculinity is, therefore, constructed in the selected churches as physically active and adventurous, leading in both public and private spaces, whereas ideal Christian femininity is constructed as passive, beautiful, submissive and domestic.

One also sees no feminisation of masculinity, which occurs frequently in the media as well as in the visual arts (Solomon-Godeau 1997:11). Men's bodies are not eroticised and objectified as in the mainstream media (Nixon 1997). Neither are men shown as consumers, which has become common in men's lifestyle magazines and advertising. No emphasis is placed on the physical appearance of the male figures discussed in Chapter Three, but rather on their physical activity. The findings differ in this regard from the representation of masculinity in the mainstream media. In fact physical beauty, as is shown in Chapter Four, appears almost to be an exclusively female trait. One notices that masculinity is, therefore, constructed as not 'prettified', or as not-feminine for that matter.

Apart from male bonding activities, reference to male to male relationships is mostly avoided, whereas female to female relationships are frequently implied. Where men and masculinity are concerned, public life in terms of work and adventure is emphasised, whereas where women and femininity are concerned, the emphasis is on the private and domestic. This resonates with Connell's (1987) description of a "gender order", or "gender regime", which is based on categories of exclusion and inclusion (Prinsloo 2006:134). Within this order, "masculinity is constructed as powerful, physical, rational and located in the public sphere, and femininity as passive, dependent, emotional and inhabiting the domestic sphere" (Prinsloo 2006:134).

Notions of self-sacrifice and service to others are emphasised in relation to femininity. By contrast, individualism is strongly related to masculinity through the presence of the myth of the lone male hero – conquering nature and the business world – and references to male career advancement. No references are made in the data of this study to men serving others, except in the context of their immediate families in their role as breadwinners. In terms of family, a focus on romantic heterosexual relationships, especially in the form of marriage, is found in the visual data from all three churches as well as a preference for nuclear family configurations. Motherhood and fatherhood are also both frequently shown, although in different terms. These divergent conceptions of fatherhood and motherhood are also common in the mainstream media (see Prinsloo 2006:134).

Childcare and child-rearing are accentuated, but these concepts are highly feminised, as was demonstrated in Chapter Four. It was noted that no representation of fatherhood is present in the data collected from Doxa Deo. Motherhood, on the other hand, is found in the church's visual culture, and this firmly situates primary childcare as a female responsibility in Doxa Deo. In this study it became apparent that the roles of women, as portrayed in the visual culture of the three churches, are limited, especially when compared to those of men. This corresponds to practices in the mainstream media, as Prinsloo (2006:140) comments that The Gender Media Baseline Study conducted in Southern Africa in 2003 "found that men were represented in a much wider variety of activities than were women, but that they were rarely identified in terms of their relationships, as father or husband, for example, in contrast to women who were more likely to have such relationships ascribed to them". I would argue that women are, to a certain extent, rendered complicit in their own oppression in the three churches. Judging from the activities of the women's ministries, it would appear as though women are co-opted to serve men, others and God in the church – a role which they seem to fulfil willingly. Questions about female agency (Connell 2001:43) in these churches arise, considering the extent to which women are pacified and subordinated.

These tendencies found in the visual culture of the three churches regarding parenting and work are problematic. Both work and family are potential sites where progressive social changes in the gender order may occur. When middle-class women work, their husbands tend to help out more at home and with the children. Stronger representations of employed women, employed outside the home or not stereotypically connected to children, could aid to normalise such progressive moves. When men, especially in the middle-class, start to

engage in primary childcare, progressive gender change can also become possible (LaRossa 1995:457; Morrell 2006:23; Silverstein *et al* 1999:668). This debunks the subordinating stereotype of women being primarily responsible for caring and raising children – a belief which has led many a mother not to return to employment after the birth of her first child. Gender role change in the family remains important in the quest for gender equality, as the family is often a microcosm for broader gender practices in society (Morgan 2001:226).

The emphasis of family values in the findings resonates with Viljoen's (2009:16) opinion that, "the Afrikaner 'imagined community' is both God-fearing and family centred". From the findings in this study, it is possible to argue that traditional gender dichotomies are enshrined in the visual culture of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo. These dichotomies are, however, likely to be out of tune with the real life experiences of white, middle-class men and women in the Pretoria-Centurion area. These areas are affluent, white, middle-class areas and as such are more likely to exhibit progressive tendencies with regard to family structures and occupational situations (LaRossa 1995:475). Similarly, as Prinsloo (2006:134) contends, more and more South African women are heading households, especially in the face of male unemployment and absenteeism.

According to Morgan (2001:231-232), the study of the family remains important for gender analysis, as it is the site where people "do gender". Cultural beliefs about family are also ideological and serve to enshrine patriarchal power (Whitehead 2002:150). The family is viewed as an organising principle (Whitehead 2002:152) and an Ideological State Apparatus, in Althusser's (2002) terms. The family is also a unit of consumption and, like the Protestant work ethic, it serves capitalism. Political and fundamentalist calls exist for "good family values" (Whitehead 2001:150; Morgan 2001:230) and beliefs are held in certain factions that contemporary transformations in the family point towards social disorder (Whitehead 2002:152). It is therefore significant that one sees a promotion of traditional family configurations in the church imagery in this study, which portrays patriarchs, heads of households, breadwinners, home-bound mothers and happy children. Conservative notions of the nuclear family are commonly protected and preserved by the political right (Whitehead 2002:150). The protection of these family values is ultimately a preservation of male dominance (Balmer 2000:201), as wives are subjected to their husbands in these traditional ideals. The family is frequently viewed as a microcosm for broader gender relations (Morgan 2001:228, 232); controlling this microcosm is therefore a strategic project in the assertion of masculine hegemony.

In Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo, men and women appear to be represented as 'in their place', with certain roles, positions and functions assigned to each gender: worker, father, mother, caregiver, breadwinner, and head. What appears in the visual culture of these churches is a utopia of Christian gender relations, a fiction of idealised conservative Christian manhood and womanhood as essentially masculine or essentially feminine – constituting versions of both dominant masculinity and dominant femininity. These dominant ideals of gender are given legitimacy through signification in the churches' visual culture. The churches succeed in naturalising certain myths of gender (the myth of the male breadwinner, the myth of the female primary caregiver, the myth of male superior physical activity and the myth of passive female beauty) and therefore also in depoliticising these myths in order to make them appear to be the norm and natural (Barthes 1972:142). Popular media gender myths are, therefore, selectively chosen, over-simplified, and stripped of their diversity in the visual material produced by the three churches. This phenomenon represents the working of Barthean myth at its best as the hollowing out and theft of meaning and history of the sign (Barthes 1972:114, 117). The visual cultures of the churches in this study, therefore, construct their own systems of symbols, or iconographies, of gender representation.

Femininity and masculinity are both ideological formations in patriarchy – a type of social organisation (Solomon-Godeau 1997:19). Both dominant masculinity and dominant femininity serve to uphold patriarchy, as can be seen in the visual material in this study. Although the representation of both dominant masculinity and femininity supports masculinist and patriarchal ideologies in this study, these ideologies place a burden not only on women, but also on men (cf. Erasmus 1996:28), seen through the imperative for men to have gainful employment, as well as their visual exclusion from primary childcare. Representations, especially gender representations, are often viewed as idealisations resulting in a tension between the unattainable ideals depicted and the reality of people's lived experience (Solomon-Godeau 1997:36). Both masculinity and femininity are constructed as representations of ideals in this study, and as such would not completely approximate the real-life situation in the lives of the men and women in these three churches. Regarding the idealisation of masculinity, MacKinnon (2003:9) states that,

> the culturally idealised form of masculinity may not be the usual form of masculinity actually practiced within a society's history at a particular time. The actual personalities of the majority of men may show little correspondence with the cultural ideals of masculinity. It may be, in fact, that hegemony needs fantasy figures to embody its particular variety of masculinity.

Where unattainable masculine and feminine ideals are concerned, there appears to be a gap between representation and reality. Lived experiences and performances of gender of the church members of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo are, therefore, likely to be different from the idealised versions of masculinity and femininity represented in the churches' visual culture. Contradictions and compromises exist in real relationships, and one assumes that there would be clashes between perceived Christian gender roles and contemporary gender roles. In this vein, Faludi (2000:247) describes how Promise Keepers men confess that despite being instructed to do so, they were unable to dominate their wives at home and to make them submit. In current times men may want their wives to submit to their headship on a Biblical basis, but when their wives earn more money than they do or have stronger careers, it complicates the 'common sense' of female submission often espoused in the church.

At first glance it would appear that the churches in this study practice essentialism and biological determinism in their representational culture to such an extreme that it becomes conspicuous and seems to some degree strategic. One may then speculate that there is a correlation between a conservative and perhaps uncritical reading of the Bible and an adherence to the strict gender binaries as analysed here. Such a literal interpretation of the scripture on gender roles would not necessarily be the norm in all three churches, nor amongst all their members, but it might appear that such an application is at work in their visual material. One assumes that because the type of gender representation identified in this study is common in all three churches, these images are not contested and must surely resonate with the audience at some level. It could be that the churches use conservative gender stereotypes from the mainstream media in order to connect with their congregation members.

However, from my observation of the communication processes at the three churches and discussions with their communication officials and leaders, I maintain that although these churches have dedicated communication teams and highly trained graphic designers producing their imagery, and do not regularly make themselves guilty of *conspicuous clip art pushing* (see Chapter Three), very little thought is put into the manner in which men and women are portrayed in their visual culture. I would argue that this is for two reasons. Firstly, in large and complex organisations such as the corporate church there are so many competing activities and matters that the issue of gender representation enjoys marginal, if in fact any, attention and is not mainstreamed – which is also the case in large secular corporations and organisations. Secondly, because gender is a highly contentious

issue in the church, many congregation members and leaders prefer to avoid dealing with the matter altogether. I therefore believe that the way in which men and women are depicted in these churches is not carefully thought out and planned (although their communication in general is) and that communicators and designers revert to using easily acceptable conservative and traditional gender images and roles which would be most recognisable, identifiable and palatable in a Christian setting. Such an un-self-aware and uncritical, albeit unconscious, use of stereotypical gender conceptualisations is, however, linked to certain ideological positions and is also not without problems and implications, as will be argued at the end of this chapter.

As indicated in the examples discussed here, there seems to be a lack of gender mainstreaming in the churches participating in this study, as 'thorny' gender issues appear to be sidestepped. It appears, therefore, that to maintain relevance in their communities, churches could benefit from proactively engaging with issues of gender for the following reasons. Firstly, women are increasingly entering the workforce and gaining responsibility, compensation and status in their careers and will, in all likelihood, not remain content with the secondary and subordinated roles and status assigned to them in churches. Secondly, with the naturalisation of homosexuality and resultant homonormativity in the mainstream media, the church would need to find a way to be more accommodating to persons of alternative sexual persuasions, instead of aiming symbolic ostracism at them, which is the current practice. Thirdly, men in South African churches, especially traditionally white churches, are experiencing real difficulty in coping with their current status as the politically and economically disowned. Judging from the portrayals of men and masculinity in this study, churches are failing to provide realistic answers to the problems of white manhood in post-apartheid South Africa. One notices that apart from the anti-feminist Promise Keepers and Angus Buchan, there are no other successful attempts to address Christian men's issues. I believe that there is, therefore, a need for churches to articulate vernacular, non-dominant, counter-hegemonic and pro-feminist masculinities. It could be maintained that the churches in this study fail to provide authentic depictions of vernacular masculinity (Viljoen 2008:ii), as their representations appear to be removed from reality. These representations of masculinity are idealisations and at best they represent vernacular ideals.

