A PASTORAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE CHALLENGE OF HIERARCHY IN PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

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DECLARATION

I Mangaliso Mbangiso Matshobane declare that this dissertation which I submit for the degree of Master of Arts in Theology (Practical Theology) is my original work and it has not been submitted before, to this or any other university. All sources I used have been indicated and duly acknowledged by means of a complete reference.

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Abstract

The study is about power struggles that occur within the leadership structures of Pentecostal congregations. These power struggles can be between the pastor and the governing body of the congregation/ church council/ elders or deacon board/ church board, depending on the terminology used to describe those leaders who are designated to work with the pastor in leadership. Most research done on congregational power struggles or conflict, centre around personalities. What if the cause of the power struggle is not just personal but also structural? Therefore the main problem question is: what is it exactly, that causes power struggles in the church’s hierarchy.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the church polity of various Pentecostal church hierarchies, in order to assess how that polity informs their use of power, especially during times of power struggles. This study was conducted in the Buffalo City Municipality of the Eastern Cape in South Africa. The methodology of the study was based on a qualitative approach, using grounded theory, and chose a triangulation of interviews and document reviews as its data collection method.

The interviewees were purposively chosen from three major Pentecostal groupings viz. Classical Pentecostals, Charismatic Pentecostals and African initiated Pentecostals. Out of these groupings seven churches were selected and in total twenty participants were interviewed. The findings revealed that power struggles are caused by:

1. a hybrid nature of Pentecostal church polity;
2. a lack of following the polity;
3. a lack of money;
4. a lack of formal and informal education;
5. a lack of character maturity;
6. a lack of management and leadership skills.

The recommendations are: an in depth knowledge of church polities; self-empowerment through formal and informal educational studies; financial independence; enrolment in management and leadership programs; finding mentorship for holistic maturity.
A healing model was also proposed, using the narrative approach of story sharing. The African perspective of a gerontocracy that is empowered by the community to arbitrate over disputes and seal them with covenant meals; that have litigations of curses for non-compliance and blessings for compliance, must be revisited and contextualized within biblical standards and values.
Definition of terms

AFM: Apostolic Faith Mission
AICs: African initiated churches or African independent churches
AOG: Assemblies of God

Church leadership: in this study will be used to refer to a church board in the congregation

Church Polity: Church government or the way a church is structured and run, including church policies

Classical Pentecostal: First Pentecostal churches who were influenced by the Azusa revival movement in the USA (AFM; AOG; FGCG etc.)

Conflict: a state of disagreement or disharmony between persons or ideas, a clash.
(Thesaurus online Dictionary)

FGCG: Full Gospel Church of God

Hierarchy: A group of persons or things organized into successive ranks or grades with each level subordinate to the one above (American English Dictionary: 2011)

Neo- Pentecostals: Charismatic Pentecostals (mostly independent churches)

Power struggles: contention for control and dominance

Pentecostal- Charismatics/Charismatic Pentecostals: These are congregations that emphasise the person, work and gifts of the Holy Spirit as their premise for theology, putting emphasis on prosperity also known as Neo-Pentecostals.

Denominational leadership: Bishops, Superintendents, Moderators, General overseers of a particular denomination.
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Basis for the topic choice

The author has experienced a power struggle which led to a termination of his pastoral services in a congregation. This experience raised a question as to how many other pastors experienced power struggles. In this case, the main cause of the power struggle was on differences in interpretation of church polity. The author had a ministerial background in an independent Pentecostal-charismatic church where he was the founder of a church whose polity was closer to that of a congregational church polity, which espoused a single-elder governance model. He later felt a call to join a congregation that had been in existence for over 50 years and was searching for a pastor to lead it. It was also an independent Pentecostal-charismatic congregation whose polity was close to that of a congregational church but espousing a plurality of elders model. The author was ignorant then, of the potential power struggles that could arise because of the differences in polity. It only took three years to serve that congregation and in the third year the level of conflict moved from stage one to four in the five stages of conflict mentioned by Leas (1985:16). The first part of the first year was the honey moon phase and all parties were in harmony. The second part of the first year the conflict began at stage one, where both parties were still civil and trying to identify what the problem was. In the beginning of the second year when the problem could not be clearly identified, the conflict went into stage two, where parties became self-protective moving from ‘what’ to ‘who’ is the problem. The latter part of the second year the conflict went into stage three where the problem was incorrectly ‘identified’ as being the other party and power struggles began. In the third year of service the conflict went into an undesirable stage four where the author was targeted and persecuted to a point where he gave in to the desires of the church board for his termination. In retrospect, among other reasons, the difference in the philosophy of ministry based on the differences in church polity could have been the main cause of the power struggle. It is in the light of the above
that this research sought to investigate how many other pastors had experienced power struggles and how they had coped with this challenge and how church polity had played a role in the power struggle.

Power struggle is a phenomenon that affects various institutions that have a hierarchical system, be they governmental, business or religious. The church is therefore not an exception when it comes to power struggles, and as much as this phenomenon affects all denominations of the church, the focus of this research was on the Pentecostal church with the research specifically located in Buffalo City Municipality in the Eastern Cape. The findings of this research will also benefit other denominations who would apply them within their context.

1.2 Background
1.2.1 Conflict
Avis in his book on Authority, leadership and conflict in the church argues that “The exercise of power necessarily generates conflict. Conflict and power feed on one another. The more prevalent conflict in a society becomes, the more power will be valued and the more individuals will hunger for it as giving them the ability to protect and promote their interests and those of their dependents” (Avis 1992:119). A simplified example of this statement by Avis is that the more conflict there is between the criminals and the law, the more people or citizens desire the law to exercise its power to rid them of the crimes and create a safe environment. It is on the basis of this definition by Avis that this study used conflict and power struggles interchangeably because they feed on one another.

1.2.2 Power struggle
Power struggle happens in many spheres of life where there are interrelations. Power struggle also happens in the church. As people interrelate, there will always be conflicting ideas because human beings do not always see things the same way. These conflicting ideas start of as healthy conflicts, where people agree to disagree on things. Depending on what is at stake, a healthy conflict can move from simple disagreements to an unhealthy contest and competition between parties. There are various reasons why this shift from healthy to unhealthy conflict happens. It could be that people may feel insulted, undermined, or they just want to prove a point that they are right and others are wrong. At this contest or
competition stage is where power struggles begin. The conflict though unhealthy at this level, is still manageable. This is the point where people begin to flex their power muscle in order to outdo or outsmart the other. The next level of conflict is a fight or flight stage. This is a dangerous level where power struggles are intense and damaging to relationships. It is much harder to bring intervention at this stage than in lower stages of conflict. The final stage of conflict is the intractable level where the power struggle has climaxed into levels of an irreparable damage. (Haugk 1988:25-28; cf Leas 1985:16)

1.2.3 Levels of conflict
There are three stages of conflict viz. the normal, the abnormal and the spiritual stage. Normal conflict is found at stage one and two, because at this stage, solutions are sought through rational means by parties in conflict, although they may have different approaches, which is what brings disagreements. Stage three is an abnormal conflict stage and that is where power struggles begin. Stage four and five is where the conflict is spiritual or evil. The latter is where reason is replaced by an irrational killer instinct, as a result of being taken over by evil. (Rediger 1997:57)

In the abnormal stages of conflict, people become selfish and they start thinking of how to protect themselves at the expense of others. Others show attributes of personality disorders; some may even be psychotic although not all abnormal conflict is necessarily done by mentally abnormal people. Some people are very normal and yet they become bent on doing evil. (Rediger 1997:50-60)

1.2.3.1 Story on conflict
Greenfield shares his personal story of encountering spiritual (evil) conflict. He writes of how at the age of 59 he received a call to serve a church which had a history of conflict. He thought he would be able to handle whatever challenges the church has had, given his track record of an experienced accomplished minister; who had been a professor for over a decade in a renowned theological graduate school, and an author of six books with an excellent record of pastoral service in all the churches he had served. To his shock he was forced to leave the church after three years because of a conflict that was started by an individual who sowed seeds into a number of people in the congregation pointing to everything that was a problem in the church and blaming it on the pastor. The conflict
started at a problem solving level where a few concerns were being addressed by the leadership of the congregation in the church but it soon escalated to disagreements then, contests then a blatant fight where matters came to a vote whether the pastor must stay or leave. This is when he chose to leave although he won the vote. This conflict is categorized as an abnormal/spiritual (or evil) conflict because the perpetrator was relentlessly persistent to get rid of the pastor based on innuendos and unfounded accusations. (Greenfield 2001:23-27)

1.2.4 Power
In a congregation the pastor and the leadership of the church (church board) are two centers of power depending on a particular church polity. Both are responsible for the vision of the congregation in different measures. When both are flowing in harmony and are of the same focus, there will be minimal to no conflict but when they see things differently conflict will be inevitable.

Power struggle by definition assumes an act of demonstrating power or showing power. Therefore the concept of power, gives those who have authority to exercise it, an upper hand over those who are recipients of it. In the church there are structures that have been entrusted with power. How they manage the use of that power is what this research hoped to investigate. It is the management of power by those who have been entrusted with it, which will determine whether the congregation develops or collapses; advances or retreats; progresses or stagnates and whether the incumbent clergy will continue serving the congregation or not.

There are various ways in which power can be used. Power can be used to repress or to produce. Repressive power operates through dictatorship. It uses ideology to control minds and force to control movement of people. It also uses punishment to enforce compliance. There is also a positive way of using power which is called productive power. This form of power sets norms and standards instead of rules and laws. It motivates instead of punishes; it uses incentives to foster ownership and inclusivity instead of coercion through ideological indoctrination, it teaches through repetition until a system is set as default instead of enforcing obedience to the system which ultimately invokes rebellion. (Foucault 1980:186; cf Hornqvist 2010:11-13)
Power struggles can be between the pastor and a conflicting faction. This faction mostly consists of individuals who are people of great influence in the congregation or the community. They can be members of the church board or they can just be lay leaders or ordinary members who have influence in the church. Greenfields describes them as “an oligarchy of long-time recognized leaders who may or may not fill any elected position in the church organizational structure” (Greenfield 2001:24).

1.3 The Problem statement
Most authors who have written on the subject of power struggles in the church, attribute its causes to what they name ‘Antagonists’ (Haugk: 1988), ‘Clergy killers’, (Rediger:1997), ‘Troublesome people’ (Oates:1994), ‘Attackers’ (Maynard:2010), and ‘Dragons’(Shelley:2013) etc. It is possible that these characters, who instigate conflict, may be thinking that they are well within their rights and responsibilities, in doing what they do, and base it on the polity of their respective denominations. Whether their interpretation of that polity is accurate or not, they believe that they are authorised by that polity to do what they do?

It is possible that most could be misinterpreting their polities, or using the gaps within their polity, if any, to further their ulterior motives. Perhaps in some cases the polity is not even clear or it is ambiguous about a particular aspect of church governance. This alone may contribute to the already existing personality disorders, or some other faulty character some may possess.

Greenfield confirms that some of the “antagonists rarely if ever apologise for their injurious behaviour. They seem to see no wrong in causing havoc in the church....Actually they believe they are doing God a favour” (Greenfield 2001:180).

Is it possible that those who are blamed for stirring church conflicts see themselves as champions of a noble cause because of how they read or misread their polity?

1.3.1 Structural conflict
Galtung talks of ‘structural conflict’. This is conflict that is caused by something other than what seems to be probable. It is caused by a misinterpretation of a situation based on a wrong assumption, which triggers a wrong response, without going deeper to see the underlying problem. An example of a structural conflict is when workers blame the problem
of unemployment on migrants who are preferred by employers, when the actual cause of the problem is not the migrants but the pressure that the global markets have on the economy, causing employers to choose cheap labour. The cause of the conflict is, therefore, structural. The migrants are not at fault, but the cause is the volatile economy. (Galtung 1996:74-76)

In a similar way, it is possible that a termination of a pastor’s service can happen because of a hierarchical system of the church that has gaps in its polity, as a result, causing power struggles and conflict. The cause of the termination can be seen as a ‘structural conflict’ (because of its inconspicuous nature) that can contribute in enabling the ‘antagonists’, ‘clergy killers’, or the ‘troublesome people’ who attack pastors, to be at liberty to execute their evil plan.

1.3.2 Problem statement question

The main question of the problem statement, therefore, is:

What is it that causes a power struggle in the hierarchy of Pentecostal churches?

- Is it the abuse of power by the pastor or the elders or the church council?
- Is it a lack of proper systems of governance in the church, perhaps there are no clear policies on lines of accountability, role playing, and boundaries?
- Is it a misinterpretation or a different interpretation of polity?
- Is it a question of dereliction of morals in the church?
- Is it financial or socioeconomic challenges within the church?

1.4 The research gap

1.4.1 Polity in Pentecostal churches

The literature on conflict and power, points out how both are used and misused in the context of a power struggle. Most of the literature that deals with power struggles in the church, deal with the interpersonal, or interrelation aspects of conflict, where conflict is caused by an individual, or a group of leaders against a pastor, or congregants among themselves, even by a pastor against leaders or congregants. There seems to be little said on the causes of power struggle from a structural point of view. A few authors mention polity as a structure that contributes to power struggles but they do not give details of how
exactly polity contributes, to the power struggles that ensue in the church, these are: Greenfield 2001:69, Mynard 2010:40-41, and Lott 2014:69-70.

According to Norman there are three main church polity categories viz. Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational (with either single or plural elder/s). The reasons for focusing on the Pentecostal practice of church polity is that unlike other denominations who have a clear polity, “some Pentecostal denominations, such as the Assemblies of God, adopted hybrid polities, with some elements of the Congregational and some of either the Presbyterian or the Episcopal. New [Pentecostal] Charismatic denominations such as Calvary Chapel and The Vineyard, appear to be still in the process of working out just what kind of polity they will adopt”(Brand et al 2004:22).

How the Pentecostal church has been affected by the hybrid nature of its polity in the context of power struggles is noted in this research. The investigation of polity, therefore, within the church hierarchy as a cause of power struggles resulting in intractable conflicts, is the gap of this research. This study is conducted in Buffalo City Municipality in the Eastern Cape.

1.5 The significance of the study

This study will be of significance to the Pentecostal church specifically, to help the church understand how its polity is constituted, and in what way that constitution affects it when resolving power struggles within its governance. The study will also benefit those who want to know more about the hierarchical constitution and challenges of the Pentecostal church, and its background history in relation to power struggles.

1.6 Objectives

The main objective of the research is to investigate the effects of the church’s hierarchical systems and the gaps of its polity which cause power struggles and conflict that negatively affect a pastor and the congregation he/she is serving.

1.6.1 Specific objectives

- To discover how various denominations within the Pentecostal church are hierarchically structured.
- To examine the extent of the damage caused by hierarchical conflict
• To find a model that would therapeutically journey with the affected congregation and their pastor during and after the hierarchical conflict.
• To make pastoral recommendations that will assist Pentecostal congregations in dealing with hierarchical challenges.

1.7 Literature Review
Hierarchy assumes different ranks of authority in an institution or organization. Different ranks of authority, command different levels of power. Those in higher ranks of power tend to exact their authority on those in lower ranks. When those in lower ranks resist that authority, conflict begins and power struggles ensue. This phenomenon cuts across different spheres of life including in the church. Every institution has policies that govern it. It is these policies that try to ensure that power is exercised within acceptable and agreed upon parameters. Hierarchy in every institution must be subjected to some form of laws or policies that govern it. Church hierarchy, therefore, is subject to church polity (government), just like political hierarchy is subject to political government and business hierarchy is subject to some form of business polity.

It is in the light of the above that literature that deals with power, conflict and polity will be reviewed because all three of these subjects are critical components in hierarchy. We cannot talk of hierarchy without referring to power. We cannot talk of power without referring to the laws that govern it (polity). We cannot talk of power without talking of the resistance of power. Power by its very nature, attracts resistance. (Foucault 1980:142)

A traditional critical review of literature was used.

1.8 Research Methodology
1.8.1 Qualitative approach
This was a qualitative research because the problem statement sought to answer a phenomenon that could only be answered by interviewing individuals who had been affected directly or indirectly by power struggles. The qualitative instead of the quantitative was chosen because it would do justice in understanding this phenomenon drawing from the perspectives of those involved in the field of research. Qualitative approach values the stories of those in the field of research as they become co-researchers and informants. Out of their experiences an inductive interpretation of observable behaviour was constructed.
Using a grounded theory, which moves the researcher between the collected data and the field, the qualitative approach made it possible for emergent theories to develop.

Subjectivity is valued in this approach and was taken as authentic because the co-researcher lives in natural settings where the research is happening. The quantitative approach on the other hand would not be able to answer the deep seated questions of the phenomenon but would simply provide the general statistic from where one could objectively deduce results and make a conclusion. (Schurink in De Vos 1998:242)

1.8.2 Participants (Sampling)

The research was done in Buffalo city, Eastern Cape within the Pentecostal churches. This was an easy access point for the research because it is a residential area of the researcher and it is also a church grouping that the researcher is familiar with. This reasoning is affirmed by Schurink when saying: “the qualitative researcher will use purposive sampling methods by identifying access points (settings where subjects could be more easily reached) and selecting especially informative subjects” (Schurink in De Vos 1998: 253). The researcher was aware that this chosen sample could change. This thinking was supported by Schurink who says: “because of the inductive model of thinking used in trying to answer the research question, researchers choosing the qualitative research style will, as they gain more insight and as the theory emerges, redefine their sample on an ongoing basis” (Schurink in De Vos 1998: 254). Twenty people were interviewed from seven churches. These interviewees were in different ranks in the church. Some were ordinary members others regional leaders (of denominations), pastors, elders, deacons and bishops. Four churches were from classical Pentecostal backgrounds; the other two churches were from Pentecostal-charismatic backgrounds and one was from African Initiated churches.

1.8.3 Theory: Shepherdling (Gerkin: 1997)

Power struggles in the congregation can leave parties in conflict alienated from each other and feeling like ‘sheep without a shepherd’ (Numbers 27:17). Gerkin’s theory of a shepherd based on Psalms 23, was used to lead those in conflict into righteous paths, to restore their soul and to walk with them when they saw each other as enemies to alleviate their fears in the face of death of relationships or termination. This theory is modeled by Christ as a good shepherd who embodies the office of a priest who intercedes for his disciples (John 17:6-
19), a prophet who confronts the money changers in the temple (John 2:14-16), and a wise man who gives counsel in his many parables (Matthew 7:24,25). The shepherd theory, therefore, was engaged in its priestly role of interceding between those in conflict, it would also prophetically confront abuses and give wise counsel towards conflict resolution. (Gerkin 1997:27)

It will also help to journey with the sheep that have strayed away from the shepherd. Gerkin is helpful in journeying with the sheep but is not able to reconstruct their lives fully. This is where Pollard will be helpful with his model of positive deconstruction.

1.8.4 Model: Positive Deconstruction (Pollard: 1997)
This model has four main elements to it which are: 1. Identifying the underlying worldview; 2. Analysing the worldview; 3. Affirming the elements of truth in it; 4. Discovering its errors. This leads towards healing those in conflict to take apart what they believe is the problem, analyse it and replace it with a better belief system. It also affirms the truth about what they believe but then challenges the underlying worldview till they discover its inadequacy. (Pollard 1997:48)

The ultimate goal is to deconstruct the worldviews that cause conflict in order to reconstruct a new worldview made out of parts of the original worldviews which hold true. This goal was achieved through interviewing those who had experienced conflict in order to give them tools which would help them deal with this issue.

1.9 Chapters Outline
1.9.1 Chapter one
Chapter one is the introduction of the topic giving the nature of the problem. This is a very important chapter because it sets the tone for all other chapters. It presents the problem that led to the research. Out of this problem, it brought out questions that the research needed to answer. The objectives of the study are clearly outlined so that the study can have a specific direction which it will follow. The research gap was identified in order for the study to contribute new information to the existing body of knowledge. The significance of the study and those it will benefit is mentioned. The methodology with a clear epistemology was chosen. It was this methodology that unpacked the research design of the study.
1.9.2 Chapter two
Chapter two reviews the literature of both Western and African writers on what has already been done on the topic and what new angle this research is proposing. This chapter on literature review is the reservoir of information from which the study sifted information through a critical review. This very literature was later on compared with the data collected.

1.9.3 Chapter three
Chapter three is the methodology which outlines the research design, as to what kind of approach the research would use and why. The relevant theory and the model of the study were discussed.

1.9.4 Chapter four
Chapter four is on Pentecostal hierarchy. This chapter gives a brief historical background on Pentecostalism and how it started and operated in Africa and South Africa. It then discussed the church polities of the most influential Pentecostal groups in South Africa.

1.9.5 Chapter five
Chapter five deal with the data collection and interviews. Participants were interviewed and their interviews were written and summarized. Using a grounded theory the interviews were categorized into themes through a process of coding. These themes were then reduced into one theme which was a new theory that adds to the existing theories.

1.9.6 Chapter Six
Chapter six proposes a healing model which helps to pastorally journey with those who have been damaged by power struggles.

1.9.7 Chapter seven
Chapter seven is on research findings and recommendations. This is where all the findings of this research are detailed, and out of them, recommendations were proposed. Suggestions of further research are also proposed.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Jesson defines literature review as “a desk based research method by which the researcher critically describes and appraises what is already known about the topic using secondary sources” (Jesson et al 2011:74). There are two approaches to literature review, viz. the traditional review and the systematic review. The traditional review explores and develops ideas; it also identifies research gaps whereas the systematic review compiles evidence to answer specific research questions or policies using a specific protocol. These two are different in methodology and design. There are different types of traditional reviews viz. critical review, a conceptual review, a state of the art review, an expert review and a scoping review. (Jesson et al 2011:76)

This chapter will focus on the traditional review with a critical approach on the challenge of hierarchy. This literature review will cover three areas that transpire when dealing with hierarchy which are power, conflict and polity.

We cannot talk of hierarchy without making reference to power. Hierarchy assumes that there are ranks where at each level a certain measure of power is exercised. With the exercise of power comes resistance. This resistance prompts tensions which lead to conflict. Conflict, therefore, will be another component of hierarchy to discuss. Finally, hierarchy in this research is in the context of the church. Church government or polity, therefore, is a major role player in hierarchy. Different church polities will be discussed and critiqued.

2.2 Power

One of the main challenges of hierarchy is power. The use of power by those in the hierarchy of institutions, determines the health of that institution. We will now look at various descriptions of power using Michele Foucault who is a classical author on the subject of power.

2.2.1 The relational force of power

Power is not just a subject, an institution, an object, a structure, nor is it a strength one possesses but it is a nominal concept which describes relations of force which are attributed to a complex strategic situation in a particular society. (Foucault 1979:93)
It is not just about prohibitions and punishment but it can take multiple forms which are interwoven with all kinds of social relations like family, kinship, sexuality, etc. Power relations will always attract resistance but this resistance doesn’t act against power but rather attempts to harness power and redirect it in a more positive usage. (Foucault 1980:142)

Power is not just a top down flow but it is a circular motion flow between individuals within an organised structure or setting e.g. in a family, power flows between a father, mother and their children; at work between employer and employee; at school between a teacher and a student. Individuals within a relationship are both subjects (they exercise power) and objects (they feel the impact of power) of power.

Power is not just hierarchical but it can be 'net-like' especially within relationships. ‘Net-like’ power-relations do not suffer from power struggles and take-overs because everyone knows their place and keeps to their place in relation to the other, whereas hierarchical forms of power are prone to power struggles and take-overs. (Foucault 1980: 97-98)

The church is an institute of power by virtue of its representation of God as the omnipotent one on the earth. The church is also a family by reason of God being referred to as father. The challenge is to find a healthy balance between the church as an institution of power and the church as a family, where relations can be worked through between siblings and everyone understanding their role and place. We need to, therefore, find a model and a methodology that will help convert the hierarchical power relations of the church in general and the Pentecostal church in particular, into a ‘net-like’ power relation.

2.2.2 Power and knowledge

Power in relation to knowledge is interwoven and interdependent. "...it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault 1980:52). In other words, knowledge privileges one person above the other and therefore gives them power over the other. The architect of apartheid H.F. Verwoed, a minister of native affairs in 1953 and in 1958 a Prime minister of South Africa, practiced this concept of power when he and his national party introduced ‘bantu’ education (in 1953), which was meant to keep non-whites in lower positions of society, by offering them an inferior level of education, designed to produce labourers who would
serve the interest of the white oppressor. They used a superior form of knowledge for the white people, in order to keep them in power over the black people, who were kept subordinate and overpowered because of an inferior level of knowledge. (Clark & Worger 2011:48-52)

In the church, the concept of power in relation to knowledge is demonstrated in conflict situations, where the elders or deacons of the church are people of higher educational abilities or achievements than the pastor of the church. Greenfield narrates an incident of power used by virtue of one’s academic knowledge. A deacon who was a judge by profession and a chairperson of the deacon’s board for the past twenty five years in which years the church was always in conflict, saw himself as more powerful than the pastor who was ordained by the church. Although this was a fruitful pastor in terms of church growth in all areas of the church, the judge did not like him. He used his knowledge as a power base to orchestrate the firing of the pastor. The pastor was successfully fired and his wife hospitalised with depression. (Greenfield 2011: 84-87)

2.2.3 Power and truth
Power can also be seen in relation to the production of truth. The media, universities, the army etc. are the gate keepers and role players in this arena, which is administrated through political propaganda. (Foucault 1980:131-132) Innuendos and mudslinging through letters, emails or any other form of social media and networks, gives those who have exposure to such tools, power to influence others. Propaganda can be used, even in church, to propagate views of a particular group against another or even against the pastor.

2.2.4 The repressive and productive activity of power
There are two ways of looking at power in Foucault’s work. Power can be either relational or just an activity. Power as an activity focuses mainly on institutions whereas power as relational focuses on individual relationships. Although these two are separate they are also interrelated. We cannot talk about the exercise of power without talking about the relations of power because the former depends on the latter. Power as an activity can either be
repressive or productive; this is called the ‘exercise of power’ and the result of power as an activity is called ‘power relations’. (Hornqvist 2010:4)

### 2.2.4.1 Four levels of repressive power

There are four levels of repressive power. The first basic level of repressive power and the most fundamental is to enact or dictate laws. This determines what is permitted and what is prohibited. The second level of repressive power is to deliberate whether to obey or disobey the set law. This is where power relations can be defied, which is a conscious decision to transgress set boundaries. The third level of repressive power is when repression and ideology are used together to control behaviour. Repression targets the physical body and is executed through torture, sanctions and all such forms of physical abuses whereas ideology targets the mind through indoctrination, concealment and distortion of the truth. The fourth level of repressive power shows the effectiveness of this form of power as negative. It is negative because it is sustained by compliance to laws which if transgressed are followed by punishment. (Hornqvist 2010:9, 10)

In Foucault’s own words, when talking on the negativity of repressive power he says: “it is a power that only has the force of the negative on its side, a power to say no; in no condition to produce, capable only of posting limits, it is basically anti-energy. This the paradox of its effectiveness: it is incapable of doing anything, except to render what it dominates incapable of doing anything either, except for what this power allows it to do ” (Foucault 1998:85).

### 2.2.5 Productive Power

Power is not only just repressive but it can also be productive. “ Productive power is organised around the norm and not the law; the means are productive rather than negative; actions are created and not prevented; and the effects are achieved regardless of intentions and consent”( Hornqvist 2010: 11).

#### 2.2.5.1 Four Levels of productive power

There are four levels of productive power. The first level is organising things around norms. There are norms or standards in every field of society. These norms are used as yardsticks to
monitor the behaviour of all individuals in a group. Productive power does not divide
behaviour into only two categories of law keepers and law breakers like repressive power
does. Rather it measures differences of behaviour in relation to norms. The results of this
measurement will then determine positional relations within the group. Productive power
does not deal with a collective but with individuals within a group. Even though a collective
chooses to pursue an illegitimate action together, productive power will target individuals in
the collective and rank them based on various privileges, which will effectively reconstruct
the order of the group. Instead of repression in the case of defiance, productive power will
redirect that energy, for it to find expression in a different form. A typical example is when
there is a worker’s strike. Instead of repression and forbidding the strikers to strike, an
avenue is created to construct a legal peaceful demonstration, where their grievances can
be submitted to authorities who will attend to them. Productive power does not just target
lawless behaviour but any kind of behaviour reflected in attitudes, body language, and social
skills etc. (Hornqvist 2010:11)

The second level of productive power is the ability to achieve results without the intentions
of the subject or the consent of the object. In other words the discipline or punishment
administered, bypasses the conscious through repeated exercises that train the mind to set
the new learnt exercise as default. “The intended behaviour will gradually become the
default mode, through repeatedly practising the correct action” (Hornqvist 2010:12). In
Foucault’s own words “power relations can materially penetrate the body in depth, without
depending even on the mediation of the subject’s own representations” (Foucault

The third level of productive power is to understand power in positive terms and not in
negative terms. This is the power to do things with, instead of over the disenfranchised.
Individuals are addressed as stakeholders with a common vision that protects their
interests. Positive incentives are used to encourage individuals in subordinate positions to
enrol in collective projects that have a common vision. They become responsible on their
own in maintaining order because they feel part of the system and not excluded by it.

The fourth level is the very production of power. Productive power produces power.
Repressive power restricts specific behaviour and limits the ability to act but productive
power produces specific behaviour and enhances, and motivates activity. (Hornqvist
2010:12)
Veyne defines productive power as “the ability to control the behaviour of others without exerting physical pressure, to get people to walk without physically placing their feet and legs in the necessary positions” (Veyne 2008:94). While Veyne promotes productive power, Hornqvist advocates for the use of both repressive and productive forms of power for bringing balance in society and helping to establish a healthy social order. (Hornqvist 2010: 11-13)

The church in its practice of its faith; tends to be more on the repressive use of power than the productive. The Old Testament where mostly the law was found has a language of repressive power. The Ten Commandments for example are a clear illustration of repressive power. They are not suggestive but instructive and if not obeyed there are negative consequences that can follow. Not all of the Old Testament has a repressive language (Isaiah 1:18 “Come let us reason together…”) but the greater part of the law, in particular the Torah, does. The New Testament on the other hand tends to be more productive in approach seeing that it emphasises more of grace than the law (Ephesians 2:8,9 “For by grace are ye saved...not by your works, it is the gift of God that no one should boast”)

Figure 2.5 illustrates a comparison of repressive and productive power discussed above.

2.2.6 Comparison of repressive and productive powers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Repressive Power</th>
<th>Productive Power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Laws of do’s and don’ts</td>
<td>1. Norms and standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Obedience to the law or rebelling against the law.</td>
<td>2. Repeated training that sets the law as a new default.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Coercion through physical torture and indoctrination of ideology.</td>
<td>3. Use of incentives for buy in and inclusivity, resulting in ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Punishment of noncompliance limits power</td>
<td>4. Motivation and empowerment enhancing unlimited power</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.5 Adapted from Hornqvist 2010: 11-13
The church tends to be more repressive than productive in its use of power particularly the Pentecostal church which is mostly modernistic in its epistemology. It tends to deal harshly with noncompliance without showing much grace or mercy. When it comes to discipline, the Pauline approach of public rebuke (1Timothy 5:20) is mostly preferred than the Jesus approach of mercy in the gospels of “…he who has no sin must cast the first stone…” (John 8:7,10,11).

2.2.6.1 Complimentary nature of repressive and productive power
The approach of Veyne and Hornqvist above should not be taken as competitive but as complimentary. A norm in behaviour happens when a pattern is repeated in a repressive stage then moves into a reproductive stage. The two are, therefore, interlinked. An example of this can be observed in the stages of training a baby to stop feeding from a mother’s breast and start using a bottle. This process of weaning the baby starts from a repressive stage where restrictions from breast feeding are used in order to force the baby to feed from the bottle. When this habit is repeated over time it moves into the productive stage where a habit of feeding from the bottle is developed by the baby until it becomes a baby’s second nature. This repeated training therefore sets the (repressive) law into a new default.

2.2.7 The four channels of power
Modern scholars define power as “the ability to direct or prevent the current or future actions of other groups and individuals” (Naím 2013:23). These actions are directed or prevented through four channels of power viz. the muscle, the code, the pitch and the reward. The muscle refers to coercion by force; the code refers to a specific code of ethics that governs a particular group, whether it is a faith group, a tribal group etc. the pitch is more of a modern tool used by advertisers to persuade potential clients to move in the direction that serves the advertiser’s interest; the reward refers to using material things to induce cooperation or compliance. These four channels of power, although distinct, can be interconnected in operation and not isolated as enumerated above.

2.2.7.1 Manipulations of power
There are two types of phenomena that can manipulate a situation such that it affects the
behaviour of another party. The first manipulation attempts to change the structure of the existing situation or to change the opinion of the other party concerning the situation. The second is whether the manipulation offers the other party an improved situation or leads the other party to accept results that are not improved. Put in simple terms, the power channels of coercion, muscle and obligation code, can manipulate the situation such that it affects its structure. This however does not bring improvement to the situation. The other power channels of inducement based on a reward, persuasion and pitch, manipulates the situation such that it produces improved results.

Figure 2.6 Mac Millan’s Taxonomy of power illustrates this point.

Adapted from Ian MacMillan, Strategy Formulation: Political concepts, 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change incentives</th>
<th>Outcome seen as improvement</th>
<th>Outcome seen as non-improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inducement through reward: Increase the salary, lower prices</td>
<td>Coercion using muscle: Law enforcement, repression, violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Change preferences | Persuasion using a pitch: Advertising, campaigning | Obligation by a code: Religious or traditional duty, moral suasion |

Power can shift from one party to the other depending on how it is distributed between parties. Power can also stay in balance between parties when the four channels of power are in equal balance between parties. The shift comes when one party suddenly becomes stronger in one area of influence than the other. Those who are in places of power set specific boundaries that prevent others from having influence but when those boundaries are broken then others can rise and take over the position of power.

The muscle channel of power is the most common form of power when it comes to governments and the code form of power is also a common feature in religion. These two are seen as not bringing any improvement according to MacMillan’s taxonomy of power. In other words manipulation by coercion is not sustainable and it must be always monitored. But the one by advertisements or incentive causes the other party to want to participate and not to be forced to do so. The challenge is to find a model and a methodology that will
help us navigate from coercion to pitch and from codes to rewards so the use of power in the church will not be destructive but constructive and sustainable. The most relevant form of influence in ministry in my view is the reward channel. Many pastors would love to be better appreciated by rewards that will say to them their work and time is valued. It is unfortunate, however, that many in the ministry will in one way or the other have to face up to a power play situation where conflict ensues. Conflict and power are interrelated although they may exist independent of each other. Not all forms of power are conflictual in nature. Power as influence may not generate conflict but persuasion and buy in. “Power over people does not necessarily mean against people” (Ledyaev 1997:115). The misunderstanding of this latter statement can cause those who are under the influence of power to revolt. In one of the interviews Foucault defines power as a series of clashes within a social body. (Foucault 1989:188)

“Power is to the social process of conflict what oxygen is to the biological process of our physical bodies” (Halverstadt 1991:5). This means that we cannot talk of power without talking of conflict. Power, is therefore, connected to conflict which is our next discussion point is.

2.3 Conflict
Conflict is a subject which cuts across different fields of study like psychology, education, sociology etc. To mention but one example, in sociology, conflict is a theory which sees society as being better characterized in terms of clashing interests. These clashing interests are about control of economic resources between the employers and the working class, the rich and the poor even between concepts of idealism and materialism. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is a father of this theory. (Cuff et al 1990:68, 77)

In practical theology there are different areas where conflict features. It can be in the family, in society, in church etc. This research focuses mainly on church conflict but first we will discuss conflict from a sociological view, a psychological view, and a theological view, concluding with an African view.

2.3.1 Sociological view on conflict
The classical work of the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung on peace and violence which also earned him to be regarded as one of the fathers of Peace and Conflict Studies, formed the foundation for his later work which provides a conflict theory in a model called the
conflict triangle (see figure 2.1, below). There are three components to this triangle viz. behaviour, attitude and contradictions. A conflict can be triggered by any of these three components and others will follow suit. For example, a negative behaviour of parties in conflict, triggers negative attitudes which bring to the surface contradictions. The interaction of these three components results in a process that produces conflict. Galtung when describing the content of conflict says: “Deep inside every conflict lies a contradiction [of] something standing in the way of something else... In other words, I want something badly, but so does somebody else, I want something badly but I also want something else” (Galtung 1996: 70). This contradiction located in the subconscious mind, is the cause of the conflict. See Figure 2.1 below.

![Conflict Triangle Diagram](image)

2.3.1.1 Actor and Structural conflict

Galtung talks of two kinds of conflicts based on the conflict triangle. One is called an actor conflict while the other is a structural conflict. An actor conflict occurs when a person is conscious or cognitive of their inner contradictions and, therefore, choses a specific attitude to align with their inner contradictions. When one is fully cognitive of their contradictions and attitudes, it informs their behaviour, therefore, they choose to act in a particular way. Hence it’s called the actor conflict. The metaphor that simplifies this concept is a driver of a car who is fully aware and deliberate about where he intends to go, what route he chooses to use and why. The structural conflict is when a person is not conscious or fully cognitive of the contradictions and develops a false image of what the problem is. A false attitude develops, which informs a false or inaccurate behavior.
2.3.1.2 Example of structural conflict

An example of a structural conflict is when workers blame the problem of unemployment on migrants who are preferred by employees and therefore develop hateful feelings towards them which leads to aggression. The actual cause of the problem is not the migrants but the pressure that the global markets have on the economy, causing employers to choose cheap labour so that their business can stay afloat. So the contradiction is caused by the structure of the economic system which impacts on the social system hence it is called a structural conflict. (Galtung 1996: 74-76; cf. Demmers 2012: 58-60)

2.3.1.3 Incompatible goals

Chris Mitchell motivated by Galtung’s earlier writings, defines conflict as: “any situation in which two or more social entities or ‘parties’ (however defined or structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals” (Mitchell 1981:17). According to Mitchell there are three components that constitute conflict viz. incompatible goals, conflicting attitudes and conflicting behaviour. These three components follow each other consecutively. When goals are incompatible, negative attitudes develop and when attitudes are not corrected they lead to negative behaviour.

Sociologists Bartos and Wehr further developed Galtung and Mitchells’ work by defining conflict as “a situation in which actors use conflict behaviour against each other to attain incompatible goals, and /or to express their hostility” (Bartos and Wehr 2002:13). In other words, people move into conflict because of incompatible goals although they desire the same objective. An example of this kind of conflict can be found within a family hierarchy, where the husband as head of the family does not want to have children whereas his wife as helper does. These two have the same objective of being a happy family but their goals are incompatible and, therefore, a conflict is created.

2.3.1.4 Hostility conflict

This conflict can escalate to a behaviour that brings about hostility. Hostility can either be rational or irrational. Rational hostility is where alternatives with high payoffs can be explored through persuasion based on a promise of a reward or an offer which will bring pure cooperation from both parties. When this fails, non-rational behaviour follows which
unfolds in a form of coercive action based on threats, punishments through depravation and finally violence.