When considered in the light of the current South African context of transformation from apartheid to democracy the images analysed in this study show possible traces of the assertion of white hegemonic (Afrikaner) male power. Over the past few decades,

masculinity has been viewed as being in a state of crisis in the Western world owing mainly to feminism, changing social norms and economic pressures (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:8). White masculinity in South Africa has been increasingly under threat in the context of Black Economic Empowerment employment practices in the workplace, whereby not only people of other races, but also women are favoured. I would argue that the visible presence of the cult of corporate masculinity in the churches' visual culture serves as a reassuring fiction for white men not only under pressure at work, but in danger of losing their jobs, or perhaps already retrenched. In the tidal shift of transformation from apartheid to democracy in South Africa, crisis tendencies may be expected and the type of essentialism visible in this study functions to protect and preserve what little is left of white masculine power in the unpredictable throes of transition.

I would also argue that the masculine culture of corporate organisation influences gender ideology in these churches, because they are run as organisations. This practice could be the result of Western global corporatisation and creeping managerialism. Through this dominance of masculine culture in these three churches, one sees a "predictable masculine discourse" (McKay *et al* 2005:283), which in turn results in the prescription of androcentric protocols (Doty 1993:17) where the representation of women and femininity is concerned. Through the analysis in this study, it becomes apparent that the representation of masculinity in the three churches constitutes a negation of femininity (Bartkowski 2004:51) and ultimately a devaluation thereof (MacKinnon 2003:5-6). This corresponds with Landman's (1994) contention that Afrikaner Christian women exist as a subculture in Afrikaner Christian culture. According to Solomon-Godeau (1997:11), the "dominant iconographic role of masculinity" is parallel to political and social developments. Masculinity embodies the apex of a culture, and this is also the case in the visual culture of the three selected churches. The ideal male body is a vehicle for the public, social and political; it carries these higher ideals and "public" values and in this regard it performs "symbolic labour" (Solomon-Godeau 1997:12). It could be argued that the dominance of masculinity in the visual culture of Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo, contributes to the constitution of masculine iconographies of power, which also feature prominently in mainstream Christian popular culture (cf. Viljoen & Koenig-Visagie 2011). In this regard I also find it highly problematic that leadership is mostly attributed to men in the three selected churches. The churches might need to heed Swart's (2001:86) warning that in post-apartheid South Africa, "[p]aternal leadership figures serve to replicate patriarchal society in a new constitutionally non-sexist environment".

5.3 Limitations and contribution of study

The study on Moreletapark, kerk*sonde*rmure and Doxa Deo focused on a specific set of churches – Afrikaans corporate churches – in a small geographical area – the Pretoria-Centurion area. The findings of this study can, therefore, in empirical terms not be generalised as applying to all Afrikaans churches – nor to all South African churches for that matter. The findings do, however, offer rich, qualitative descriptions of the representation of gender in the three selected churches, as well as a theoretical and analytical basis for further research. Although the visual material of only three churches was used in the study, one might venture to speculate that, owing to their specific positioning as part of larger organisations, some of the findings could be applicable to other congregations within those organisations (although it must be admitted that every congregation in these organisations would, to some extent, have its own unique culture besides the organisational culture). Both the DRC and the AFM are major and influential religious denominations in South Africa. The DRC boasts a staggering 1 184 congregations with about 1.2 million members[1] and the AFM claims to be the oldest and largest Pentecostal church in South Africa.[2] The churches in this study, therefore, represent a significant part of South African Christendom, especially Afrikaner Christendom. Certain components of an Afrikaner gender ethos, intertwined with a Dutch Reformed gender ethos, could therefore be assumed to be present in the churches in this study.

A further limitation to the research is that Moreletapark, kerk*sonde*rmure and Doxa Deo archive their own visual data in a very informal and unstructured manner. It is therefore difficult to determine whether all available visual material was considered in the sampling of data. The age of the data sample might also be considered as a limitation, as it represents the visual culture of the three selected churches from 2007 and 2008. The various difficulties around obtaining this sample and my decision not to repeat sampling were explained in Chapter One. Although the data sample is, by the time of the submission of this dissertation, already four years old, it still aids in providing a contemporary description of the representation of gender in the Afrikaans church, principally in light of the fact that no other study like the one undertaken here exists from South Africa, as discussed below.

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[1] This limformation was obtained from the DRC's website (Dutch Reformed Church).
[2] This information was obtained from the AFM's website (Introduction).

Finally, my own subjectivity in growing up in an Afrikaans church-orientated environment may result in a certain bias prevailing over this study, but I believe that my embedded background provides me with insights into the ideological workings of the visual texts under consideration in this study, as well as the context in which they are produced, which I would not have acquired under different circumstances. I am, however, aware of my subjectivity in this matter and wished to test my assumptions and answer my research questions through careful deliberation, analysis and argumentation.