Figure 2.2 clearly illustrates the progression of conflict from a non/low coercive action to a high coercive action, which climaxes in violence.

![Coercive conflict diagram](image)

Critique

The work of the above sociologists on conflict is commendable and forms a solid foundation from where others can build. It, however, falls short in therapeutically journeying with those in conflict. At best what it does is give to an analysis of the conflict and provide pointers towards solving the problem. It is good at mapping the conflict where questions are directed at primary and secondary role players in conflict. (Demmers 2012:13, 14)

These questions can assist in conflict resolution workshops but fail to develop a healing methodology that will be therapeutic to those damaged by conflict.

2.3.1.5 Leas’ five stages of conflict

Leas’ classical work (not a sociologist but a theologian) on conflict theory unfolds in five stages. The first stage of conflict is where parties are dealing with the problem that causes conflict. The second stage moves from the problem to a defense position where parties are looking to serve their personal interest and start shifting the focus, from seeking solutions to seeking the one responsible for the problem. The third stage moves into a competition where those in conflict are interested in who will win or lose. The fourth stage is the hostile stage where parties are trying to get rid of each other and the last stage is vindictive and insatiable, where parties are enemies for life on a crusade to annihilate each other. “The first two levels are easy to work with; the third is tough; the fourth and fifth are very
difficult and impossible” (Leas 1985:16). Figure 2.3 illustrate the progression of Leas’ levels of conflict, from a low to a high level.

Low levels of conflict ——— High Levels of conflict
(1) Problem-focused (2) Defence-focused (3) Competition (4) Divorce (5) Eradication
Easy to work with Tough Difficult Impossible

Figure 2.3 Leas’ levels of conflict (Leas 1985:16)

Critique
Leas’ theory of conflict is similar to the theories of sociologists mentioned above, in that it focuses on the social perspective of conflict but fails to bring a psychological and a theological perspective. Human beings are not just social beings but also psychological and spiritual beings.

2.3.2 Psychological view on conflict
Haugk although not a psychologist, compliments Leas’ work by providing the psychological aspect of conflict. He focuses on the antagonists in conflict and defines them as “individuals who, on the basis of non-substantive evidence, go out of their way to make insatiable demands, usually attacking the person or performance of others. These attacks are selfish in nature, tearing down rather than building up, and are frequently directed against those in leadership…” (Haugk 1988:25).

He then goes on to divide the antagonists into three categories namely the hard core, the major and the moderate. Hard core antagonists are those who are psychotic and are out of touch with reality. They possess an insatiable desire to make trouble and are very tenacious about it. Major antagonists are those who have personality disorders but are not psychotic although they have deep seated personality problems but they are not out of touch with reality. Unlike neurotics, they do not experience any guilt or anxiety about their problems. They are generally content with themselves and desire no change of attitude or character. They can be very hostile and power hungry. Moderate antagonists are a milder version of the two. They never go out of their way to be antagonistic, but they can be, if the opportunity presents itself. All of these three types of antagonists can be malicious in their motives and impact. (Haugk 1988:27-30)
Figure 2.4 illustrates where antagonists fit, in the five levels of conflict.

![Figure 2.4 Antagonistic Conflict (Haugk 1988:35)](image)

Haugk warns that it is not everyone who is in conflict who can be termed an antagonist and, therefore, proper assessment must be made to identify antagonists. He gives five personality characteristics which identify antagonists, viz. negative self-concept, narcissism, aggression, rigidity and authoritarianism. These traits are also exhibited by normal people but antagonists will display several of these in extreme forms.

Greenfield gives further clarity about the pathological condition of antagonists, that they are “lay persons who have serious mental or emotional problems and feel an inner hostility toward clergy persons” (Greenfield 2001:23). He states that these antagonists are wounded people who carry internal pain and project it on unsuspecting clergy which is carried out in a destructive way. They are pathological antagonists because of their abnormal attitude and behaviour. They are not necessarily psychotic or out of touch with reality but they surely have deep seated personality problems. (Greenfield 2001: 39)

To further illustrate his point gives a case study of a man who due to ill-health could not support his family and blamed all this on God. Since he could not directly attack God, he subconsciously attacked God’s representative which is the pastor. This displaced anger seems to be a common trend among abnormal or pathological conflicts. (Greenfield 2001:41)

2.3.2.1 Normal conflict

Rediger buttresses Haugk’s and Greenfield’s theory, by suggesting three levels where conflict can operate. He states that conflict can be normal, abnormal and spiritual. In normal conflict, rational thinking prevails and there’s a genuine commitment to solve the problem
despite disagreements. At this stage, normal conflict resolution strategies can be implemented. (Rediger 1997:63-68)

This is a stage of constructive conflict or what Haugk calls ‘healthy conflict’ as illustrated in figure 2.4 above.

2.3.2.2 Abnormal conflict

Abnormal conflict is when personality disorders or even mental disorders feature in conflict. These disorders are found in the clinical designation of the DSM-5 and they are “Antisocial Personality Disorder (breaks social rules, is cruel is deceitful, is impulsive); Borderline Personality Disorder (is unstable, has inappropriate and intense reactions, is irresponsible, and often charming; Paranoid Personality Disorder (is suspicious, rigid, and judgmental, and vindictive; Abuse Disorder( similar to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) – is distrustful, has selective avoidance, has inappropriate guilt, uses scapegoating”(Rediger 1997: 57). Updated details on the DSM-5 Personality disorders can be found in Sperry (2016).

Rediger states that abnormal conflicts which are caused by mentally disordered persons cannot be resolved through normal conflict resolution methods. Negotiation is one of the methods for normal conflict resolution which requires a normal rational process that mentally disordered people do not possess. He recommends that the best way of dealing with such cases is a tough love method where a select group from the church will have to sensitively investigate the historical background of the suspected individual and where possible, use professional mental health specialists. This team consisting of the pastor and other appropriate leaders of the church with the assistance of professionals, where possible, will have to lovingly monitor the individual in question until satisfactory results are achieved. (Rediger 1997:87)

Critique

Despite the fact that Greenfield, Haugk and Rediger are not psychologists, their view of pathology or mental disorder as one of the major contributors to conflict is enlightening and helps in shedding more light on the causes of negative or abnormal conflict. To conclude, however, that all forms of negative conflict are mainly caused by mentally disordered people is not probable. Haugk also states that not all conflict can be ascribed as a mental
disorder case, hence proper investigation must be made before claims or conclusions of personality disorder on all cases of negative conflict are made. (Haugk 1988:60)

The psychological view alone falls short in accounting for the causes of negative conflict. We now turn to the Theological view.

2.3.3 Theological view on conflict

2.3.3.1 Spiritual conflict

Rediger (1997) calls it a spiritual conflict. Spiritual conflict is defined as an intentional unhealthy agenda of a person who: “resorts to sinful tactics without remorse and ... [has] a persistent energy for their nefarious causes that wears good people down” (Rediger 1997: 58). Rediger names people who operate in this level of conflict, ‘clergy killers’, which also happens to be the title of his book. He argues that ‘clergy killers’ are not normal or even abnormal forms of conflict. They may have traits of normal conflict tactics and personality disorders seen in abnormal conflict, but theirs is a spiritual conflict which can be best described as ‘evil’. Evil in this instance means intentional destructiveness, which includes, but is not limited to, “sabotage, subverting worthy causes, inciting others to do their dirty work and causing victims to self-destruct. [They can be] deceitful and can manipulate, camouflage, misrepresent and accuse others of their own tactics. Their negotiations are untrustworthy” (Rediger1997:9).

He suggests that rational solutions for dealing with evil will not work. Jesus gave a model for dealing with evil by naming the demon; casting it out and replacing it with a positive substitute (Mark 5:1-20). In dealing with evil he uses as reference the model used by Johnson (1986) in his book named “Intervention”, in the field of addiction therapy where he suggests systematic steps in intervening in a case of addiction. This includes identifying the crisis then building an intervention team which will design a strategy that will empower the team members in dealing with the challenge of the addict and will also guide the addicted person into a disciplined recovery program and finally evaluate the process and result. (Johnson1986:61-100)

Rediger suggests that these steps can be used as a guide in dealing with a spiritual conflict. He cautions that this kind of intervention is used with individuals whose behaviour is destructive and can be damaging to themselves and to others. He considers clergy killers who are engaged in spiritual conflict as being used by evil and, therefore, can be harmful to
themselves and to others. A team of forceful competent individuals able to impose conditions that will make recovery possible is, therefore, needed in dealing with spiritual conflict. (Rediger 1997:58-59)

Critique
Rediger’s intervention strategy although logical, is flawed because, while he presents a spiritual element of conflict, he suggests a psychological model of restraining the evil person physically. It is rather difficult to comprehend, how a spiritual problem can be solved using a physical model. If this is a spiritual problem as Rediger asserts, it must be solved spiritually. Those assigned to confront the evil person must possess spiritual authority and not just physical authority, lest their efforts are in vain, and perhaps they may even be legally charged for attempted physical assault.

2.3.3.2 Greenfield and Peck’s view on evil people
Greenfield also speaks of pathologic antagonists having a potential of turning evil. (Greenfield 2001:48)

He uses Peck’s analysis of evil in his book People of the lie. Peck as a psychiatrist by profession asserts that some behavioural patterns can only be classified as evil. He gives a case study of a man by the name of George who was suffering from an obsessive compulsive neurotic condition, and how he finally was tempted to make a pact with Satan and was willing to sacrifice his own son’s life in order for him not to suffer under the obsessions again. This case made Peck realise that evil was real and needed to be confronted. After his eight year old son made an observation that evil is ‘live’ spelled backwards, he defined evil as: “a force residing either inside or outside human beings that seek to kill life or liveliness...” (Peck 1998:43). Evil is demonstrated by killing not just the body but a person’s intellect, autonomy, creativity, innovation, intuition, ability, awareness etc. Peck makes a difference between natural evil that comes through sickness, natural disasters and human inflicted evil. (Peck 1998:129)

The latter is the focus of his book, which is why Greenfield used Peck’s work because it addresses what Greenfield calls pathological antagonists who are human beings who are either turning or have already turned evil. In the context of a congregation he sees them being destructive clergy killers who are after destroying the minister/ pastor and possibly
drive him out of the congregation. They also, at the same time, destroy the unity of the congregation by creating camps of disunity and killing the spirit of healthy fellowship in the congregation. (Greenfield 2001:49)

Peck admits that from a psychological profession point of view the arena of evil has always been seen as something that falls outside the scope of psychology. He says: “We do not yet have a body of scientific knowledge about human evil worthy of being dignified by the term psychology” (Peck 1998:46). Peck’s objective is to try and close the gap between the work of theologians and psychologists. He advocates a cross pollination of ideas and experiences because he feels there is no way by which one approach can sufficiently answer all the pathological conditions of people hence he is challenging psychology to study evil as a stream of pathology. He recommends that evil must be studied as a personality type in order to come to grips with its cause and attempt to find an antidote for it. (Peck 1998:46)

Greenfield advocates for Peck’s view of studying evil as pathology. He makes a list of observations regarding evil people. He notes that they are intentional destructive killers of the fellowship and unity of believers and its minister in the congregation. They always finagle their way into strategic leadership positions in the church in order to gain control or power over those set in authority and to influence the direction of the congregation towards their own biases. They are blind to their own sins and refuse to acknowledge their wrongs. They have a pious look and sound very spiritual such that no one can suspect them of being evil. They project their own evil deeds on others especially on ministers because they want to exonerate themselves. They have no conscience concerning their evil plots, because of their self-centeredness and arrogance. (Greenfield 2001:49-52)

Critique
The solution of casting out a demon, by using a group designated to manage the evil person as argued by Rediger, may not be completely effective; it assumes that the evil person will be a willing participant in the process of exorcism and intervention. The challenge could be that the evil person may not be a willing candidate for either because they don’t see anything wrong with their behaviour. By Rediger’s own admission evil people may play victim so that others could feel sorry for them. Evil people specialise in projecting their own
wrong-doing on others and therefore may find it difficult if not impossible to agree to their wrong doing. (Rediger 1997:119)

Stock Peck’s advocacy of studying evil as pathology falls outside of the scope of psychology and can, therefore, not be suitably dealt with at a psychological level. “The concept of evil has been central to religious thought for millennia. Yet it is virtually absent from our science of psychology...The major reason for this strange state of affairs is that science and the religious models have been considered totally immiscible” (Peck 1998:39). It is on this basis that Peck’s solution falls short of a sustainable solution when dealing with evil people. Now we turn to the African view to see how different it is from the western view on conflict.

2.3.4 The African view on conflict

Conflicts were “regulated by elders through the political system of gerontocracy” (Odegi-Awuondo 1990:46). In the case of pastoral people who would be in conflict because of grazing fields and water, elders would play a pivotal role in defusing tension and conflicts. The elders followed the cultural procedures, values and norms in settling disputes. Their opinion was trusted because they were thought to be wise by virtue of age and experience. All parties in dispute were given an opportunity to state their case then the elders would drive the conversation towards an amicable settlement which will reflect consensus by all parties involved. Elders were recognised as arbiters over disputes and their verdict after listening to all submissions would be final although there was no way of physically enforcing parties to submit to the verdict given. (Osamba2001:37)

In times of conflict among the Turkana people of East Africa, elders would call a peace conference which would be set in a carnival atmosphere where everyone would express their views and agreements would be made by slaughtering cows and sprinkling their blood in the air then together eat the meat as a sign of a peaceful settlement. Although there was no physical coercion into abiding by the agreements made, breach of agreement by any party would result in misfortunes and calamities befalling the party concerned because slaughtering of cows was an enactment of a blood covenant which the elders would preside and pray over. They would also pronounce a curse on anyone who would breach the agreement made. (Augsberger1992:276)

In the thinking of an average African man there was an understanding that all the transactions done by the elders were not just done by them alone but with the elders were
an invisible audience of God and spirits “who were regarded as witnesses and active participants” (Osamba2001: 37). Mbiti also attests to this and adds that the agreements made were not only binding to the parties in agreement but there was always an understanding by Africans that failure to adhere to the agreement would result in being severely punished by God or whatever supernatural power people believed in. This is what coerced parties into adhering to the agreements made; although not a physical coercion, it was strong enough if not more strong, to force cooperation. (Mbiti1969:212)

The community, through its norms and standards played a key role also in resolving conflict. The community’s view superseded an individual’s view and as a result when a person or a group of people defied the verdict given by the elders who are set by the community to preside over disputes; the defiance was taken to be a defiance of the social order of the day. Such defiance would inevitably isolate that group or individual from the rest of society and its belief system. The whole society, therefore, played an important role in incubating the process of reconciliation in conflict resolution. (Ury 1999: 1)

In the African context there is no ‘private dispute’ because all get affected one way or another. In African philosophy, the one is, therefore, connected to the many.

The ultimate objective in African thinking is to establish peace and mutual respect in times of conflict and in times when there is no conflict. The focus was mainly on reconciliation and not on who is right or wrong, wins or loses. Restitution, apology, reconciliation, justice, fairness, forgiveness, tolerance and coexistence were used to restore equilibrium in society. (Osamba2001:40)

The objective of the African view in conflict is “genuine reconciliation and where necessary restitution and rehabilitation” (Malan 1997:24).

The African view is different from the western view in that it involves three distinct components in conflict. The first is the gerontocracy form of governance. Most western traditions prefer a capitalistic democracy which is based on the rich class governing over the poor class. Their approach to conflict will be attended by specialists in the field instead of just elders in the community. In the African perspective, the elders are the specialists in conflict resolution and in many other matters that require governance and oversight in the community. The second component is the community’s involvement in conflict resolution. The western view tends to be individualistic whilst the African view is community oriented. In the African view the community has a greater share in the adjudication of events whereas
the western view respects the individual’s choices. The third component is the spiritual element which the western view will dismiss as superstitious whereas it is a major component which serves as security for dealing with non-compliance in the African perspective.

Critique
The African view sounds ideal but may not be realistic in today’s postmodern world. Today’s Africa has been so much influenced by the West, especially the urban areas. Elders no longer have the ultimate governing role they used to have because the judiciary in most areas has replaced the common law which honours elders and recognises their authority. The community still has a lot of influence in the society but most communities of Africa, especially those in urban areas, are shifting towards a more western way of living which honours the individual above the community. The spiritual element is also affected by western thinking because more people in urban environments have been schooled within secular institutions that put more emphasis on pragmatism and logic instead of spirituality. In rural areas however there three components are still very much upheld and they are the ones that are keeping the social order in tact in the rural areas. There is a lot one can learn, however, from the African view of handling conflict but unfortunately western thinking has had a greater influence and, therefore, erased the indigenous ways of running society in the minds and culture of most urban Africans. Research needs to be done on how to restore the African view of society in urban environments such that it can assist in solving the problems that plague the urban world whether they are political, religious or societal. We shall now look at polity as our next subheading in the challenge of hierarchy.

2.4 Church Polity
Polity (also referred to as church government) is a system of organizing or administrating the operations of the church based on set principles, tenets and values agreed upon by that specific group. This system differs from one group to the other. Erickson defines it as “the organization or governmental structure of a local church or fellowship of churches” (Erickson 2001:167). There are three categorizations of classifying doctrine. A teaching can fall under dogma, doctrine or belief. Dogma refers to those teachings in the Christian faith which are non-negotiable. Doctrine refers to teaching which deal with the ministry and the
nature of the church. There can be a number of differences in this classification and various perspectives which would not necessarily constitute a denial of the Christian faith. The third is beliefs where differences are based on opinions of organisations or individuals. (Grenz and Olson 1996:73-77)

Polity is not a dogma but can be either classified as a doctrine in some circles of Christianity while others can see it as a belief. (Norman et al 2004: 1, 2)

Akin posits that there are five forms of church government namely: Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Erastian or national state churches, and minimalist or non-governmental, for example, the Quakers and Plymouth Brethren. (Akin et al 200:25, 26)

We will focus our attention on the first three categories of polity which mostly feature in polity studies and these are: Episcopacy, Presbyterian and the Congregational.

2.4.1 Roman Catholic Episcopacy

Episcopacy refers to ‘bishop rule’ where the bishop is in charge of the whole church in terms of oversight. There is a difference between the episcopacy of the Roman Catholics and that of the Anglicans. The Roman Catholics take their episcopate as coming from apostolic succession. They believe that the Pope is a successor of the apostle Peter and, therefore, he is the overall Vicar of Christ on earth. (Chadwick 1993:237-246)

Toon explains in detail, how the development of the episcopacy happened, as recorded by the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, written early in the second century. These letters indicate how there were three distinct offices in the church, that of bishop, presbyter and deacon. The bishop was ordained by existing bishops as the chief pastor of the flock, teacher and also president over other presbyters. These presbyters from city churches under the oversight of their bishop would go and establish churches in neighbouring towns. They would then inevitably become the pastors of those churches and this is how a diocese was developed. (Toon et al 2004:24, 25)

The bishop of Rome which was the main city in those days was referred to as the archbishop or the patriarch, by virtue of being located in a more metropolitan environment. During the middle ages this influence of the Bishop of Rome had gone as far as England as the church grew stronger and stronger resulting in the catholic church of both West and East. The Bishop of Rome recognised as a papacy, insisted on being the one ordaining bishops of
England and in charge of the process of collecting taxes from them. This did not settle well with the English kings who protested this kind of control from Rome.

It was in 1533-36 when Henry VIII broke relations with Rome that the disconnection with papacy happened. This was further entrenched by his son Edward VI catalysed by the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation that started in Germany and went to Switzerland and on to England. Later on, the Church of England under Queen Elizabeth 1, in 1559, adopted a reformed Catholicism. This is how the Anglican Church or the Church of England (Ecclesia Anglicana) was formed. (Toon et al 2004:30)

2.4.2 The Anglican Episcopacy

The Anglican Episcopacy is different from the Roman Catholic Episcopacy in that the bishop has limited power which is exercised over a specific diocese. Individual bishops are allowed to run their diocese based on their conviction rather than operating on imposed demands of conformity from a central higher office as is the case in the Roman Catholic Church. The role of a bishop in Anglicanism is more that of a mentor who motivates his diocese to keep to the set policies of the church than one who dictates and commands obedience. The symbol of unity in the Anglican Church is a book of common prayer for worship. While there is great conformity to the liturgy and similar vestments, execution of theological positions, practice and social advocacy can differ from one bishop to the other. There is what is called a house of Bishops (retired and incumbent) and a house of deputies (also called presbyters who are priests chosen as representatives from different diocese) which constitutes a General Convention where the ultimate authority of dealing with the church business is. There are a lot of ‘checks and balance’ set in place so that the bishops, although they have authority to make certain decisions in the church, those decisions should have undergone approval by various committees before the final verdict is given. This includes financial inclined decisions. This culture of checks and balance goes all the way down to the local parishes where the rector (the ordained priest of a local parish) works together with a group of lay leaders called the vestry. (Long 2001: 43-49)

2.4.3 The Methodist Episcopacy

The Methodist episcopacy is not so different from the Anglican one; in that, it also has a common book, called the Book of Discipline, which guides the entire church on matters of
polity and liturgy. The office of a bishop has more managerial responsibilities than sacerdotal ones. The word superintendent is still used in the book of discipline rather than bishop. There’s a concept in Methodism called itinerancy. This is when a minister is sent to a specific parish as its priest based on their skills and expertise and the needs of the congregation they are to serve. This decision to send ministers is taken at a conference. The local parish simply receives who they are given and does not have the authority to fire them because they did not hire them. This process is also done to bishops after their term of office. This is why Methodist bishops do not have a cathedral because of the itinerant nature of their function. There is also a council of Bishops which then forms a body that superintends over the whole church. As in the Episcopalian system the governance is shared between clergy and lay people at conferences. (Long 2001:41)

Critique
The critiques of episcopacy especially against monarchical system are against the claim of one person (the Pope) being the Vicar of Christ. This kind of a claim does not take into consideration the fallibility of a human being and puts an undue pressure on one person to be the sole representative of God in the earth.
I agree with the historical critique that is against choosing one geographical area and city (Rome), as the main place where one Bishop rules the entire Christendom alone. (Toon et al 2004:31)
This opens the door to dictatorship and absolute control over God’s people. King Henry’s (VIII) rejection and the reformers’ rejection of the papacy in general, still have valid arguments. This absolute control was bound to corrupt the church as was the case at the time when Luther, the German reformer posted his 95 theses in defiance to the system.
The critique on other forms of Episcopalian system is the rejection of apostolic succession. The argument of apostolic cessation (that all the gifts and ministry of apostles ended in the first century when they died) is used against episcopacy. This argument states that the office of apostleship and their gifts ceased at the death of the apostles at the time of the early church. (Taylor et al 2004:45; cf Waldron et al 2004:63)
Also the fact that bishop as a title was used interchangeably with the title elder and, therefore, there is nothing more special about the title bishop because it is equal to the functions of an elder. (Waldron et al 2004:56; cf Taylor et al 2004:45)
I agree with the latter but not with the former. There is no scriptural evidence that indicates that gifts and the office of apostleship have ceased to exist. At the same time I also agree that the office of bishop is used interchangeably with that of elder in the scriptures, therefore, it is church history and not scripture that advocates for a bishop’s exclusive office as an overseer of the church.

In as far as conflict and power is concerned there are no guarantees that there will not be an abuse of power in the Episcopalian system as much as there are checks and balances put in place, although Cowan argues that the Episcopalian polity in principle has a potential to settle disagreements much easier than other polity systems, the use of power which enforces compliance is not pastoral in that it may leave some parties damaged and with the problem still unresolved. This abuse of power will inevitably lead to conflict which will in turn have a negative impact not only on the work of the church but also on the role players. (Cowan 2004:17)

2.4.4 Presbyterianism

Presbyterianism is a form of church government based on representative eldership rule. There is no presiding bishop in the Presbyterian system and churches are not independent but interdependent. This practice of interdependence is called being ‘connectional’ which refers to the ability of the church to stay connected to each other across parishes.

“Presbyterians believe that the principles of representative church government by elders originated in the Old Testament, was continued into the New Testament, was practiced in the early church, fell into disuse in the mid-second century, and reappeared in the church in the sixteenth century in the Protestant Reformation of the Western church in Europe” (Taylor et al 2004: 76). The reformers who were advocates of this polity were Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and later, John Calvin (1509-1564).

In other words unlike Anglicans, Presbyterians believe that the scripture gives general principles from where ecclesiastical polity can be formulated. The ‘book of order’ is a guiding book for the Presbyterians on issues of polity, policies and all other related matters of church business. The role of elders is, therefore, traced from the Old Testament during the days of Moses. We see from Egypt how Moses consulted with the elders of Israel the plan of God to release them out of Egypt (Exodus 3:16; 4:29). We also see how the elders were also engaged even after they left Egypt on their way to the Promised Land. Particular
to the Presbyterians is the way the responsibility of leadership was shed by the seventy elders who assisted Moses in the management of the whole nation of Israel. The cherry on top was when God put his Spirit on them as a sign of approval (Numbers 11:14-25), which to the Presbyterians was a sign of their ordination (Taylor et al 2004: 79).

The presbyter is a body which consists of teaching elders (ministers of word and sacrament) and ruling elders (lay persons) within a particular geographic jurisdiction. This understanding is based on Paul’s teaching to the eldership, saying that: “Let the elders that rule be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word and doctrine” (1Timothy 5:17). This body establishes, legitimizes and monitors the local churches or congregations within its jurisdiction. It performs the functions that a bishop does in the episcopal polity in that it supervises the activities of all denominations under its jurisdiction. It also administers ordinations by interviewing those candidates who wish to enter ministry and when satisfied, it ordains them.

In the local parish a group of ruling elders constitute what is called a ‘session’. The minister who has been appointed by the presbytery conducts the session meetings. This one minister could be designated by the presbytery to conduct several ‘sessions’ within a given geographical jurisdiction because of vacancies of ministers in those parishes. In this case the minister becomes a moderator of those churches together. “In theory the minister has no power, apart from a role on the session, to determine how things will be done...the minister of word and sacrament is a teacher who instructs the local church about faith and practice and who accomplishes tasks only by pedagogical persuasion, which prepares the session to see that its decisions accord with the practice of the denomination as guided by scripture and the historical creeds” (Long 2001: 71).

The highest governing body in the Presbyterian polity is the General Assembly. This assembly meets once a year and it also consist of ministers and lay persons equally represented. The General Assembly when it meets, deals with various matters of the general church like constitutional matters, finances, doctrinal matters, organisational logistics, mission strategy and social-witness. There is a governing body which intermediates between the General Assembly and the presbytery. This governing body is called the synod. It also consists of an equal number of teaching and ruling elders. The synod is elected by the presbytery and represents a larger area than the presbyters. It also has a moderator. They meet annually but unlike the General Assembly, they do not deal with constitutional
matters but rather with the business of advancing the mission and programs of the life of the church in the various regions. A moderator of the general assembly is elected by the assembly, as the chairperson of the assembly and travels widely on church business, representing the general church in all ecclesiastical matters. (Long 2001: 72-74)

Critique
The Presbyterian polity differs from the Episcopalian polity in that it tries to have more of a democratic representation where both laity and clergy are involved in decision making in the church. The discrepancy I have of this system is the ‘top-down’ leadership approach where a presbyter or an assembly outside of the local parish can dictate terms that are binding to the local parish. I agree with Patterson that the Presbyterian system can be very bureaucratic to an extend that it confines the local parish from accomplishing certain projects especially those that are urgent in nature in that it must wait for approval from a hierarchical system of the church which is seldom efficient in some regions. (Patterson 2004:106-107)

The second critique and most pertinent to the subject of conflict is the role of the minister not having power to influence the direction of a local parish the same way that the ‘session’ does. In other words there’s likely to be a conflict on where the power lies in terms of the influence of the church between the minister and the session of the church. Theoretically it may be understood that the session has a greater influence on the material direction of a local parish and the minister on the ministerial or theological direction but in practice these lines can be blurred. These blurred lines can easily cause strife and even conflict.

2.4.5 Congregational
The Oxford dictionary of the Christian church defines congregationalism as: “that form of church polity which rests in the independence and autonomy of each local church” (Cross and Livingstone 1997:399). The local church has the authority and freedom to govern itself and does not need a collegium or hierarchy that will authenticate its sacramental practices. Garret puts it this way: “the congregation governs itself under the Lordship of Jesus Christ (Christocracy) and with the leadership of the Holy Spirit (pneumatophoria), and with no superior or governing ecclesia bodies (autonomy) and with every member having a voice
in its affairs and its decision (democracy)” (Garret 2001: 644). Despite this independency, there are ways by which congregational churches cooperate and relate with each other. There are two systems or operations in the congregational system within the local church. These are a single elder and a plurality of elders.

2.4.5. (A) Single Elder and Plurality of elders

When it comes to the leadership of the congregation, there are two kinds of congregational polity systems. The one promotes a congregation led by a single-elder, while the other is a congregation led by a plurality of elders. Both these systems get their reference from the bible to back up their positions. The difference of opinion on which system is best reflected by scripture is still a matter of great debate. Most single-elder led congregations have no problem with a plurality of elders as long as there is one who is primus inter pares (a Latin phrase meaning ‘first among equals’) to lead and give direction to the congregation while supported by the rest of the eldership team (Patterson et al 2004: 131-152). On the other hand the advocates of a plurality of elders state that they do not have a problem with the argument of primus inter pares as long as the ‘primus’ (meaning first) is understood as influence and gift which can always differ because individuals may not be gifted the same way. The ‘pares’ (meaning equality) must be understood as equality in governance and authority. In other words, the elder who has the most influence and gift in the team is only first in that respect from others but is not first in authority and governance which is a shared responsibility (Waldron et al 2004:185-221).

Critique

The argument that church government must be derived from scripture when scripture itself is not prescriptive in this matter can lead to a lot of debate which tends to divide the body of Christ. I agree with Cowan that both these polity positions have challenges (Cowan2004:17). The single elder position must guard against one individual “lording it over” the flock (1 Peter 5:3), whereas the plurality of elders will have a challenge of a deadlock when it comes to decision making because they are equal in power and consensus may not be an easy thing to reach.
There are three kinds of congregational governmental structures. These are structures through which congregational churches choose to relate. They are connective, associative and those that have no over structure.

2.4.5.1 Connective congregationalism

Connective relations are formed through collaborations based on common interests, distinguishing these congregations as a unique entity. These congregations have a common practice of faith, similar patterns of worship and a shared authority among and (in some instances) over other congregations. This mutual authority is entered upon voluntarily and it is not imposed by an oversight office or body as the case is with the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian polities because in this model, each congregation has the power to exercise its own authority. (Long 2001:104)

The Lutheran church is a typical example of connective congregationalism which has resulted into uniformity of beliefs and practices without usurping the autonomy of a congregation. The unique character however about the Lutheran church is that it is a flexible structure that can take an Episcopal a Presbyterian or a Congregational shape as circumstances dictate. The reason for this flexibility is that Lutherans have never placed polity or church governance as the determining factor of the church’s authenticity, rather a relationship with God that is based on one’s faithfulness to God’s word, doctrine and sacrament. Luther himself did not have a specific emphasis when it comes to polity as a result there is no acceptable canon law in the Lutheran tradition. (Long 2001:105)

The flexibility of the Lutheran polity saw Lutherans in Europe endorsing Episcopalian polity whereas colonial Lutherans preferred Congregational polity. This difference in polity brought challenges to the Lutheran church and forced the church to form a synod which regulates a specific polity for purposes of accountability and to avoid idiosyncratic tendencies. The chief officer over the General synod is set and called a president and not a bishop. The president’s responsibility has supervisory powers. The powers of the president of the synod although decisive, still honours the congregational polity of each parish and they are never executed at a bureaucratic level of the Episcopalian system.

A parish, therefore, has a right to challenge the pronouncements of the president of the synod and may even choose to withdraw its membership from the corporate body if it
chooses to. These two steps show the autonomous rights of each parish, although they are likely to meet great resistance from other congregational members who are also part of the synod. Connectivity is still a high priority, therefore, for the church to a point where a local parish will avoid pulling in a different direction for the sake of preserving the connectivity between congregations. (Long2001:110)

In relation to its pastors, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (ELCSA) has a document called ‘Laws on Pastors’ where they stipulate the contractual relationship that the pastor enters into with the congregation (ELCSA 2015:7). The pastor enters into an employee-employer relationship with the church.

In certain circles in the Lutheran church (the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) sixty four synods come together in a connective relationship and each synod has a bishop who serves a term of one year. There is also a presiding Bishop who sits over all the sixty four synods together who serves for six years. The bishop’s office in this case is not a lifetime position unlike in the Episcopalian polity. The bishop’s function is more pastoral in the visit to individual parishes and the larger church organisational matters more than controlling in the Lutheran polity. (Long 2001:116)

“The strength of the Lutheran church continues to be at the parish level … [and this is] a primary reality, and the wider church a secondary and more problematic matter” (Lull 1983: 140).

Critique
The connectional system, in the Lutheran church in particular, can vary in polity from a congregational model to an episcopal one. This may create confusion as to which polity is to be followed.

In a case of a contractual agreement with a pastor, there is likely to be a lot of tension, as the case will be in any employment situation, between the employer and the employee. A contractual agreement when bridged can lead into law suits if there is an unhappy party. If it ever comes to this level of conflict, there seems to be no articulate pastoral methodology in dealing with such a conflict except a statement that says: “Church council shall protect the pastor against acts, which may impede his duties and against unjustified attacks against his person” (ELCSA 2015:14).
2.4.5.2 Associational Congregationalism

Whereas the connective relation of congregationalism is more binding to those in its membership, the associational relation has more liberty in that each congregation is encouraged to follow their conscience in their pursuit of being faithful to the gospel. Ecclesiastical authority comes from within the congregation and not externally. The Free Church has been closely associated with this kind of congregationalism. There are three main principles of associational relation 1. That every individual in the congregation must be a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ whose mind has been renewed after the nature of Christ and who is accepted by the entire congregation; 2. Each congregation is self-governing and independent from any other local church; 3. The gathering of the local church possesses the authority of self-government where each member has equal rights on matters of church government and discipline. (Long2001:120)

The Free Church emerged in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century as a reaction to seek independence from political influence and control and also religious institutional control of the church. The United Church of Christ (UCC) is an example of such associations. Their church government consist of a deacon board which is responsible over spiritual matters and the board of trustees which is responsible for administrative matters including finances and church property. It is important to state that the deacon board and the finance board can become two centres of power which when not properly managed can lead into strife and conflict. Different congregations come together to form an association with a unique constitution. Unlike in the Presbyterian polity it is the congregations that decide on the fate of the association and not the other way around. (Long 2001:122)

In the UCC the next stage beyond associations is called ‘conferences’, which covers larger geographical areas than associations. The one who resides over the conference is called a conference minister which is parallel to that of a pastoral-bishop although this term is not used. There is also a General Synod which is a national body but unlike in other polities the synod does not have the power to interfere with the plans of the congregations, associations or the conferences. It has office bearers called the executive council which act on behalf of the synod. (Long 2001:124-125)

In the Baptist church there is also a pattern of associational congregationalism. The principles of the church and doctrine are found in a document called a Baptist manual of polity and practice. They have three main tenets: 1. Rejection of infant baptism and
advocating for believer’s baptism; 2. Self-governance of a local church; 3. Interdependence of local churches to avoid idiosyncratic tendencies in local congregations. (Long 2001:129)

Critique
In the case of the UCC as noted above and generally in the associational model, more than one board in the same church can create two or more centres of power. This will always be a volatile environment for clashes and conflicts. The volatility of the Baptist associational model where every section is autonomous from the other, starting from the local church to various groups outside the local church that meet for cooperation with each other. What is decided at a regional association does not affect in any way what happens at a local church. This disjointedness can be positive or negative. Positively it gives the local church the autonomy of making its own decisions without being dictated to but negatively it exposes the local church to a danger of lack of accountability which can make the local church vulnerable to both internal and external challenges. Cooperation with other congregations would be sought in the latter but it is not obligatory nor the resolutions binding.

2.4.5.3 Congregational polity with no over-structure
Long, laments the sudden appearance of religious gatherings whose churches have no particular connection to any major body. He classifies them as existing with a capacity to draw members. They seem to be a counterculture motivated by a reaction to organized religion. These groups are congregational without being denominational because most of them honour the local church structure without any over-structure. These groups are totally independent and “many of these groups are uninterested in relationship with other groups or in becoming part of a more inclusive Christian movement. They are often formed as a result of privatised religious entrepreneurship. These small independent groups are served by persons who generally designate themselves ministers or pastors, who may or may not have scholarly credentials, who may or may not be accountable to any ecclesiastical body other than the local flock which attends their services and which contributes (in many cases sacrificially) to their support” (Long 2001:147).
Critique

Long is referring here to the churches which are categorized as Pentecostal-Charismatic. These Pentecostal churches could either be classified as ‘post denominational’, ‘Independent’ or ‘non-denominational’. Long’s classification of all Pentecostal-charismatic churches is justifiably correct because there is a sense of a greater independence from these Pentecostal churches especially those who are led by pioneers or founders have a tendency of being totally independent from the rest of the body of Christ. Not all Pentecostal churches are independent and non-denominational, most classical Pentecostal churches are very structured and some even as structured as the mainline historical churches. There is, however, quite a number of those who are independent and fragmented although they seem to have a congregational polity of some sort because of the emphasis they put on the local church. It was the focus of this research to investigate the challenges of hierarchy that occur in these kinds of churches which will be further dealt with in chapter four.

2.5 Preliminary Conclusion

The literature reviewed so far, though not comprehensive, reveals some of the components involved in hierarchy and the main arguments around it. Hierarchy plays itself out in the church mostly in polity. This is where the strength and weaknesses of hierarchy are displayed. Other components of hierarchy like power and conflict are the by-product of hierarchy. Various church polities, therefore, are able to help us discover the intricacies of church hierarchy. It was important for us to review the hierarchy of other church polities before we dealt with the Pentecostal hierarchy which would not be different from other forms of hierarchy but would have a polity that is unique to Pentecostalism. In chapter four the research focuses on Pentecostal hierarchy and its polity. The next chapter looks at the methodology used in this research that helped us to answer the research problem and bring us to the objectives envisaged by this research.
CHAPTER THREE
Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

When choosing a research approach, the researcher must make sure that the research problem and its purpose inform the choice of an appropriate research approach. (Bloomberg and Volpe 2012:27)

The problem of this research, therefore, is to investigate the causes of power struggle in the hierarchy of the Pentecostal churches. The main objective of the research was to investigate the polity of the Pentecostal church and its use of power in handling power struggles within its hierarchy. A struggle concerning power is a phenomenon that happens in the church as it is likely to happen in any other bureaucratic institution. One of the common areas where these power struggles happen is in the hierarchy of the organisation. This research hoped to find a model that could be used to help the church to better manage this challenge. A qualitative approach was the chosen methodology for the research.

3.2 Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach is defined as “multimethod in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln 1998:3). The strength of a qualitative research therefore is its ability to provide an in depth narrative that goes on in the minds of the society needing a platform where it can be expressed.

Figure 3.1 gives a comparison table between the qualitative and the quantitative approaches to help the reader understand why the qualitative approach was chosen above the quantitative.