Through the research undertaken here, I have sought to fill a gap in the available literature regarding the representation of gender in the visual culture of the church and in Christianity, especially regarding men and masculinity. Through a review of the literature I found that only two other South African studies dealing with men and masculinity in the church and in Christianity exist, namely Cloete (2001) and Viljoen (2008, 2009, 2011). Cloete's study is done from the perspective of practical theology and does not consider the visual culture of the congregations participating in his study. Although Viljoen's study operates from a visual culture perspective, the data she uses is not from the Afrikaans church, but from a magazine aimed at Afrikaans Christian men. My study, therefore, offers the only qualitative description and analysis of the representation of gender in the visual culture of selected Afrikaans churches available from South Africa. Considering the limitation of the archiving of the three churches' visual material discussed above, this dissertation also provides a systematic documentation, as far as possible, of visual material depicting gender from Afrikaans corporate churches, which did not exist prior to this study.

Like Viljoen's research, my study offers one of the few studies which problematises gender and masculinity in the Afrikaans Christian or church context focusing specifically on representation and on visual culture. It could be argued that studies which focus on gender in the Afrikaans Christian and church context, contribute significantly to the destabilisation of old South African power structures, as the Afrikaans church and its objectionable gender and racial practices were not generally openly challenged during the apartheid era. I believe that the Afrikaans church is still not sufficiently challenged in either of these areas, even today. Furthermore, in the South African milieu, studies on men and masculinity in Christian and church contexts are particularly relevant, considering the close ties between Afrikaner Christian masculine hegemony, the Dutch Reformed Church and the ideology of the erstwhile apartheid regime.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

More research into gender in Christian contexts in South Africa is needed, especially studies aimed at researching men and masculinity, as there is a prominent lacuna in research into this aspect. I support Viljoen's (2008) call for more description and analysis of "vernacular masculinities", to which the need for the acknowledgment of "multiple masculinities" (Whitehead 2002:3) may be added, especially in light of South Africa's demographically diverse population. One could safely assume that an array of Christian masculinities exists in the South African context, ranging from conservative to liberal, with nuances across every culture and ethnicity. Furthermore, churches could enjoy increased attention from scholars as ideological spaces, and studies on the visual culture of churches could serve as an entry point into such enquiries. One could safely argue that this would be the case, particularly in large congregations where the use of communication and the constitution of visual culture is prolific and central in the creation of unity in expansive churches. The phenomenon of Christian visual culture or popular Christian culture also needs description, especially the gendered aspects thereof.

A study such as the one undertaken here could be repeated with data samples from different (Afrikaans) churches of various sizes, and from other denominations and churches catering for people of different cultures, languages and races. I would find it particularly interesting to compare the findings of this study with a similar study conducted in an alternative and more liberal congregation – such as the Johannesburg-based, gay-friendly Afrikaans congregation, *Mosaïek* (Mosaic) – where one would assume that gender representation would be more current with gender changes in society, but such an assumption would have to be tested.

The use of different theoretical frameworks and methodologies in a study on gender in Christian or church contexts could also be useful for the nuancing of the available knowledge on the topic. In this regard, the appropriation of Critical Discourse Analysis, or Social Semiotics would be equally applicable to Barthean semiotics used here – although Barthean semiotics did serve the purpose of answering the research questions and testing the assumptions of this study well. I would, however, not recommend the use of quantitative content analysis in a study of gender in Christian and church context, because such analyses were used in the past to gather evidence in support of the segregated nature of gender roles as noted in Chapter Three (see Fejes 1992). Judging from my findings, this could be highly problematic without qualitative critique in the context of the

three churches in this study, as their gender representations are so conservative and stereotypical.

Different types of data might also yield illuminating findings. In order to limit the scope of this dissertation, I resolved not to venture into audience research. I would, however find a contrasting of this study's findings with that of focus groups inquiring about the gender beliefs of the church members from Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo revealing. This contrasting would be instrumental in determining whether there is a gap, as I assume there is, between the gender representations in the churches' visual culture and members' real life experiences of their gendered existence. Faludi's (2000) participant observation of men in the Promise Keepers found that the real life experiences and actual gender beliefs of the Promise Keepers members are remarkably less conservative, essentialist and fundamentalist than those espoused by their leaders. I strongly suspect that this will be the case concerning Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo; my assumption is that the ideals of Christian masculinity and femininity prioritised by church management and communications teams are more conservative than the church members' beliefs and experiences.

Another area ripe for further research could be an enquiry into how the type of Christian gender ideals found in this study are contested and subverted, not only from within these churches, but also from alternative Christian culture, as well as mainstream culture in South Africa. Drawing from Barthean semiotics, Reid (2012) develops a theoretical framework regarding the functioning of counter myth in South African film. This framework could be useful for the analysis of alternative or counter gender myth in Christian culture, especially considering that Reid explores how stereotypes can be countered and challenged through the construction of counter myth. Although no examples of counter myth or subversion of conservative Christian gender stereotypes are present in the data for my study, they might be found in other data.

5.5 Concluding remarks

I find it problematic that the gender ideals depicted by the three churches in this study are highly conservative and mostly outdated, which confirms my initial assumptions upon starting this study. According to Barthes (1972:127), "[m]yth prefers to work with poor, incomplete images, where the meaning is already relieved of its fat, and ready for signification, such as caricatures, pastiches, symbols etc.". This statement is applicable to

this study, where it was shown how oversimplified images serve to uphold essentialism and biological determinism. As Barthes (1972:131) maintains, myth creeps in through nature, but where gender is concerned, nature's givens are not necessarily natural in a social sense. Biological determinism serves to uphold the so-called natural order of things (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:10-11). It would appear as though it is in the church's interest to keep the gender poles so far apart in order to uphold the natural Christian order of things. But ultimately, it is difference that signifies (Hall 1997:27) and a breakdown in difference could entail a breakdown in signification and in representational practice – perhaps resulting in a breakdown in the entire system of language. Patriarchy, masculinism and capitalism continue to successfully resist challenges to the structural integrity of such systems of representation.