This approach brings out the perceptions, views and practices, of those in or working under the hierarchy of the Pentecostal church who are faced with the challenge of power struggles and this gives them an opportunity to voice out their stories.
### Table of Comparison Between Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

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<td>Subjectivity is valued – rejection of natural science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Try to simulate experimental situation</td>
<td>Happens in natural settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical predictions of events, behaviour and attitudes</td>
<td>Interpreting reasons for observable behaviour – historical causes narrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Random sampling of large scale of extensive research studies</td>
<td>Purposive sampling of small groups in an intensive research study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deductive positivistic theory</td>
<td>Inductive constructivism or grounded theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predetermined responses based on theoretical framework through questionnaires</td>
<td>Open ended semi-structured research interviews from where theoretical categories may emerge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1 Table of comparison between quantitative and qualitative approaches. (Swinton & Mowat 2006:56).

The qualitative approach has five main genres or traditions mentioned by Creswell viz. case studies, ethnography, phenomenology, narrative research and grounded theory (Creswell 2014:187). This research used grounded theory as the choice tradition.

### 3.3 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a tradition of qualitative research which was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), whose intention was to construct theory based on data. These two are sociologists but their theory can be applicable to various fields within and outside the social sciences. The grounded theory is essential because it ushers a researcher into various experiences and phenomena that reach beyond the observable (Strauss & Corbin 2015: 6).

“The goal of grounded theory is to move beyond description and to have the researcher generate or discover a theory of a process, an action, or an interaction grounded in the views of the research participants” (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:33). This theory is the most suitable tradition where data collected from participants informs the study in either extending the existing theory, modifying it or coming up with a totally new one as it
emerges from the data. The above would be helpful in analysing how power is used in Pentecostal churches.

3.4 Epistemology
This is a concept that is taken from a branch of philosophy that is concerned with a theory of knowledge. It deals with the question of what is it that we know and ‘how do we know what we know’? According to McLeod, qualitative research has three levels of knowledge it deals with, namely: The knowledge of other; the knowledge of the phenomena and reflexive knowledge (McLeod 2001:9).

1. The knowledge of the other
Knowledge of the other is when the researcher focuses on a specific individual and gives that individual a voice to be heard based on their personal interpretations of their experiences. In the case of this research the interpretations of the participants who have experienced various hierarchical challenges within the Pentecostal church were given a voice.

2. The knowledge of the phenomena
This is when the researcher wants to know more about a particular subject of interest within a given community. In this research the phenomena that was studied was the hierarchy of the Pentecostal church and the challenges that emanated from it, among others this included the question of the use of power.

3. Reflexive knowledge
This is defined as a “process of critical self-reflection carried out by the researcher throughout the research process that enables her (sic) to monitor and respond to her (sic) contribution to the proceedings” (Swinton & Mowat 2006:69). The researcher applied reflexive knowledge especially because of being a member of a Pentecostal church.

Willig speaks of two types of reflexivity. One is a personal reflexivity where a researcher reflects on how his (sic) values, beliefs, biases have influenced the research and how the research has also influenced him or even changed him. The other form of reflexivity is an epistemological reflexivity where the researcher reflects on how the research question, the design of the study, the method of data collection and analysis have limited or enhanced the
research. Personal and epistemological reflexivity is dealt with in details, in chapter five on data analysis. (Willig 2001:10).

3.4.1 Nomothetic vs. Ideographic knowledge
Nomothetic knowledge is a modernistic type of thinking that is usually used in scientific methods. In order for knowledge to be scientifically true it must be falsifiable, meaning it must be possible to disapprove it, this makes it scientific. It must also be replicable, meaning that after a scientific paper has been written presenting its hypothesis, research design, methods and research process, anyone who has the skill can take that same research and be able to replicate it. This qualifies it as a scientific fact or a nomothetic truth. If the study cannot be replicable it is taken as non-factual and therefore not verifiable in the public domain. Nomothetic knowledge is also generalizable, meaning it must be possible to take the findings of a research and apply it in a general sense to a wider academic population. If the study cannot be generalizable it cannot be accepted as scientific truth (Swinton & Mowat 2006:53). Nomothetic knowledge operates within a postpositivism paradigm which is “reductionistic, logical, empirical, cause and effect oriented, and deterministic based on prior theories” (Creswell 2013:23). Nomothetic knowledge was not suitable for this study, because it belongs to the modernistic school of thought that believes that knowledge can only be derived from what can be carefully observed and measured through quantitative scientific methods (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012: 28,29).

3.4.2 Ideographic knowledge
Ideographic knowledge on the other hand is the direct opposite of the nomothetic knowledge in that, it is knowledge that cannot be falsifiable and yet is true. An example of this is a statement that says: ‘God exists’. This statement cannot be falsifiable, therefore, it is not nomothetic, but it is a true statement to those who are not atheists and, therefore, it is ideographic. For example, the love of a husband for his wife or family is real love but it cannot be verified based on the scientific nomothetic criterion stated above. Ideographic knowledge presumes that meaningful knowledge is unique to every individual and has non-replicable experiences. In other words, no two individuals can experience the same event and interpret it the same way. Interpretation tends to be unique and, therefore, subjective. Ideographic events can have a life transforming experience to the individuals who
encounter them, like the burning bush experience for Moses, the resurrection of Christ, the encounter of Paul on the road to Damascus. All these and others in the bible are unique ideographic events. The language of scripture and biblical tradition finds its expression in an ideographic setting. “Ideographic knowledge is also an integral part of the experiences and situations that Practical Theology seeks to reflect upon. Recognizing the epistemological significance of ideographic knowledge is very important for the practice of Practical Theology” (Swinton & Mawot 2006: 55).

This study aligned itself with Swinton and Mawot in presenting the ideographic knowledge which respects the values of individual’s social, cultural and historical experiences. This is also reflected in a social constructivism paradigm where individual values are a major influence to research. Ideographic knowledge is, therefore, post-modern in framework because it honours the subjectivity of individuals. This study, therefore, operated within a post-modern framework.

3.5 Data collection

In a qualitative research there are several methods that are chosen for data collection viz. interviews, observations, focus groups, critical incidents reports, life histories, document review. In this research a triangulation of interviews and document reviews was used as a method for data collection. Triangulation is a procedure of using multiple methods in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, also to contrast different data with each other (Gibson & Brown 2009: 58).

3.5.1 Interviews

Interviews are the best data collection method in grounded theory in order to saturate the emerging categories. The interviews were based on open-ended semi-structured questions. A semi-structured interview like the structured ones uses specific themes which are then formulated into specific questions, but unlike the structured interview, they are more flexible in that they order the questions in the natural flow of the conversation. Instead of trying to direct the conversation in the structure of the prepared questions, the researcher adjusted their own questions to flow with the trend of thought of the participants, and was even flexible enough to probe the participants to elaborate particular points; they were also at liberty to explore emerging topics that were not in the original script. The semi-structured
questions work perfectly within a grounded theory which is searching for a theory that will come from the data. (Gibson & Brown 2009: 58, 88; cf Creswell 2013:86).

The interviews were done and immediately written down, in order not to forget the trend of thought that transpired in the interview. A recording facility which would have been ideal to use but was not used because of the sensitivity of the interviews since they dealt with conflict issues in the church. The nature of a grounded theory is such that the researcher must move between the field and the gathered data in order to saturate all categories of the interview. In some instances the researcher had to go back to the participants for further clarity on a point raised in the interview.

3.5.2 Document review
The documents review method can bring about distinctive analytical possibilities especially when used together with other methods. The documents that were used have not been crafted by reason of answering the research questions, but existed before the research and were, therefore, analytically filtered and not analytically focused. Analytically focused documents are those specifically developed to answer the research questions. The documents were used as a primary data and not as secondary data, since they came out of a reflection of the researcher and the participants. Secondary data on the other hand is not regarded as first hand data because it could be a source from commentaries, academic work or newspaper articles or any other such forms of reporting. Some documents in this research were referred to as ‘special documents’ in that they were developed in response to specific challenges within that organisation, these are separate from regular documents which are routine documents that deal with the daily running of the institution (Gibson & Brown 2009:65-67,73).

3.6 Data Analysis
This is a process of preparing and organizing data. Data is reduced to little segments that are coded. These codes are then grouped together into themes. The main theme, therefore, emerges. The process of ‘memoing’ which is a process of reflecting and making notes on data as it unfolds precedes the coding process. Creswell advises to keep the themes to a number of five or six themes so as to make it easy to use in the narration section. (Creswell 2013:184)
In grounded theory there are two approaches to analysing data. One is a structured analysis which consists of three phases of coding viz. open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The coding process is then finalised by a set of theoretical propositions (Strauss & Corbin 1990). The other is an unstructured constructivist approach which seeks not to impose a forced framework on the data, therefore, it starts with an open coding, done line by line, followed by a focused coding which sifts through data in order to synthesise larger explanations. This process also follows a theoretical coding which reveals specific relationships between various categories e.g. causes, context and ordering which must still earn their way into the emerging grounded theory (Charmaz 2006). This analysis approach by Charmaz “assumes emergent multiple realities; the link of facts and values; provisional information; and a narrative about social life as a process” (Creswell 2013:197). The latter constructivist approach of data analysis was the one this study uses in its data analysis.

3.6.1 Participants
The research was conducted in the Eastern Cape, Buffalo City municipality. The reason for this geographical setting was because it is the residential area of the researcher and, therefore, would provide an easy access point into the research. This is in line with the purposive sampling method which the researcher chose in order to create an information-rich environment hence a familiar territory chosen (Merriam 2009). The participants were firstly selected from four classical Pentecostal churches, secondly from two independent Pentecostal-charismatic churches and thirdly from one African initiated church. The total number of participants was twenty (20). Out of twenty participants, fourteen accounts were reported on, in the data collection chapter, because they captured more accurately the views expressed by others and they expressed the emerging themes emanating from the rest of the data. A combination of church leaders/overseers, pastors, elders/deacons and congregants were interviewed. All these are people who have been involved in a situation of a power struggle in church hierarchy. They were all requested telephonically to participate in the research and a consent letter that gave details on the research project was emailed to them. This letter included the topic of the research, the aims and objectives of the study and a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity. Subsequent to their approval, an appointment for the interview was arranged.
Since the qualitative genre chosen was a grounded theory, the sampling strategy used was a theory based sampling (also known as a theoretic sampling), the participants were therefore theoretically chosen to assist in the formulation of a theory for this research. (Creswell 2013:86, cf Bloomberg 2012:104)

This theory may be used for further research in finding a solution that will assist Pentecostal churches in dealing with this hierarchical challenge.

3.7 Ethical considerations

“As researchers we are morally bound to conduct our research in a manner that minimizes potential harm to those involved in the study. We should be as concerned with producing an ethical research design as we are an intellectually coherent and compelling one” (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:111).

The study observed ethical standards by firstly writing a consent letter to all the participants where they give the researcher permission to interview them. The letter clearly indicated the topic and the objective of the research, and that all the information provided in the interview would be confidential, and to guarantee confidentiality, fictitious names were used, and if needs be, scenarios and locations would be encrypted without compromising the accuracy of the narration in order to protect the participants. It was also made clear, in the same letter, that the participant had a right to stop the interview, at any time they felt uncomfortable, or felt they were no longer willing to continue with the interview. (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:112; cf Flick 2009:37, 42)

Appendix B & C is the sample of the consent form used

3.7.1 Credibility and dependability

“This criterion refers to whether the participants’ perceptions match up with the researcher’s portrayal of them. In other words, has the researcher accurately represented what the participants think, feel and do?” (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:112).

In chapter five on the data analysis section the researcher’s biases was declared so as to understand the influence, the interpretation of data has brought to the study. The data collected was also verified against the literature reviewed including documents. Discrepancies or negative instances if there were any were spelled out so as to demonstrate
the reality of the challenges faced in data collection. Transcribed interviews were sent to participants for review.

3.7.2 Delimitations of the study
The delimitation of the study was that the study only covered Buffalo City Municipality because it was an easy access point for the participants. The study also focused on only three classical Pentecostal groups since they were the major ones in classical Pentecostalism in South Africa. There are many variations of neo-Pentecostal or Pentecostal–charismatic groups, but the study focused only on two, in order to be able to manage the data. There was also one from the AICs that the study also focused on.

3.8 The Research Model
A pastoral care model is needed in order to journey with those who are displaced or affected by the hierarchical challenges in the Pentecostal church. Gerkin (1997) in his book on pastoral care introduces a model of care that begins from the early records of biblical history. Priests, prophets, and wise men and women are featured in the early history of the bible and are used by Gerkin within a pastoral model. The priests were responsible for leading the people pastorally through the observation of sacramental feasts, festivals and ceremonies which were fundamental to a life of worship. The prophets were responsible for pastorally guarding and guiding the nation on issues of morality, addressing both the people and their political leaders. The wise men and women pastorally gave wise counsel to the people on matters of personal conduct. In Gerkin’s words: “From very early in recorded biblical history the custom was established of designating three classes of such leaders: the priests, a hereditary class that had particular responsibility for worship and ceremonial life; the prophets who spoke for Yahweh in relation to moral issues, sometimes rebuking the community and its stated political leaders; and the wise men and women who offered counsel of all sorts concerning issues of the good life and personal conduct” (Gerkin 1997:23). The priestly, prophet, wise men and women were not the only pastoral models available to use. The shepherding model was also available from the Old Testament right into the New Testament. Gerkin puts it this way: “The prophetic, priestly, and wisdom models of caring ministry we inherit from the Israelite community are not, to be sure, the
only biblical images with which we pastors have to identify. Another in certain ways more significant, model is that of the caring leaders as shepherd” (Gerkin 1997: 27).

3.8.1 Gerkin’s trilogy and Pentecostalism
Gerkin uses a narrative hermeneutical approach in unpacking this trilogy model of pastoral care. When aligning this pastoral care theory with Pentecostalism, the priestly tradition, as a custodian of a community of worship, looks at the history of Pentecostalism, which emphasizes the manifestations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians 12:8-11), and makes the person and works of the Holy Spirit, central figures in worship. To pastorally care for Pentecostals in a priestly tradition; will be to put the person and the work of the Holy Spirit as central figures in worship. The prophetic tradition which confronts deviation from the will of God, and upholds high moral standards, will pastorally care for the Pentecostals through the practice of the gift of prophecy which is used for “exhortation, edification and comfort” (1 Corinthians 14: 3). This exhortation, edification and comfort may come in the form of dreams, visions or trances, either to warn (Matthew 2:13), to advise (Acts 18:9, 10), to give instruction (Acts 10:3-6), and correction (Acts 10:9-16). The wise men and women will pastorally care for the Pentecostals, who through a propositional handling of scripture tend to a literal interpretation; using scripture alone ‘sola scriptura’ is the highest form of counseling. He will journey with them by shepherding them through the more pastoral interpretation of scripture. (Gerkin 1997:106)

3.8.2 Shepherding model
The model that embodies all the other three is the one of a pastor as a shepherd. “Applied to Jesus’ ministry, the shepherding image incorporates not only the wisdom expressed in certain of the parables and the Sermon on the Mount, not only his priestly leadership in relationship to his followers, but also elements of prophecy such as are found in the story of Jesus’ cleansing of the Temple…” (Gerkin 1997:27).
Hierarchical challenges in the form of power struggles can leave conflicted parties alienated from each other and feeling like ‘sheep without a shepherd’ (Numbers 27:17). Gerkin’s model of a shepherd based on Psalms 23, is used to lead those in conflict into righteous paths, to restore their soul and to walk with them when they see each other as enemies to alleviate their fears in the face of death and of relationships. This theory is modeled by
Christ as a good shepherd who embodies the office of a priest who intercedes for his disciples (John 17:6-19), a prophet who confronts the money changers in the temple (John 2:14-16), and a wise men who gives counsel in his many parables (Matthew 7:24, 25). The shepherd’s model therefore is engaged in its priestly role of interceding between those in a power struggle; it also prophetically confronts abuses of power and gives wise counsel towards conflict resolution (Gerkin 1997:27). It helps to journey with the sheep that have strayed away from the shepherd. Gerkin is helpful in journeying with the sheep but is not able to reconstruct their lives fully. At this point the research invited Pollard who used positively deconstruct in order to journey with Pentecostal churches.

3.8.3 Positive deconstruction

Nick Pollard (1997) presents a model he uses in evangelism to help reconstruct the structure of the belief system of those individuals whose world view is not biblical. This study, therefore, adopted Pollards’ positive deconstruction to reconstruct the underlying worldview of hierarchy in the Pentecostal church. To deconstruct according to Pollard is to take apart what one believes in order to analyse it and replace it with a better view hence it is called a positive and not a negative deconstruction. This process involves four stages.

1. Identify the underlying worldview,
2. Analyse it
3. Affirm the good it contains
4. Point out the bad or the negatives it upholds in order to replace it with a better view.

This study applied Pollard’s model as shown above in order to reconstruct the hierarchical challenge in the Pentecostal church. Using Hollenwager’s (1997) three categories of Pentecostalism as modified by Anderson (2014), the study applied Pollard’s model to reconstruct each category of hierarchy.

3.8.3.1 Classical Pentecostal’s underlying worldview and analyses

Classical Pentecostals are Christocentric in theology and, therefore, believe that Christ is the one who transforms individuals through the experience of being ‘born again’. Most of them believe in the initial evidence of speaking in tongues after the baptism in the Holy Spirit also known as the ‘second blessing’ after conversion. (Anderson 2014:28, 197)
In classical Pentecostalism the underlying worldview is fundamentalism, inherited from the holiness movement of the late 19th century, which “was a reaction to liberalism and formalism in the established Protestant churches and stood for biblical literalism, the need for personal and individual experience of conversion, and the moral perfection (holiness) of the Christian individual” (Anderson 2014:27). Fundamentalism takes the word of God literally and applies it to situations as they come. Some of this biblical literalism is seen in the interpretation of scriptures like the one that says: “in like manner also, that the women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with propriety and moderation, not with braided hair or gold or pearls or costly clothing” (1Timothy 2:9). In some Pentecostal churches, women are therefore not allowed to use make up or even wear earrings or trousers which are regarded as worldly. Strangely, men can wear whatever they choose to wear. There are no serious restrictions for them as there are for women. There is also a little regard for the role of women in church since the scripture says women must be silent in church (1 Corinthians 14:34). This shows some of the traits of fundamentalism where the patriarchal nature of scripture is upheld.

3.8.3.2 Affirming the good and pointing out the negative
The strength of fundamentalism is their high regard for scripture and restoring the lost art of ‘sola scriptura’ which was upheld by classical Protestants. Their zeal for a spiritual experience keeps them in pursuit of a deeper relationship with God. While this is commendable, their hermeneutics tends to disregard context as in the interpretation of 1Timothy 2:9 and 1 Corinthians 14:34 above. Literal Biblicism tends not just to ignore context but the historical setting of the text and its cultural application. This is a major error because if scripture is not properly interpreted, it can be misleading and cause its adherents to fall into error. There is a need therefore for a proper exegesis of scripture.

3.8.3.3 Charismatic Pentecostalism’s underlying world view and analysis
The Pentecostal Charismatic church has emphasis on the gifts of the spirit which are demonstrated through individuals. They also have an emphasis on prosperity both material and spiritual such that most of its proponents have come to be known as prosperity teachers. The underlying worldview, therefore, among Pentecostal-charismatics is materialism. The origin of the Pentecostal-Charismatic churches was made popular by
independent preachers who came from the Pentecostal tradition, mostly healing evangelists like William Branham (1909-1965), Oral Roberts (1918-2009) and others in the late 1940s and 1950s. These healing evangelists also preached on material prosperity for ordinary believers. This teaching appealed to many people including a Pentecostal businessmen’s group called the Full Gospel Business men’s Fellowship. This fellowship of businessmen gave platform to the expansion of this message by inviting Roberts to most of their meetings. Television and radio was also used to give momentum to the spread of the prosperity message. (Anderson 2014:158-159). The process of positively deconstructing this materialistic worldview continues in the next step.

3.8.3.4 Affirming the good and pointing out the errors

The Pentecostal Charismatic movement helped to restore ordinary believers to a place where they also could exercise their spiritual gifts. This is in line with the Protestant Fathers’ teachings who advocated for the Priesthood of all believers. The message of prosperity was also a good teaching which enabled the poor and ordinary people to know that God wanted them to be successful in life and that they were not doomed to poverty. The overemphasis on the message of prosperity however brings an imbalance to the message of the gospel in that it denies suffering as a spiritual phenomenon. Most Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers do not endorse suffering as a necessary growth phenomenon in the life of a believer. One of the strong proponents of the ‘prosperity gospel’, Kenneth Hagin (1917-2003), wrote a lot of books that taught on prosperity based on a literal biblical interpretation of scripture. One of his books is called: “You can have what you say” (Hagin 1988) where he literally interprets scripture in the gospel of Mark which says: “Truly I tell you, if anyone says to this mountain, ‘Go, throw yourself into the sea,’ and does not doubt in their heart but believes that what they say will happen, it will be done for them” (Mark 11:23). He advocates that whatever you say you will get as long as you have no doubt in your heart about it. This way of interpretation however presents several problems. It ignores the historical and cultural context of the text; it also ignores the sovereignty of God in terms of his will. Having seen the Charismatic Pentecostal worldview, the study now focuses on the African Initiated churches.
3.8.3.5 African Initiated Churches (AICs) underlying worldview and analysis

Most of the AICs are traditionalists in worldview. When the gospel was brought to Africa by missionaries, people were already having some form of a traditional faith. Most of the AIC leaders started in the classical Pentecostal movement, but broke away in the course of time because classical Pentecostalism did not recognize some of the indigenous ways of worship regarding them as demonic. As much as they were Pentecostal, they had an allegiance towards their African ways of worship hence most of them when they broke away from the classical Pentecostal church; started churches whose philosophy was African traditionalism. The veneration of ancestors and other forms of traditional rituals is a common practice to most AICs.

3.8.3.6 Affirming the good and pointing out the error

It is good for a people not to forget their traditional roots and to remember their origins. One of the disadvantages that missionaries had when they brought the gospel is that they totally removed the traditional practices of the indigenes and declared them all demonic, whereas, not all were demonic although others were clearly against biblical teaching like the veneration of the dead. The error of most AICs is that they do not make a distinction between a biblically sound traditional practice and that which is not. There is a lot of mixture or syncretism when it comes to their practice of faith. Some of the practices they allow are those done by traditional healers and in some instances even witchdoctors. The veneration of ancestors is one major point of disagreement with scripture. The Ten Commandments clearly forbids the worship of any other except Jehovah. The arguments raised by Mbiti’s (1970), writings on how Africans understand their religion is an argument that is used to defend the view of the veneration of the dead.

3.9 Preliminary Conclusion

The problem of this research was to find the causes of power struggles and its objective was to investigate the polity and how power was used in the hierarchy of Pentecostal churches in order to find a model that would help journey with congregations that encountered this challenge. This chapter has stated the methodology that was used in order to answer the research question and to reach the stated objectives. The qualitative approach based on
grounded theory was used in order to understand the power struggle phenomenon from the perspective of the individuals involved and also to allow a theory to develop from the data they provided. A triangulation of interviews and documents reviewed was used in order to properly tease out this phenomenon and to see if the stories given tallied with the documents of Pentecostal organisations. This also helped to validate the oral narratives. In data analysis Charmaz’s (2006) approach was used which is based on a constructivist method, where a line upon line open coding of data followed by a focused coding which reveals specific relationship within various categories based on causes, context and ordering where facts are linked with values. All ethical considerations were adhered to and the delimitation of the study was clearly spelled out as it was conducted within the confines of Buffalo City municipality which was viewed as an easy access point by the researcher. The next chapter will help us to investigate further and deeper the subject of Pentecostal hierarchy.
CHAPTER FOUR
Pentecostal Hierarchy

4.1 Introduction
In this chapter the focus will be on the Pentecostal hierarchy which is the main theme of this research. The global history of Pentecostalism will firstly be discussed reflecting on how it came about and the reason behind its inception. The national history and background of Pentecostalism will also be discussed with a specific focus on the three main Pentecostal churches in South Africa viz. Assemblies of God (AOG), Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), Full Gospel church of Southern Africa (FGC), the ZCC as one of the African Initiated Churches (AIC) and the Neo Pentecostal churches (or Pentecostal-charismatic churches). Their polities will be discussed so as to find out how their hierarchical structures operate and the challenges that emanate by reason of such structures.

4.2 Global Pentecostalism
Pentecostalism is the fastest growing religious group in the world. Anderson gives statistics that by 2012 there were over 612 million Pentecostal/Charismatics in the world. (Anderson 2014:3-5)

This number is inclusive of independent churches known as ‘Neo-Pentecostalism and Neo-charismatics’. The greater percentage of Pentecostals come from the Southern Hemisphere (Latin America and Africa). There is also a good percentage coming from Asia. “Within the past thirty years there has been an estimated 700 percent increase in the number of Pentecostal believers who represent about a quarter of the world’s Christian population and two-thirds of all Protestants” (Anderson et al 2010:2).

There are three features that distinguish Pentecostalism globally. The first one is the emphasis on the experience of the Spirit (called the baptism in the Holy Spirit), which is accompanied by spiritual manifestations, like the speaking in other tongues, healing miracles and prophecy etc. The second one is the conversion experience, known as being ‘born again’, which officially introduces one into the Pentecostal community. The third one, is the dualistic view that separates between the ‘world’ and the ‘church’, the ‘devil’ and the ‘divine’. (Droogers 2001:44-46)

4.2.1 Three classifications of Pentecostalism
Hollenweger, a “father of the academic study of Pentecostalism and [who] set the agenda for the study of Pentecostalism” (Cartledge 2014:260), classifies Pentecostalism into three categories which accounts for its stupendous growth. 

(1) Classical Pentecostalism which puts the initial evidence of speaking in tongues as a criteria; 

(2) The charismatic renewal movement which is inclusive of Protestant churches that began to adopt the demonstration of the gifts and works of the Holy Spirit this included the Catholics especially those in Latin America who were losing members to more Pentecostal churches; and 

(3) Pentecostal or ‘Pentecostal-like’ independent churches including African independent Churches (AICs) most of which will use more ritual symbolism including holy water, oil and other healing symbolism in their practices than average Pentecostals. (Hollenweger 1997:1)

Anderson adds a fourth category of neo-Pentecostal and neo-Charismatic churches most of which emerged in the 1970s. These are independent churches including megachurches that are influenced by both classical Pentecostal and Charismatic movements (Anderson et al 2010:19). In this research I use the term Pentecostalism as referring to the three categories by Hollenweger (1997) already defined above with Anderson’s(2010) modification.

4.2.2 Definition of Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism is based mainly in experientialism more than in formal theological doctrine, its definition must, therefore, take this into account. There are multiple categories within the Pentecostal historiography and a plethora of Pentecostal mutations across the world, which makes defining it based on historicity, dogma or culture a challenge. Anderson, therefore, came up with a definition, where Pentecostalism is classified as “churches with a family resemblance that emphasize the working of the Holy Spirit” (Anderson et al 2010:15). This family resemblance is seen in the character, ethos and theology of denominations, networks and movements within Pentecostalism. The definition of Pentecostalism is, therefore, broad and cannot be prescribed to a particular definition, but must be broadly defined to accommodate “all churches and movements globally that emphasize the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and theological grounds- although not without qualification” (Anderson 2014:6). Based on Hollenweger’s (1997) classification of
Pentecostalism mentioned above, Anderson further unpacks the varieties found within these classifications, as follows:

### 4.2.2.1 Four varieties of classical Pentecostals

Classical Pentecostalism consists of four varieties of Pentecostals. The first is called ‘holiness Pentecostals’. These are Pentecostals who emphasise holiness through the process of sanctification. William Seymour (1870-1922) who is known as the father of Pentecostalism was the forerunner of this message of holiness by sanctification. The second who are a breakaway from the first are called ‘the finished work Pentecostals’. They emphasise the finished work as opposed to the work of sanctification which is seen as a second work of grace and therefore unscriptural in their view. The leader of the latter is William Durham (1873-1912). This major first schism happened in 1911 and it attracted mostly white Pentecostals whereas the holiness group by Seymour attracted mostly African Americans. The Assemblies of God which was formed in 1914 followed Durham’s doctrine of the finished work. This ‘finished work Pentecostal’ group became the largest group of the classical Pentecostals in the world. The third variety which was also a breakaway from the second was called the ‘Oneness Pentecostals’. They were Unitarians who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity. Adherents of the latter are the United Pentecostal Church and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the world who were breakaways from the Assemblies of God. The fourth and last variety is called the ‘Apostolic Pentecostals’. These are both Unitarians and Trinitarians who emphasise the restoration of apostles and prophets. This latter category includes African Independent Churches (AICs), the Church of Pentecost in Ghana, the older Apostolic Church groups and some contemporary independent churches. (Anderson et al. 2010: 16-18)

### 4.2.2.2 Varieties of African initiated Pentecostals

There is another group that is similar to the classical Pentecostal through its practice of healing, prayer and spiritual gifts but it does not call itself Pentecostal. The group consists of Older Independent and Spirit Churches which are mostly in China, India and sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa the ZCC (Zion Christian church), in Central Africa the Kimbanguist, and in East and West Africa most such ‘Spirit churches’ are seen in some sense as Pentecostal churches since they were birthed out of local revivals that constituted healings and,
therefore, conversions. Classical Pentecostals in the Western world disassociate themselves with ‘spirit churches’ regarding them as syncretistic, scholarly, however, they are classified as Pentecostal. (Anderson et al. 2010:18; cf Cox 1996:246; McGee 1994:276)

4.2.2.3 Mainline Pentecostal Churches

Older Church Charismatics including Catholic Charismatics, Anglican Charismatics and Protestant Charismatics are another classification of Pentecostals from mainline churches. The Charismatic move among the mainline churches is thought to have begun in 1960 in the United States in the Episcopalian church in California and also in 1967 in the Catholic Church also in the United States. There are, however, earlier traces of the Charismatic movement in the mainline churches in Germany, United Kingdom, France and Scandinavia. The charismatic mainline approach of spirit baptism and spiritual gifts are from a sacramental perspective. Today the charismatic mainline church has spread to France, Nigeria, Brazil, India and the Philippines. Catholic Charismatics are in a large number consisting of ten percent of all practicing Catholics. In Chile Pentecostalism affected a large number of Chilean Methodist leading to a schism and a formulation of the Methodist Pentecostal Church. In Brazil mainline churches Pentecostal congregations referred to themselves as renewed Presbyterians or ‘renewed Baptists’. (Anderson et al. 2010: 19; cf McClymond 2014:33,35)

4.2.2.4 Varieties of Charismatic Pentecostal churches

Another grouping in the Pentecostal family is the Neo-Pentecostals and neo-Charismatics Churches. This category includes megachurches and independent Charismatic churches which have been influenced by classical Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement. In the 1970s there was an emergence of these neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic churches known as:

(a) Word of Faith churches, which were known for their emphasis on physical health and material prosperity all coming by faith. Its proponents were Kenneth Hagin of the Rhema network of churches influenced by a Baptist pastor E.W. Kenyon and Oral Roberts (the healing evangelist);
(b) The Third Wave churches which emphasised the practice of spiritual gifts and baptism in the Spirit for all believers. The network of churches called Vineyard and Calvary Chapel which started in 1980s were proponents of this Third wave;
(c) New Apostolic Churches which emphasise the importance of apostolic leadership in the governance of the church. They also promote ‘apostolic teams’ which are sent to plant churches throughout the world. The New Apostolic was highly influenced by the Latter Rain Revival that broke out in the 1940s in Canada;
(d) Various independent churches that have a combination of the Word of Faith, Third Wave and New Apostolic flavour. These have some of the largest churches in the world like the Brazilian Universal Church of the Kingdom of God and the Nigeria based Redeemed Church of God. (Anderson et al. 2010:19-20; cf McClymond 2014: 32, 34)

4.2.2.5 Global varieties of Pentecostal encounters
There were other accounts of the Pentecostal experience recorded in other countries other than in the United States in Azusa Street. In Wales they experienced it in 1904-1905. The leader of this Pentecostal revival was Evan Roberts (1878-1951). In 1905 revival also broke out in India in Khasi Hills, north east India where Welsh Presbyterian missionaries were stationed. It was also witnessed in Pandita Sarasvati Ramabai’s Mukti mission near Mumbai and also in other parts of India around 1906 in April and June. In Korea there were also reports of a revival outbreak in 1907-1908 at a convention in Pyongyang, North Korea, following a revival which began among Methodists in Wonsan in 1903. These revivals were characterised by speaking in tongues (in certain places), emotional repentance with loud weeping and spontaneous, simultaneous praying. (Anderson 2014:36-38; cf McClymond 2014:32, 33)

4.3 African Pentecostalism
Pentecostal tradition traces the origins of Pentecostalism from the Azusa street revival in 1906. There is a visible shift, however, of the prominence of Pentecostalism from the West of the world to the South. In 1900 there were 77 percent of Christians in the world who lived in Europe and North America but in 2000 there were only 37 percent Christians and 26 percent of them were Pentecostal. The church growth that is happening is in the South of the world within the Pentecostals. (Anderson 2014:10)
The Pentecostalism that comes from the USA is only a fraction of many forms of Pentecostalism elsewhere in the world. As much as the missionaries from the West did a great work in establishing Pentecostalism in the world there are many untold stories of the formulation of Pentecostalism in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific done by the unsung indigenous heroes of faith in these localities. “Most of Pentecostalism’s rapid expansion was not mainly the result of the labours of missionaries from the ‘West to the Rest’. It was rather the result of the work of thousands of preachers who traversed these continents with a new message of power of the Spirit, healing the sick and casting out demons. This may be one of the most important reconstructions necessary in the rewriting of Pentecostal history” (Anderson 2014: 11).

Anderson, therefore, contends that the expansion of the Pentecostal message was not so much just the work of the missionaries but it was mainly the indigenous preachers and evangelists who took the message around the world and which were only mentioned in passing in the reports and letters of missionaries as the ‘native workers’. He then advocates for tracing through oral tradition what happened in those early days that caused the spread of the Pentecostal message since there are no written records of the works of these ‘native preachers’. He laments that missionaries in their newsletters failed to recognise the local leadership when it rose and came up with alternative forms of Pentecostalism from that of the west. (Anderson 2014:11-12)

Kalu relates a story of a certain Pastor Asonye who spoke in tongues in 1934 in a village in Nigeria without any missionary interference. This was to further strengthen his argument that African Pentecostalism did not originate from Azusa Street, Los Angeles in America (Kalu 2008: 4). “Much like Ethiopianism, African Prophetism, indigenous churches and African revivalism, Pentecostalism is another means of enculturation of the gospel against the background of missionary rhetoric”( Clarke 2014:14). I agree with Clarke that the main player of the Pentecostal experience is not Azusa in America; the Indian revival or Africa but it is God in his providence.

“African Pentecostalism proclaims a pragmatic gospel seeking to address the practical and contextual issues like sickness, poverty, unemployment, loneliness, evil spirits and sorcery” (Clarke 2014: 167).
4.4 South African Pentecostalism

In South Africa Pentecostalism started in the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa was a prominent church at the time when the global prayer revival in 1860 broke out. Andrew Murray (1828-1917) was one of the proponents of the holiness movement in those days and a leading figure in the revival. He was born in 1828 May 09 in Graaff Reinet, South Africa. In 1838 while a student in Scotland he was influenced by William Burns a Scottish revivalist through his devoted lifestyle of prayer, preaching and serious mindedness. After graduating his Masters in Arts studies, in 1838 he travelled to Holland to study Theology and Dutch. While in Holland he went to Germany to meet Pastor Blumhardt who brought revival in Germany in those days, through the ministry of prayer, healing and deliverance. It is against this background that Murray ushered a revival that broke out in a prayer conference which was held in Worcester, South Africa in 1860. The revival was characterised by daily prayer meetings which were conducted by Murray, some of which lasted up to the early hours of the morning. Healings and performing of miracles by the power of the Holy Spirit were also traits of this revival by Murray, unconventional to a typical Dutch Reformed minister. The writings of Murray which he wrote before the revival were mainly on sanctification, the infilling of the Holy Spirit and divine healing; helped to guide the foundations of Pentecostalism. (Chandomba 2010: 5-9; cf Frahm-Arp 2010:52)

4.4.1 Classical Pentecostals

4.4.1.1 Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM)

Pieter Le Roux (1865-1943) left the Dutch Reformed Church to join the Alexander Dowie’s Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in 1903 with 400 Africans. He was baptized as a Zionist in 1904 and also ordained as an elder in the same year. Zion City was based in Chicago but had a following in South Africa. Daniel Bryant was one of the elders who were sent from Zion City to South Africa to expand the ministry of Dowie who had a vision to start Zion Cities everywhere in the world. He was later on joined by John G Lake in 1908 who was instrumental to the advancement of Pentecostalism especially among the Africans. Lake left Dowie’s Zion church and started the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in 1908 and it was formally constituted as an organisation in 1913. This is after Dowie went into error
calling himself the first apostle and an Elijah who was to prepare the world for the second coming of Christ. Le Roux seceded from the Zion church and became part of the AFM also at its inception in 1908. He later on became its President in 1915 till he passed on in 1943. (Chandomba 2010:13-15; cf Anderson 2014:116-117; Frahm- Arp 2010:54,55 )

4.4.1.1 Racism births a series of schisms

The AFM held racially integrated services at the beginning but the political situation in the country started affecting the church and the white leaders in the church started using apartheid laws that kept them in significant places of leadership in the church and other races in lower positions. This led to a schism within the AFM where many black ministers who were gifted left to start their own church organisations. Daniel Nkonyane seceded from the AFM in 1910 to form the Christian Catholic Apostolic Holy Spirit Church in Zion. Elias Mahlangu seceded from the AFM in 1917 to form the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa. Paulos Mabilitsa seceded from the AFM in 1920 to form the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion followed by J.C. Philips in the same year who formed the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. There were further schisms within the very groups that broke from the AFM. Edward Lion broke from Mahlangu’s Zion Apostolic church in 1920 to form the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission. Engenas Lekganyane seceded from Edward Lion’s Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) in 1925 to form the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) which in 2001 Statistics was numbered at almost five million membership. Lekganyane died in 1948 and his two sons Edward and Joseph took over the church, out of which two churches were formed in 1949 because they both claimed succession. Joseph called his church St. Engenas ZCC while the majority of the members stayed with Edward. There are also other smaller Apostolic and Zionist churches across South Africa apart from the ZCC.