When the legitimacy of masculinity is threatened or questioned, hegemonic masculinity will attempt to restore itself (Connell 2001:45). Such attempts commonly manifest in machismo and aggressive masculinity, a turning to outdoorism, as well as homophobia and anti-feminist backlash, which culminated in the rise of new men's movements in the 1990s alluded to previously. In practices of anti-feminist backlash, myth signifies the resistance which is brought up against it (Barthes 1972:135). MacKinnon (2003:10) also maintains that, "the survival of hegemonic masculinity depends on a form of incorporation of critiques of it". Myth neutralises resistance through naturalisation and depoliticisation, as is seen in this study in terms of the construction of dominant masculinity and dominant/complicit femininity. The power of patriarchy to re-invent itself and to re-articulate itself constantly and in new ways should not be underestimated. The "dominant fiction" of male supremacy can survive and absorb all forms of ambiguity and contradiction (Solomon-Godeau 1997:41). Repeatedly, patriarchy has risen, like the proverbial phoenix, "retooled and reconstructed for its next historical turn" (Solomon-Godeau 1997:40). Some might even say that its new name is "post-feminism" – one of the most ingenious pacifications of women and depoliticisations of their issues in all of history.

What is interesting, in terms of this study, is the relationship between gender conservatism, anti-feminism and the advent of new religious fundamentalism. According to Whitehead and Barrett (2001:3), "the rise of religious fundamentalism [is considered to be] a direct response by men to the changing position and expectations of women". Men have the capacity to resist these changes and challenges to their power, as Whitehead and Barrett (2001:7) state that, "many men are now actively resisting women's burgeoning demands for equal rights, and doing so increasingly through recourse to discourses of

religious fundamentalism, not only Islamic, but also Christian and Jewish". The conspicuous essentialism in the churches in this study should therefore be viewed not only against the background of global crisis in masculinity tendencies, and the South African context of the seemingly politically and economically disenfranchised white man, but also against global anti-feminism and religious fundamentalism.

Authors such as Hofstede (1998), Faludi (2000), Whitehead and Barrett (2001), Young (2005:509-518) and King (2006) have asserted the idea that the rise of religious fundamentalism in today's world is a direct backlash against the rise of feminism. The fruit of feminism is the exposure of the hegemonic power and practices of men (Whitehead & Barrett 2001:3), but fundamentalism appeals to godly authority for a cure to the vexing 'woman problem'. Religious conservatism propagates the following kind of traditionalist gender reasoning:

> Fundamentalisms reinscribe traditional gender roles based on the view that men and women, if considered equal at all, are "separate but equal", and that women should act and are free in their own (usually highly circumscribed) spheres. If women seek to act outside these spheres, they are flouting not just social custom, but also the laws of the universe that have dictated men's and women's status and roles from eternity (Young 2005:514).

King (2006:83) believes that new forms of exclusion are created through the revival of religious fundamentalism, which appropriates the language of gender and religion to political ends. Bourdieu (2001:85) sees the church as deeply anti-feminist, and Reynaud (2004:140) issues the following warning: "Through its various transformations, [Judeo-Christian ideology] has served as a foundation for the most powerful form of patriarchy, which now threatens to destroy the world in its struggle for hegemony". This study views Christianity and its main manifestation, the church, as an institution of power, an Ideological State Apparatus, in Louis Althusser's (2002:139-141) terms. As with all institutions of great power, a demystification of its social and cultural substance is necessary. I do not, however, seek to argue that the three churches in this study *are* patriarchal and fundamentalist in their gender beliefs, but that elements thereof, as described by King and others, are visible in their representational cultures and that this tendency is disconcerting.

In a transformational context as in South Africa, the strict essentialised gender scripts provided by the three churches in this study are not constructive. Women's issues and

those of the gay community continue to be sidelined. In the struggle for the abolishment of apartheid "national liberation came first and women's liberation second" (Bonnin, Deacon & Morrell 1998:114) and this seems to be an ongoing legacy. The end of the rule of white superiority did not mean the end of patriarchy in South Africa (Bonnin *et al* 1998:115). South Africans are fighting the battle for racial equality, but have barely even engaged in the struggle for gender equality. In fact, from the visualised material discussed in this study it seems as though some South Africans are not even always sure whether they want to.

Bonnin *et al* (1998:114) argue that "attempts to subvert and dismantle dominant gender relations must necessarily go beyond binary oppositions towards a form of coalition politics". Only by moving into a 'third space', which is beyond dichotomies – neither a patriarchal present nor a feminist utopia (Bonnin *et al* 1998:127) – can one hope to achieve some measure of transformation. According to this line of thinking, the representation of diversity, whether gendered or racial, seems to be the key. The churches in this study fail to portray gender realistically or diversely and do so against the problematic backdrop of a likely move towards the reaffirmation of white masculine power in South Africa, as well as the global rise of new religious conservatism.

In this study, I have tried to illustrate how three Afrikaans corporate churches represent gender and why the way in which they do so is significant. I acknowledge, however, that the churches I have considered are mainstream South African churches and that there is a possibility that alternative, fringe or niche congregations or Christian organisations might represent gender in more diverse, complex and realistic ways. I argued that the way in which Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo represent gender, consciously or unconsciously, is essentialist and biologically determined and that such representations are complicit with Christian conservative and fundamentalist discourses. I also maintained that the churches' essentialist portrayal of gender is problematic in the current South African context, as it is counter-transformational and bears traces of the re-assertion of white male dominance, even allying itself with religious authority. Gender myths and stereotypes are rendered not only normal, but something which Christian men and women should aspire to. As mentioned previously, a further question to ask would be how these gender scripts relate to the actual real-life experiences of Christian men and women in Moreletapark, kerk*sonder*mure and Doxa Deo, but such a question is held over for further research.

It is problematic that the three churches are mimicking and distilling dominant gender mythologies. Should the church not strive to set an example of healthy gender representation? Furthermore, could the church not benefit from making itself relevant to a larger segment of the general population by representing realistic and contemporary versions of male and female personhood? This is even more important for Afrikaans churches with admitted dubious pasts in patriarchy, homophobia and racial prejudice. Perhaps in this light, a more diverse picture of race and gender would be called for. In this regard, I conclude with the following piece of thought-provoking scripture: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28 New International Version).

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UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
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ng gemeente
Moreletapark

31st August 2009

Degree:	MA Visual Studies (research dissertation)
Project:	Significant Others: a visual analysis of the representation of gender in the visual communication of three Afrikaans corporate churches, 2007-2008.
Researcher:	LH Koenig-Visagie
Supervisor:	Prof J van Eeden
Department:	Visual Arts, University of Pretoria
Reference number:	23073854

We, as the Dutch Reformed congregation *Moreleta Park*, hereby grant the researcher permission for the following:

- The use of the congregation's name, *Moreleta Park Church*, in the above named MA research dissertation and subsequent publications.
- The use of our visual material, as already provided by the congregation, as data in the above named MA research dissertation and subsequent publications.
- In addition, this declaration serves as a disclaimer for all and any legal actions against any of the parties mentioned above that includes (but is not limited to) subsidiaries and affiliates of the University of Pretoria.

Sincerely

P BREYTENBACH
BUSINESS MANAGER

APPENDIX 2

251

Degree: MA Visual Studies (research dissertation)

Project: Significant Others: a visual analysis of the representation of gender in the visual communication of three Afrikaans corporate churches, 2007-2008.

Researcher: LH Koenig-Visagie

Supervisor: Prof J van Eeden

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We, as the Dutch Reformed congregation *Kerk Sonder Mure*, hereby grant the researcher permission for the following:

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Project:	Significant Others: a visual analysis of the representation of gender in the visual communication of three Afrikaans corporate churches, 2007-2008.
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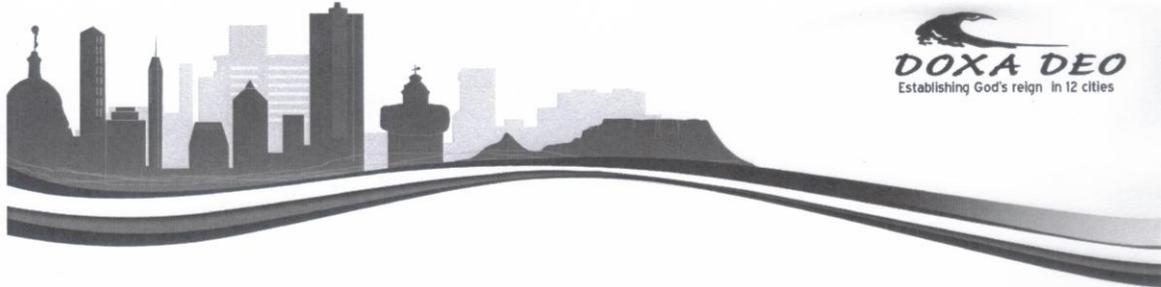
UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

DOXA DEO
Establishing God's reign in 12 cities

Degree: MA Visual Studies (research dissertation)

Project: Significant Others: a visual analysis of the representation of gender in the visual communication of three Afrikaans corporate churches, 2007-2008.

Researcher: LH Koenig-Visagie

Supervisor: Prof J van Eeden

Department: Visual Arts, University of Pretoria

Reference number: 23073854

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Sincerely

Date

2/11/2009

Designation (print name) *T J DE JAGER*

1.   **Hoekom 'n Mannebediening?**

In veral die Afrikaanse samelewing geld die partriargale beginsel nog sterk, dit is waar die man nog die hoof van die huis is, al dien hy nie die Here nie. As jy die man bereik het en hy begin 'n pad stap met die Here, het jy onmiddellik die gesin bereik. Getuienisse waar dit gebeur het bevestig dit onomwonde.

Wat leer ons uit die Skrif oor die plek en rol van die man in God se plan?

Handelinge 16:31	Uitwerking op gesin wanneer die man tot bekering kom
Hebreers 11:7	Omdat Noag gehoorsaam was aan God, het hy 'n ark gebou om sy gesin te red
1 Timoteus 3:4-5	Verantwoordelikheid van man om gesin te beheer
Filipense 2:1-8	Geestelike liefde deur Christus se voorbeeld
Efesiers 5:23	God se orde en opdrag aan die man
Johannes 17:3	Voorbeeld wat 'n pa stel deur getrou persoonlike stiltetyd te hou en beginsels uit te leef
Efesiers 6:1	Kinders se eerbied vir hul ouers begin met ouers se eerbied aan God
Hebreers 10:24-25	Ondersteun mekaar deur aansporing tot liefde en goeie dade

1160 verwysings in die Bybel na vaderskap;
365 na moederskap en
36 na ouerskap

Ons wil manne help en aanmoedig om die rol van koning, priester en profeet in sy huis waarvoor die Here hom bestem het, na te kom teenoor sy vrou, kinders en die samelewing. Die huis is die karakterfabriek van die samelewing. Dit is die plek waar 'n kind se waardesisteem gevorm word deur ouers se leiding en belangrik, persoonlike voorbeeld. Dis nie wat jy vir 'n kind sê om te doen wat insink nie, maar dit wat jy deur jou lewe demonstreer. Fransiscus van Asissie het gesê: "Preach the gospel and use words if necessary".