The AFM continued in separated racial groups. Elias Letwaba (1870-1959) is one of the Africans that did great work in establishing the African side of the AFM. He single handedly started a bible school called ‘Patmos Bible School’ in Potgietersrus in 1924. The AFM in 1996 two years after the dawning of a new political era in South Africa, united again across all racial groups with an equal representation at the top leadership level. (Anderson 2014:117-119; cf Chindomba 2010: 22,58-59)
4.4.1.2. The Assemblies of God (AOG)

The Assemblies of God is another classical Pentecostal church that came into South Africa through missionaries from the Azusa revival experience Henry Turner from the United States and Charles Chawner a Canadian missionary. They came in 1909 and in 1917 they registered churches they ministered to under the Assemblies of God. One of the individuals who expanded the vision of the Assemblies of God among the Africans in South Africa was Nicholas Bhengu (1909-1986) through his evangelistic ministry called back to God Crusades. Bhengu’s ministry started early in the 1930s in Benoni. In the 1940s it took another leap of growth when he went to the Eastern Cape in Port Elizabeth. His was a ministry of powerful preaching accompanied by miracles which drew thousands of people. In 1957 he planted a church in East London that could sit four to five thousand people. By 1959 there were 50 assemblies that had started under his ministry. His popularity was recognized internationally such that the Time magazine of 1959 November 23, called him the black Billy Graham. James Mullan, an Irishman, was another man who worked to expand the Assemblies of God especially among the Europeans in South Africa although he did some work among the Africans. There was a lot of collaboration between Bhengu and Mullan such that when Bhengu worked among the Africans, Mullan worked among the Europeans in the same region. Between 1945 and 1964 Mullan had planted 20 churches from Cape Town all the way to Zambia and Zimbabwe. The leadership of the Assemblies of God in South Africa was multiracial up until in 1964 when the American Assemblies of God had a problem with the way the Bhengu and Mullan’s system of governance was structured. The latter was a system of governance that gave Bhengu and Mullan spiritual oversight over the churches they planted all over the nation. They were seen as apostolic fathers who would exercise apostolic authority over the churches they planted.

4.4.1.2.1. Polity differences split the church

The American Assemblies of God disagreed with this kind of polity and wanted them to align with the general practice of polity in the church which divided places into regions and set regional superintendents over the regions. Effectively this meant that Bhengu and Mullan would have to ask for permission from the regional superintendent to access a region and do church planting work there. This is what made both Bhengu and Mullan to part ways with the American Assemblies of God. Bhengu formed the Assemblies of God
Movement and Mullan formed the Assemblies of God Fellowship. The American Assemblies of God in South Africa then called its self the International Assemblies of God. The first attempt to unite the Assemblies of God splinter groups, was in 2002 but not much follow through has been done after that first attempt. (Anderson 2014:120; cf Frahm-Arp 2010:55,56; Burgess 2006:9; also Chindomba 2010:54,55)

**4.4.1.3 Full Gospel Church of God (FGCG)**

The Full Gospel Church is one of the main classical Pentecostal churches which started through George Bowie a missionary from New Jersey sent to South Africa from Bethel Pentecostal Assembly under its founder Minnie Draper. Bowie established a missionary society which he named as the Bethel Pentecostal Mission in 1910 and was later joined by Archibald Cooper who was a disgruntled leader from the AFM. This Pentecostal mission later on became the Full Gospel Church of God (FGCG). Cooper broke from the Bethel Pentecostal mission to form a splinter group called the Church of God. The FGCG, although it had English speaking members predominantly in Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN), was predominantly an Afrikaans speaking Pentecostal Church as a result it also had a great following among the coloured community in South Africa. The FGCG went beyond the borders of South Africa into the neighbouring countries in the SADEC region up to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Equator. The black and the Indian community had their own Moderators and executive councils although the white community exercised the oversight leadership because of the political landscape of those years under apartheid. In 1990 racial integration started and was consummated in 1997 when the whole church of the Full Gospel Church of God became one organisation. The total numbers of United Full Gospel Church of God assemblies are 958. The FGCG in South Africa merged with the American Church of God which is represented in 157 countries in the world making it an intercontinental organization. (Chandomba 2010: 51-54; cf Anderson 2014: 120)

**4.4.2 African Initiated Churches (AICs) and Pentecostalism**

There are however differences that exist between classical Pentecostalism, Apostolic churches and Zionists. The latter two use symbolism and religious- indigenous relics like strips of cloths, strings, needles, water for healing and protective uses, papers, ashes, ropes and staffs etc.; Another visible difference is the usage of uniform apparels by Zionists and
Apostolic churches which classical Pentecostals don’t use. Their theology is arguably similar in that it focuses on the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. African classical Pentecostals tend to reject the AICs as not being Pentecostal because of the mixture in their practice of theology with African traditional religion and the veneration of ancestors that is done by most. (Chindomba 2010: 59, 60)

When referring to various groups within the Pentecostal movement and their interpretation of the work of the Holy Spirit be they classical Pentecostal, Zionist, Apostolic churches or Pentecostal Charismatic groups including contemporary neo- Pentecostals, Frahm-Arp calls them a “Complex of Pneumatically Sensitive Expressions of Christianity(CPSEC)” (Frahm-Arp 2010:48). I align myself with Frahm-Arp when she chooses to neither conflate or to completely separate the AICs and other forms of Pentecostalism. In my view, the AICs, although unique in practice from other forms of Pentecostalism, cannot be taken as non-Pentecostal especially in South Africa because of a similar origin especially the Zionists and Apostolic churches as mentioned above. It is only those AICs that do not have a Pentecostal origin that could be said to be non-Pentecostal especially if they do not recognize the Holy Spirit and his work and have a leaning towards the African Traditional Religion (ATR). It is outside the scope of this research to investigate AICs especially those that are not Pentecostal in background.

4.2.3 Global Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches
There are different names that have been used to try and describe this category of the church. They have been seen as ‘non-ecclesiastical spiritual movements’ or ‘post-denominational’ because of not being connected to any organisational structure and being counterculture to organised religion( Long 2001:145,146). While the charismatic move took place among the mainline churches in the 1960s as indicated above, there was also a move among the Pentecostals which was made popular by independent healing evangelists during the 1940s and 1950s. These were men like William Branham (1909-1965), Kathryn Kuhlman (1907-1976), Oral Roberts (1918-2009), and TL. Osborn (1923-2013). The popularity of the Pentecostal–charismatic movement was fueled by the media ministry like television and magazines that was run and funded in some instances by the evangelists themselves. In 1951 a business men’s fellowship called the Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship
International which was an interdenominational group was started by a dairy farm businessman called Demos Shakarian (1919-1993). He gave Roberts a lot of ministry opportunities and other healing evangelists. This brought financial support for the Pentecostal-charismatic message as many businessmen were attracted to the message of healing including prosperity. It is this emphasis on financial success and prosperity that sowed a seed for the so called ‘prosperity gospel’ that most Pentecostal- charismatic preachers became known for, among others it was the Word of Faith preachers Kenneth Hagin and later Kenneth Copeland in the 1970s. (Anderson 2014:158-160)

4.2.4 South African Pentecostal- Charismatic church

In South Africa the Pentecostal- charismatic movement came through the Vineyard and New Covenant churches in the 1970s but was notably modeled by Ray McCauley when he came back from the Rhema Bible School run by Kenneth Hagin, he who started the Rhema Bible Church and it soon became a megachurch that helped spread the Pentecostal – charismatic movement all over the country. One of the models among the black townships of Pentecostal- charismatic churches is the Grace Bible Church which started in 1980 as an outreach mission by the Rhema Bible Church to Soweto- a township where black people stayed in the Apartheid South Africa. This mission was taken over by Mosa Sono in 1983 who saw the church moving from 30 members in a class room to a 10 000 members who attend on a Sunday morning. There were also other churches that modeled the Pentecostal – charismatic movement in South Africa as the movement gained momentum all over the country and these churches formed various networks together in an attempt to relate together e.g. the International Fellowship of Charismatic Churches( IFCC). Unfortunately these networks have now disbanded because of internal differences and in some instances even moral challenges at leadership level. (Frahm-Arp 2010:62-64, 94-97)

4.5 Church Hierarchies

The diverse history of Pentecostal origins above; shows us that there is no one polity for all Pentecostal churches. Firstly, the complexity of the origins, informs us that there are various ways by which different organisations within the Pentecostal movement, would be hierarchically structured. Some of the Pentecostal polity is a hybrid polity within the four main polities discussed above viz. Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational- single elder
and Congregational plural eldership. The study will now look at the polities espoused by classical Pentecostals, Charismatic Pentecostals and African initiated Pentecostals.

4.5.1 Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) hierarchy

Chandomba defines AFM’s polity as a theocracy where God chooses, calls, and equips certain people to be leaders of his people. These individuals are given a measure of authority by God, to exercise over the people they are leading. This is not a democratic leadership, where the people are the ones who govern; it is also not an autocracy, where one man with absolute power is governing; it’s also not a bureaucracy, where a few elite are governing. The closest pattern of the bible to theocracy according to Chandomba is the system of elders as governors (Titus 1:7; James 5:14). In the AFM there is a presiding elder or a senior pastor in all the local churches who have the mantle of a general overseer. At the national level there is an apostolic council which is the highest decision making body. The president of the council becomes the head of the church and works with his committees which consist of all provincial overseers, the secretary, the treasurer and additional members. The provincial committee is the one that runs all churches within its province. (Chandomba 2010:69)

4.5.1.1 Roles and responsibilities

Each local church has two boards. One is an elders’ board and the other is an administrative board. The senior pastor is the chairperson of the elders’ board but not of the administrative board which has its own chairperson. The elders’ board has a deputy chairperson, who deputizes the senior pastor; there is a secretary, a treasurer and additional members. The duty of the senior pastor is to plan and to direct the local church with the help of the elders. He is the visionary who leads the church in the direction God points to him assisted by his elders. The senior pastor is the one who preaches assisted by his elders. The deputy of the senior pastor is usually the chairperson of the administrative board.

The administrative board is there to ensure the smooth running of the administrative matters of the church including all logistics around bills that must be paid, salaries, maintenance of church property, departmental/ ministry budgetary activities (e.g. the
women’s ministry, men’s ministry, youth and children etc.) including all projects of the church.

The administrative board accounts to the board of elders who make the final decision led by the senior pastor as the chairperson. The senior pastor accounts to God and to the provincial committee which is the one that appoints pastors in the province. The provincial committees are accountable to the national apostolic council. The terms of all office bearers change every three years except the office of the president which only changes when he retires at 65 years. (Chandomba 2010:69-71)

4.5.1.2 Hybrid nature of AFM Polity

The polity of the AFM can be classified as a hybrid between the Presbyterian and the Congregational single elder polity. It is Presbyterian because the decisions about the assembly are made by the board of elders (called a ‘session’ in Presbyterian language), chaired by the Pastor who is finally accountable to the provincial committee (the ‘provincial Presbytery’ in Presbyterian language) and not to the congregation. It is also a Congregational single elder polity in that the senior pastor is primus inter pares (first among equals) among the elders. The congregation seems to be fully represented by the elders they elected and therefore entrusted with making the right decision on behalf of the congregation.

4.5.2 Assemblies of God (AOG) hierarchy

According to the recommended Bylaws of 2009, written by the General Presbytery of the General council in the AOG, the congregation is the final decision making body. The church board is chosen by the congregation to serve not to rule on behalf of the congregation as a result if there are major decisions to be made the board brings recommendations to the congregation which will make the final decision about every matter. Each local assembly has a right to govern itself on all matters of its affairs including the calling of a pastor, the election of the church board, membership, discipline and the running of its own church program. The Bylaws that are recommended by the General Presbyters in a general council of the Assemblies of God must be adapted to the context of each local assembly in the AOG. This shows that congregationalism is adhered to strictly by the Assemblies of God.
The district council and the general council have the right to approve or disapprove scriptural doctrine or conduct done by the local assembly and have the authority to withdraw its certificate of membership if it deems it fit. This indicates a duality of polity, on one hand the AOG is fully congregational and therefore ‘self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing’ (these words were adopted from William Taylor (1821-1902) when he summarizes Paul’s mission) (Aronson 2012:201). On the other hand it is also Presbyterian in that the General Presbyteries of the general council have authority over its local assemblies which can affect them adversely.

4.5.2.1 Hybrid nature of AOG

Hunter confirms that the AOG is a hybrid of congregational and Presbyterian polity. “The Assemblies of God is usually categorized as a Free Church denomination, but in point of fact, it is partly congregational and partly Presbyterian. Each local church is autonomous, but there is also a central governing body, the general presbytery or executive council, which issues credentials to AG [Assemblies of God] ministers” (Hunter 2013:9).

The Pastor is the chairperson of the church board which consists of the Pastor and three deacons. The Pastor is responsible for the spiritual direction of the local assembly and all its departmental activities. He is also a chairperson of the nominating committee for selection of deacon nominees. In a case of conflict between the pastor and the church board, the district Presbytery can intervene on the request of the pastor and the majority of the church board. When the differences are irreconcilable, the district presbytery will take over the assembly under its supervision and total administration, suspending all existing committees of the assembly and setting a new temporary church board until such time that the conflict is resolved. (Assemblies of God recommended By-laws: 2009)

4.5.3 Full gospel Church of God (FGCG) hierarchy

The Full Gospel Church in their training manuals on church growth promotes a polity that endorses both a pastor leadership and a congregational leadership (through the church council) model. In a congregation where the pastor is a leader, the roles of: visionary, goal setter and chairperson of the board are assumed. In an assembly where the congregation is leading, the pastor’s role is that of: an administrator, implementer, enabler and member of the board. The pastor’s role in ministry where the pastor is the leader of the congregation is
to equip, recruit, to be in charge of the spiritual flock like a rancher who owns a farm and lead the congregation as spiritual troops like a general leading the army. The ministry role changes to: doer, employee, shepherd and chaplain, when the congregation is the one leading. Figure 4.1 is a chart that tabulates the different roles and responsibilities in the two models:

Figure 4.1 A comparison chart of the leadership and shepherd model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Leadership Model</th>
<th>Shepherd Model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main role</td>
<td>Leads the pack</td>
<td>Supports the leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General role</td>
<td>Visionary</td>
<td>Administrates the vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goal Setter</td>
<td>Implements the set goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chairs the board</td>
<td>Member of the board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry role</td>
<td>Equipper and trainer</td>
<td>Does as trained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recruiter/ Employer</td>
<td>Employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rancher</td>
<td>Shepherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Chaplaincy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Model adapted from the Full Gospel Church of God, church growth manual for Pastors (2016:1-4)

Although the FGC training manual presents two types of leadership models, there is a bias towards the pastor as leader more than the congregation as leader. They openly make a statement that when the leadership of an assembly is based on the church council’s resolution, the growth of the church tends to be slower than when the leadership is in the pastor’s hands and the work is then delegated to the church council.

Figure 4.2 below demonstrates the two models of church leadership which impact on church growth. Note the different positions of a pastor in both models and the implications thereof.
Leadership model

Ministry

Leadership

Pastor

Congregation [Church Council]

Shepherd model

Pastor

Leadership

Ministry

Congregation [Church Council]

Figure 4.2 Two models for church growth (adopted from the training manual of FGCG)

4.5.3.1 The leadership and shepherd model

The Leadership model is ideal for church growth and, therefore, encouraged by the FGCG. There are, however, churches that prefer to use the shepherd model where the pastor is an employee. Both these models fall within the congregational model and they are not Episcopal or Presbyterian. One can even say that the shepherd model is a congregational polity with a plurality of elders although in the diagram above the position of a pastor does not indicate equality with the church council but a subordinate position where the pastor is just an employee. Unfortunately in practice most pastors who find themselves in the shepherd model have experienced challenges that employees in any secular job encounter. Among others, is a lot of working hours for a small salary; unrealistic expectations with little church resources, that are set by the church council, that are beyond the capacity of the pastor, or the assembly for that matter; or it can be a challenge of irrelevant church
programs, that do not help the congregation in growth and development, but are very dear to the church council.

Tension is likely to rise when the pastor who is predominantly a leader and a visionary is called into a shepherd model, where the role is that of a caretaker and not an initiator. The opposite is also true of a pastor who is more of a shepherd/caretaker and is called into a congregation that embraces the leadership model with an expectation for him to set clear goals and targets for the congregation and lead them like a general leading a troop into battle. Both parties are most likely to be frustrated with each other because of unmet expectations and undue pressure. Such misunderstandings are caused by a lack of paring the right polity to a suitable personality trait, leading to serious strife and conflict in the church. This raises questions of whether being a pastor requires a particular style of leadership despite ones’ personality trait. If the latter is the case then what kind of leadership style is required? Is it a shepherd model or a leadership model or a combination of both, depending on what the situation requires at the time? The qualitative investigation helped to answer these questions.

4.5.4 African Independent (Initiated) Churches (AIC) hierarchy

The AICs in Southern Africa are known as the Zionists (different from Zionism). This is because more than two thirds of AICs in South Africa incorporate the name Zion in their formal name and most include the word ‘apostolic’. This is because most derive their origin from the influence of the Zion movement founded by Alexander Dowie from Chicago and also from the Apostolic Faith Mission founded by John G Lake a student of Dowie.

(Chandomba 2010:58)

4.5.4.1. Pioneering Church Leaders

The historical development of the AICs as discussed earlier was based on a foundation of gifted individuals who were pioneers of movements and churches. The initial pioneers who were mostly missionaries (e.g. John G. Lake in the AFM) had a lot of indigenous disciples who took over after them when they went back to their countries. Unfortunately there were multiple church splits that happened after the original pioneers
left because each one of the disciples wanted to be like their mentors by pioneering new work.

The style of governance used by pioneers was that of autocracy because in most cases it was only the pioneer who knew what to do and where he intended to lead people. When one adherent, who was also in the leadership but not the main leader, felt that they no longer agreed with the vision of the main leader, they would simply break ties and pioneer their own church.

4.5.4.2 Autocracy

Autocracy, as earlier defined, is a form of government that gives absolute power to the leader. Most AICs last as long as the founder is still alive but when they die the church either dissipates or divides into small multiple groups or two or three major groups. As was the case with the ZCC (as discussed above) when the father died, the two sons fought on who was to take over and, therefore, formed two splinter groups. Some of the splits can be very contentious to a point of fighting legal battles. Most of these AICs who were pioneered by founders have a dynastic arrangement of church governance. This is why the sons of Lekganyane both claimed to be his successors because of the dynastic tradition, unfortunately their father did not have a will where he specified who should be his successor. (Chandomba 2010:58-61)

4.5.5 Pentecostal-Charismatic hierarchy

Pentecostal-Charismatic churches vary in their church hierarchy although most take the AICs type of polity. Their polity is that of congregationalism but with no overseeing structure. They can have either a single elder or plurality of elders’ leadership. Most will be more comfortable with the former than the latter. There are, however, instances of smaller groups meeting in homes where polity does not really matter. The latter would be more comfortable with a plurality of elders in their leadership. Some have a great ability to attract followers because of their strong entrepreneurial skills which is how they end up being megachurches with a CEO-like style of leadership.
4.5.5.1 Head Pastor Polity (or Senior Pastor)

In Frahm-Arp’s study on charismatic Christianity in South Africa she describes how the congregations in Pentecostal-charismatic churches have a high view of their leaders, she says: “the pastors, particularly the head pastors were held up as the ‘stars’ of the church. These spiritual giants exuded health, wealth, success and dynamic personalities, which the congregations were encouraged to identify with and emulate” (Frahm-Arp 2010:67). The hierarchy in the latter statement by Frahm-Arp, puts the head pastor above all other pastors because he is more than just a leader but a model for the entire congregation. The giftedness of the individual who is leading the church is what earns him/her the autocratic role in the congregation. Most of these leaders are also founders of their congregations; hence autocratic leadership becomes a natural style of leadership for them which is either sustained by a family dynasty or ends up in a multiple church split when the founder dies. (Droogers 2014:209; cf Long 2001:146)

4.5.5.2 The five-fold ascension gifts

The five-fold ministry of Ephesians 4:11-13 has been used as the main supportive doctrine for the church polity of the Pentecostal- charismatic church. There are two ways by which the fivefold ministry is interpreted within the Pentecostal charismatic circles. The first way is to see the offices of apostles, prophet, teacher, evangelist and pastor as functioning primarily to build, strengthen and establish the church in its spiritual maturity and development. The other way sees the fivefold gift as not only equipping and edifying but also as being given the authority to govern in the church. Those who support the latter interpretation see the fivefold ministry as a hierarchy that is set by God over the church whereas others see them just as functional gifts that are meant to equip the church. (Naidoo 2016:62-65)

Resane in his doctoral thesis on the fivefold ministry; concludes that there is no basis to see the fivefold ministry as a governmental hierarchy in the church. This is how he puts it: “Since the epistle was destined for the settled pneumatic community, the ministers of Ephesians 4:11 were not intended for church governance, but for the empowerment of the community. The fivefold minister is called to serve in a flat structured community where the
priesthood of believers is displayed, not to create the hierarchy of leadership” (Resane 2008:212).