As die man wat hoof is van die huis se lewe nie geanker is in die Here nie, is die basis vir enige opvoedingsproses en verhoudingslewe geneig tot mislukking. Die man is hoof van die huis en hy moet sy verantwoordelikhede wat die Here op hom geplaas het nakom. So vroeg as **Genesis 3:16** staan daar "...Na jou man sal jy hunker, en hy sal oor jou heers." **1 Korintiërs 11:3** sê "Ek wil egter hê julle moet weet dat Christus die hoof is van elke man, en 'n man die hoof van sy vrou, en God die hoof van Christus." Dis die orde wat God ingestel het. **Efesiërs 6:1-5** "Kinders, wees as gelowiges aan julle ouers gehoorsaam, want dit is wat die wet van God vereis. [2] "Eer jou vader en jou moeder" is 'n baie belangrike gebod. En daar is nog 'n belofte by: [3] "sodat dit met jou goed mag gaan en jy lank mag lewe op die aarde." [4] En vaders, moenie julle kinders so behandel dat hulle opstandig word nie, maar maak hulle groot met tug en vermaning soos die Here dit wil." Die Here praat spesifiek met die man oor kinderopvoeding. 'n Man kan nie sy kinders grootmaak

"soos die Here dit wil" as hy nie die Here in sy eie lewe het nie. Dis 'n ouer se plig om sy kinders aan die Here voor te stel. Die enigste iets waarmee jy jou kind die lewe kan instuur en met gemoedsrus weet dat hy/sy die regte pad sal stap, is wanneer jy weet hy/sy het Christus in hul lewe, wat hul sal lei en beskerm om te oordeel tussen reg en verkeerd. Perversiteit en losbandigheid is aan die toeneem en die dae van beskerming deur 'n kind weg te hou van verkeerde invloede soos pornografie, onbetaamlike "kinderprogramme", ens. is verby weens die vrylik beskikbaarheid van verkeerde tydskrifte, televisie, rekenaar speletjies en internet om 'n paar te noem.

Verhouding tussen man en vrou: **Efesiërs 5:21-22** "Wees uit eerbied vir Christus aan mekaar onderdanig. [22] Vrouens, wees aan julle mans onderdanig, net soos julle aan die Here onderdanig is. **Efesiërs 5:25** "Mans, julle moet julle vrouens liefhê soos Christus die kerk liefgehad en sy lewe daarvoor afgelê het." Die Here vra nie die man nie maar gee aan hom 'n opdrag, jy moet jou vrou liefhê.

Waarmee worstel manne:
- om getrou stiltetyd te hou as gevolg van verskeie redes soos:
    - "tyd". Die Here het tyd geskep en daarom is dit perfek. Die vraag is hoe kleur ons dit in?
    - gebrek aan toewyding/"commitment"
    - nie genoeg aanmoediging deur ander manne nie.
- om sy kinders te leer om van kleintyd af stiltetyd te hou en 'n persoonlike verhouding met die Here te hê. Huisgodsdiens vervang nie stiltetyd nie maar komplimenteer dit.
- om homself te "verklaar" by die werk dat hy die Here aangeneem het. Moontlike vrees vir verwerping.
- om volle verantwoordelikheid te vat vir die geestelike bediening van sy gesin (priester in sy huis). Ma's lees gewoonlik Bybel vir die kinders.

2. **DOELWITTE VAN DIE MANNEBEDIENING**

2.1 Om betrokkenheid van manne te verhoog in die gemeente:
Die man moet die rol wat God vir hom bedoel het, herontdek sodat hy as priester, koning en profeet in die huis herstel kan word:
- As priester moet hy diensbaar wees aan God, sy gesin, die gemeente en die samelewing
- As profeet moet hy gehoorsaam luister na die Gees en die Woord verkondig deur woord en daad
- As koning moet hy God se toegekende gesag dra en uitleef.

2.2 Geestelike opbou van manne d.m.v.:
- gereelde geestelike versterking in die omgeegroepe
- weeklikse A-spanne (aanmoedigingspanne – Hebr. 10:24)
- gebedsbyeenkomste (Eks. 34:33)

- gereelde en bekostigbare kampe
- manne ontbyte met aktuele onderwerpe.

2.3 Uitreik na die wêreld

Die man moet getuig by elke moontlike geleentheid van sy verhouding met God, eerstens binne gesinsverband en verder ook in werksverband.

Daniëlkonferensie; Getuienis - Ons land, ons probleme, ons oplossing!

Soos duisende ander Suid-Afrikaners het ek ook die afgelope tyd geworstel oor ons land en sy probleme. Die negatiewe e-posse en praatjies klink ook nie vir my reg nie.

Ek het die Daniël konferensie van 14-16 Maart bygewoon en die Heilige Gees het my tot nederigheid geslaan soos nog nooit tevore in my lewe nie. Die tema was: Suid-Afrika – keer terug na God! Die Here het deur elkeen van die sprekers sy werk op 'n ongelooflike manier gedoen.

Die oplossing vir Suid-Afrika is nie gesetel in 'n paar manne in politieke, ekonomiese of militêre gesagsposisies nie, maar wel dat elke pa as hoof van sy gesin tot bekering sal kom en God Drie-enig aanneem as sy enigste Verlosser en Saligmaker. Gesinstrukture en onvoorwaardelike gehoorsaamheid aan Hom is nie onderhandelbaar is nie.

God roep kliphard na ons mans, maar weens die afgode van die tyd val sy stem op dowe ore. Ek is so diep weggekruip in my beursie, so verdiep in my werk en so besig om planne te maak vir die volgende vakansie…

Die oplossing van hierdie land se probleme lê in die manne van Suid-Afrika se vermoë om hulself na God terug te draai, te erken ons was verkeerd en onvoorwaardelik aan Hom gehoorsaam te word.

Die manne in hierdie land moet die koninkryk van God laat herleef. Elke man moet die kool in hom aan die brand gaan steek, nader beweeg aan die ander kole en deel word van 'n magtige vuur wat vir sy koninkryk sal brand in Suid-Afrika. God het 'n oproepinstruksie per geregistreerde pos aan ons gestuur waarop ons almal se name verskyn. Kom ons daag almal op!

'n Geleentheid wat groot vure aan die brand gaan steek is die saamtrek op Loftus Versveld op 19 Julie 2008 met Angus Buchan van die fliek, *Faith Like Potatoes*. Die plan is om Loftus vol te maak met ondersteuners van enige span, solank dit God se span is.

Laastens vra ek ook mooi dat ons sal ophou om negatief van ons land te praat – daardeur dien ons net die duiwel se agenda.

Opregte Daniël-groete

JG Shields

APPENDIX 6

And God Created Woman…

"In the day that God created man, he made him in the likeness of God. He created them male and female, and blessed them." **Genesis 5:1-2**

God created woman and He blessed her – along with man. Many women believe that God revoked this blessing after the Fall and that this "curse" continues today – despite the fact that Christ came to redeem mankind. They have reason to believe that God has somehow overlooked them. Frankly, they fail to see any form of blessing on their lives. Obviously the conditions under which many women live today are totally removed from any form of blessing. Inasmuch as Christ has come to bring Salvation to mankind – this Salvation includes women, and includes the relationship between men and women.

God wants to liberate women in a way that releases them into their full purpose – without undermining their original design. True submission is often understood by men and women. Women do not need another liberation movement, they need to allow Christ to transform their lives and restore their creation purpose. We need to surrender to Him. Instead of trying to prove yourself ("God, let me show you what I can do"), let God show you what He can do through you.

"Humble yourselves in the presence of the Lord, and He will exalt you [He will lift you up and make your lives significant]." James 4:10 (AMP)

If you are pursuing significance as a woman of God – seek His face. Allow Him to make your life significant as you behold His face, His glory. God created women with specific gifts – which we can use for Kingdom purposes or not. I would like to mention three of these gifts: influence, emotions, and spirituality.

Gift of Influence

Extracts from Prov. 31:
"Oh, son of mine, what can you be thinking of! Child whom I bore! The son I dedicated to God! Don't dissipate your virility on fortune-hunting women, promiscuous women who shipwreck leaders. …A good woman is hard to find, and worth far more than diamonds. …Her husband **trusts** her without reserve, and never has reason to regret it. **Never spiteful**, she treats him **generously** all her life long. She works hard… She's quick to **assist** anyone in need, reaches out to help the poor. When she **speaks** she has something worthwhile to say, and she always says it **kindly**. She keeps an eye on everyone in her household, and keeps them all busy and productive. Her children **respect** and **bless** her; her husband joins in with words of praise: "Many women have done wonderful things, but you've outclassed them all!" Charm can mislead and beauty soon fades. The woman to be admired and praised is the woman who lives in the **Fear of GOD**. Give her everything she deserves! Festoon her life with praises!" (MSG)

This woman is submitted to her husband. She can be trusted and is respected; she is kind and generous; her words are spiced with wisdom and blessing. Women have influential power – and with it the responsibility to use it within the boundaries of God's Word. A woman who fears God, uses this gift with wisdom.

Gift of Emotions

Women have been blessed with an incredible capacity for loving, and showing compassion. Women have been emotionally wired. The question is: how will we use this incredible gift from God?

Abusing our gift of emotions is often evidenced in our inability to control our tongues. Will our emotions dictate our tongues? Will we use them to bring life or death? Encouragement or discouragement? Will we use them to manipulate?

"The tongue has the power of life and death, and those who love it will eat its fruit." Proverbs 18:21 NIV

Helen Keller said: "Although the world is full of suffering, it is also full of the overcoming of it." Having the gift of emotions certainly makes women more susceptible to pain. Nothing is impossible with God – make sure you deal with your pain. Make sure you guard your heart above all else (Prov. 4:24). God wants to restore us - inside and out.

Gift of Spirituality

Ephesians 5:26-27 (MSG) arrests my heart every time I read it.

"Christ's love makes the church whole. His words evoke her beauty. Everything he does and says is designed to bring the best out of her, dressing her in dazzling white silk, radiant with holiness."

Woman of God, won't you be the woman God designed you to be? Won't you accept His love, hear His voice and allow His words and actions to bring out the best in you? Become a full-time lover of Jesus Christ. Woman of God, reflect the beauty of Christ.

A campus near you has a Women's Ministry that would love to be part of your journey into wholeness, and the discovery of you God-designed purpose.

- Carol-Anne van Loggerenberg