This notion of upholding pioneers and founders of congregations as ‘superstars’ in the Pentecostal – charismatic culture is both a strength and a weakness, in that while on the one hand the congregation grows rapidly and achieves a lot of success because of the giftedness of the individual leader, on the other hand if anything happens to that leader, whether it is death or moral failure, it usually has negative repercussions on the congregation.

4.5.5.3. Dangers of a ‘super star’ (head pastor) charismatic hierarchy

Gerrard further points to dangers of this autocratic hierarchical system, which creates a dependency of people relying on the leader to hear from God on their behalf, as a result people have not learnt how to discover God’s will for their lives. He feels that the gifted leaders have almost replaced the role of the Holy Spirit especially when it comes to demonstrating their giftedness whether in preaching or gifts of healing etc. The attention that they get as spiritual ‘gurus’ or ‘giants’, makes them to be esteemed as more valuable than the rest of the Christian community they are serving. He points to the fact that most of these great leaders are also human and, therefore, fallible.

He also believes that the fivefold ministry gifts are simply functional and not governmental as some in the Pentecostal- charismatic circles would like to believe. Therefore, leaders must not see the fivefold gift as giving them authority to lord it over God’s flock. If the fivefold gift is used governmentally then the congregational model that the Pentecostal-charismatic church believes in which stands against dividing the church into laity and clergy has been contradicted.

He argues that under the New Testament, the whole church is priestly under Christ the chief priest, therefore, every believer must be valued as important and a contributor in the building of the body and not only just the fivefold ministry. The Holy Spirit, therefore, does not only reside in gifted leaders but he also resides on the ordinary believer too. He laments the over emphasis of the anointing on specific gifted individuals in the congregation at the expense of the congregation’s spiritual growth and development. This is how he puts it: “rather than integrate the congregation in the plan of God they have extended the rights and authority of the hierarchy and in some cases they have installed a hierarchy with rights
which surpass those of the Papal system which was prior to the Reformation. All this has
happened in the name of spiritual anointing and has resulted in the failure of the part of the
believers to understand their intended role as the congregation” (Gerrard 2009:103).

It is important to heed Gerrard’s critique especially those Pentecostal- charismatic churches,
lest papacy tendencies be revived and the protestant faith, reformers sacrificed their lives
for, be in vain. The researcher fully agrees with Gerrard’s critique.

4.6 Preliminary Conclusion
Defining the hierarchy of the Pentecostal church can be a challenge because it is a
combination of formal and informal setting. Some belong to structured networks and others
are simply independent and autonomous of any other overseeing structure. Long’s
description puts clearly the reason why the Pentecostal hierarchy can be a challenge to
define when he says: “these small independent groups are served by persons who generally
designate themselves ministers or pastors, who may or may not have scholarly credentials,
who may or may not associate with local ministerial associations, who may or may not be
accountable to any ecclesiastical body other than the local flock which attends their services
and which contributes in many cases sacrificially to their support” (Long2001:147). Each
congregation in the Pentecostal church will have to be dealt with as a unique entity whose
polity and hierarchy may be directly opposite from the other. There are some Pentecostal
churches that use the Episcopalian hierarchy in their system. The international Pentecostal
Holiness Church (IPHC) and also the Church of God in Christ (in Cleveland TN, USA)
are both an example of Pentecostal churches that are Episcopalian in nature. They have bishops that
overseer the work in the church just like in the Episcopalian system including the attire or
dress code that distinguishes their association as an Episcopalian polity.(Hunter 2013:10)

The challenge, therefore, comes when within the congregation the hybrid understanding of
polity divides the people. When there is a side within the congregation that believes in a
theocratic system where it is single elder governance and yet the other side believes in
more of a democratic system where all people are equal in the leadership and no one has
the casting vote which can also be seen as a plurality of elders. This difference in
understanding can lead to a conflict that can divide the church. The biggest challenge in the
Pentecostal church is that polity may or may not matter but the leading of the Holy Spirit does. “In the Pentecostal case an inbuilt tension exists, because both the leadership and the membership may appeal to authority stemming from their experience with the Spirit” (Droogers 2014:209). If everyone claims to be hearing from the Holy Spirit on how the church must be run, it becomes a challenge especially if that difference of opinion is in the leadership. It is, therefore, important to have a clear understanding of the polity of each congregation and get a consensus on its interpretation. The next chapter will help us to listen to the stories of those who have experienced the challenges in hierarchy.
CHAPTER FIVE
Data collection and analysis

5.1 Introduction
There were twenty people that were interviewed from seven congregations. Four of those congregations were from a classical Pentecostal background, the other two were from the Pentecostal-charismatic background and one was from the AIC background. The cross section of participants consisted of leaders of churches at a regional level, local pastors of congregations, elders and congregants, all of which have experienced power struggles one way or the other in church hierarchy. All the participants, with an exception of the second participant, were interviewed face to face. The second participant was interviewed telephonically.

There were nine research questions that were posed to participants.

1. Have you ever experienced a power struggle in the hierarchy of the church? Please share your experience.
2. What were the reasons that caused the power struggle?
3. What was the damage caused by the power struggle?
4. What role did church polity play in addressing the power struggle?
5. Was the church polity correctly interpreted and applied? Please elaborate.
6. Where does power lie in the hierarchy of the congregation?
7. Given a second chance, what would you do differently to avoid the power struggle?
8. What could the parties have done to avoid the power struggle?
9. Is there any other reflection on this issue that you would like to share?

All participants were asked the same questions that were semi structured and open ended in order to allow them to narrate freely without any interruptions. Clarity seeking questions were also asked in order to fully understand what was being narrated. After collecting the entire data a coding system was used that assisted in analyzing the data into specific categories and themes. The categories were based on the research questions and some categories emanated out of the interviews.

Out of all twenty participants, fourteen were chosen, representing two people per congregation. These fourteen were chosen because their story covered major themes that came out of the interviews. There was also a document review from each participating
congregation that was used to validate the claims made by participants but also to assess how these documents related to the research questions. The objective of a grounded theory was to generate, modify or extend theory from collected data. (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:33)

A new theory has emanated from the data and was a further extension on the existing theories which reflected on the research questions. This theory is discussed in detail in the data analysis.

When analysing data, open coding was used in a line upon line analysis where ten themes emanated from the interviews. A focused coding was then used to synthesise the data into larger explanations out of which five themes through a saturation process emerged. These five themes are discussed in detail in the analysis. A story line describing interrelations within these categories was discussed and out of these a theoretical coding follows where one specific theory emerged.

5.1.1 Documents to review

Each of the seven congregation’s documents was collected. These documents were reviewed together with the interviews under data analysis, in order to shed more light on the polity operations of each church and how they helped to counter power struggles in the Pentecostal church hierarchy. The documents reviewed were constitutions and policy documents of the seven churches. These documents were given by participants at the request of the researcher. In view of ethical considerations and confidentiality contracts that have been signed between the researcher and the participants, the real names of the documents were not used. There were also no direct quotations from the documents but the sections in reference, were paraphrased.

Some of the documents were updated amendments whereas others were older documents but still in full use in the particular church.
## 5.2 Participants’ summary table

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<th>Position</th>
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</table>
5.2.1 First Participant

This participant is a regional leader of a classical Pentecostal church called the Valley Pentecostal Church (not its real name), and he narrated a story that caused a power struggle in the congregation. He narrated how a pioneer started a congregation which at the beginning was an independent church but he later registered it as part of the Valley Pentecostal church. The founder was not an ordained minister but just a believer by the standards of the denomination. He became the leader of his congregation for 9 years but did not introduce the congregation to the polity of the denomination and its operations except that the congregation knew they were part of the denomination. Like most pioneers he used his personal resources to build and finance the church for nine years. After nine years he decided to formally introduce the congregation to the denomination where he was then recognized as an assembly leader but not an ordained pastor because he needed to go through certain academic processes first before ordination, which he never got to do. The congregation began to understand the polity of the denomination through denominational policies that were addressed in conferences, authorizing members of the congregation to organize themselves into a governing body that had power to govern over the affairs of the congregation including the control of congregational resources. The founder expected the usual financial benefits due to a pastor, but the governing body, armed with the knowledge of their authority, contested that he was not an ordained pastor in the Valley Pentecostal church and therefore not qualified to access the full benefits of an ordained pastor. This was the beginning of many other power struggle battles to follow between the governing body and the founder. “The humiliation of not being recognized anymore as the one who gives the final direction to the congregation although he pioneered the congregation and made huge personal sacrifices and investments in the building of the congregation for the past nine years, was devastating to him” (Words of participant- 2016). The next five years saw his health deteriorate until he died in the fifth year.

5.2.2 Second Participant

This was an elder of the same classical Pentecostal church as the first participant in Valley Pentecostal church. She had a different story to narrate. She shared a story of a power struggle that happened between the elders where she was also an elder and the pastor. After the death of the previous pastor, the congregation called a new pastor and was happy
to employ him because he sounded as charismatic as their previous pastor. The regional office was consulted and was also happy to endorse the appointment.

Two months later the congregation started complaining about this new pastor saying he was really not as charismatic as he seemed at the beginning. They were not happy with this situation and wanted to terminate his pastoral services but they had already signed a contract with him. The regional office was called to intervene and it could not find any substantial reasons to endorse the termination because all the reasons were based on comparing this current pastor with the previous one. “He was not a fiery preacher but an administrator because of this we felt that he was lazy, he liked watching television instead of prayer and preparing for sermons”(Words of the participant- 2016). One of the other reasons why the regional office did not endorse the termination was because the congregation did not have a policy that supported their reasons for wanting to terminate the pastor’s service because they were not conversant with the polity of the denomination which required each congregation to have a policy that addressed such matters. The congregation ignored the recommendations of the regional office and went ahead with the termination of the pastor’s service. He then opened a legal case against them of unlawful termination and the congregation lost the case and had to pay all legal costs including monies and benefits that were due to the pastor. It was not an easy task to get rid of a person you called by yourselves and were happy with his coming. She then made an observation and remarked: “uMfundisi ufana nomtshakazi, xa selekhona udinga ukondliwa” when translated it means a pastor is like marrying a bride who expects to be taken care of once she has arrived. “To divorce her is equally burdensome because she may take everything you have” (Words of participant-2016). Unfortunately at this stage the church lost a lot of members who decided to stay home. The pastor ultimately decided to leave by himself after the environment was no longer conducive for ministry in the congregation. The congregation was left spiritually and materially impoverished, “you could smell poverty when entering the church” (Direct words of participant-2016).

5.2.3 Third Participant

This was a congregant in a classical Pentecostal church called Warfare Pentecostal church (not its real name). He narrated the story of a power struggle between the junior pastors of the congregation on the issue of a succession plan.
The senior pastor of this congregation was a founder of the work and an ordained pastor in the Warfare Pentecostal church. He had been the first pastor for many years since the beginning of the congregation. Although he was not an educated man he had a lot of pastors he had raised over the years under his leadership and the ministry work had now grown to a place where the congregation was the headquarters of the region in the Warfare Pentecostal church. As much as this was a good thing, it also brought a sibling rivalry among the junior pastors. As a way of managing this unhealthy competition among the junior pastors he sent them to plant congregations in different areas in neighbouring towns. Some of the congregations survived and others did not in which case, the junior pastor responsible came back to the main congregation that sent him out in the first place. His own biological son went to train for ministry and when he finished his training he went back home and was earmarked to take over from the father. The elders of the church fought against this plan feeling that the church was not a dynasty. Some preferred the other young pastor who was already in the church assisting the senior pastor as a best candidate for taking over from the senior pastor. This resistance of the elders against the biological son of the senior pastor was the beginning of a low key power struggle which unfortunately kept on growing till it affected the health of the senior pastor who was already ageing. Some elders in the church who had always had attitudes towards the leadership of the senior pastor but were not ready to confront him head on, used the younger pastors to stir trouble for the senior pastor who was already battling with his health. He unfortunately passed on and the battle lines were now drawn between the young pastor and the son, on who would be the rightful successor.

The congregation was divided into two factions starting from other junior pastors, the elders and on to ordinary members, as to who the successor should be. The national office of the denomination was consulted and they made a ruling against the son as a successor. This brought such anger from those who were on the son’s faction such that on the day of the announcement of the ruling “there was a fist fight of people physically fighting in church trying to stop the ruling from being announced. It was a shameful and an embarrassing moment for the congregation and the church of Jesus as a whole” (Words of the participant-2016). Every Sunday it was eventful with people carrying placards and singing outside the church building. This also attracted the local media who were thrilled to get a story for their headlines on such shameful events in the congregation. The national office took another
approach of firing both the pastors in question and brought a caretaker pastor who was one of the members of the national office. This unfortunately did not stop the conflict, instead it went into a legal battle where one faction lost the case and was given a court order not to step foot in the premises.

5.2.4 Fourth Participant
This was a pastor in the same Warfare Pentecostal church as the third participant. He also gave his view of the same power struggle incident that took place. He stated that there was no system of multiple pastors in one congregation in the church polity. The only thing the constitution spoke of was the probation period of two years for a pastor who was coming into ministry. This is what made things difficult in this congregation because all these pastors who were assistances to the senior pastor were all sitting and waiting to work. This was why when he died there was a power struggle on who would now take over the work they have all been waiting to do.

He indicated that every pastor in the church, including him, made a claim that the senior pastor told him privately that he would be the one who would succeed him in the work. The damage that this power struggle brought was big. It affected relationships in the church; it affected the surrounding community and the entire province because it was publicized in a provincial newspaper. “It brought some curses with it because of the things that people said and did against leaders who came from the national office and, therefore, should have been highly honoured. Some of those people who were misbehaving are still struggling in their lives today; some are even no longer in the faith” (Words from the fourth participant). The damage affected the church membership which went from 350 people to 40 people. What made the power struggle fierce was the fact that the pastor’s wife of the deceased husband had to vacate the mission house. Those who were in favour of the son being the successor also sympathised with the grieving widow.

5.2.5 Fifth Participant
This was an elder in a Pentecostal-Charismatic church called Afflicted Charismatic Church (not its real name). He narrated the story of a power struggle between a pastor and the elders of which he is part. After the termination of the previous pastor, the congregation looked for help from an existing church which sent them a pastor who was twenty years
older than the pastor they had just fired. The church that helped them was a white church and it, therefore, sent a white pastor. The challenge with this new pastor was that he was accountable to the church where he came from and not necessarily to the elders. The second challenge was that the congregation had to pay their tithes to this church where they sought help and from where the new pastor came from. Furthermore the new pastor had to be transported from 60km away to where the church was, every Sunday and during the week for his normal church work. When it came to his job performance the elders felt that he was not performing to their expectations and stated that he was office bound, always on the phone and not reaching out to people. “The work was too big for him to cope” (Words of participant-2016). The power struggle continued on these matters for three years until the elders fired him. “The power struggle became so serious that it was now flesh on flesh” (Words of participant- 2016). He then took the elders to the CCMA where he was claiming his salary because of unfair dismissal. This permanently destroyed the relationship.

5.2.6 Sixth Participant
This was a pastor in the same Afflicted Charismatic church as the fifth participant. She narrated a story of a power struggle between herself as pastor and her leadership team who were elders. She came into ministry as the fourth pastor ever since the church changed into the new polity of a charismatic church. Originally the church was Presbyterian in its foundation but then shifted its focus when one of its pastors took a leap of faith supported by his elders to shift from the Presbyterian to an independent Pentecostal- Charismatic church. One of the reasons for this shift was an attempt to change the culture of power struggles that had haunted the church over years of its existence. This shift, however, did not reduce power struggles but intensified the power struggles between the pastors and the elders starting from the initiator of the move until this current pastor who was narrating the story, all of them left this congregation through power struggles with the elders and for everyone who left there was always a group leaving with him, others just choosing to stay at home or simply move to join other congregations. Reasons for leaving varied from false accusations of interference in church finances to a lack of performance in ministry. There was always something wrong the elders saw in each pastor. In a space of ten years there were already three pastors whose service were terminated and she was about to be the
fourth. She was no different from the rest except that she was a woman which did not make it easy for her. She used to be part of the elders and was, therefore, chosen as a pastor who was taken as “one of us” (Words of participant- 2016). The hope was that she would fully represent the elders’ views since she used to be an elder.

She was set aside as an ‘acting pastor’ and not a full pastor by the elders. What was meant by ‘acting pastor’ was not really clear nor was it constitutional. The outside network that was consulted to conduct the inauguration of an ‘acting pastor’ came in and ordained her fully as a pastor. This created a challenge because she then assumed her pastoral duties which she felt were to “hear and say what God is saying no matter what people say or want” (Words of participant- 2016). On the side of the elders they felt she was no longer following their leading and has forgotten that she was recommended by them to the pastoral seat. In order to weaken her leadership the elders decided to separate the ministry team (all pastors) from the elders which would be left to govern using 1Timothy 5:17. There were power struggles among the ministry team itself because some of them were men although they were young in age, so they had a problem with a woman leading them. At the end of it all, the elders ultimately made a policy that gave them full authority as the governing elders. This then led to firing her after she delivered a sermon, one of the elders simply took a microphone and announced to the whole congregation that the elders were terminating her services as pastor with immediate effect. This was a shock to her and to the congregation who had seen this phenomenon too many times in their congregation. In retrospect she said “senza isintu” meaning, we tend to be unprofessional when dealing with church matters (Words of participant-2016). She left the church and has stayed at home ever since. Fortunately she had a profession before she entered ministry and was, therefore, still able to live from her retirement funds.

5.2.7 Seventh Participant
This was an associate pastor in a Pentecostal- Charismatic church called Contentious Charismatic Church (not its real name). He narrated a story of a power struggle that transpired between the senior pastor and the elders where he was an associate pastor. The church was started by a group of people who had a classical Pentecostal background which broke away from. They now came together to start an independent Pentecostal – Charismatic church. After much consultation among each other and prayer, they decided to
set up and elders committee which incidentally happened to be the same people who were elders in the previous classical Pentecostal church. They also unanimously agreed to set one among them as an overseeing elder, who played the role of a lay pastor although being an elder. As the months went by they felt a need to approach a pastor they knew from a classical Pentecostal church in a different region, because they needed someone who would be full time since they were all employed. The new pastor came and the church was then affiliated to a network that incorporated all independent Charismatic churches. This affiliation would prove helpful during the times when they had power struggles with the new pastor. The elders did not envisage a difficulty with the pastor since he had the same classical Pentecostal background as they did. Things, however, did not turn out as they had expected as the pastor started to flex his muscles being in an independent church and understanding that there was more liberty in an independent environment to exercise power as a pastor than in the previous classical set up, power struggles began and continued on a number of issues including building projects, finances etc. The elders accused the pastor of being manipulative and controlling. He separated the elders from the finance board and when he wanted something implemented he would pitch the idea in passing to the elders and while they were still thinking about it as a general item he would go to the finance team and pitch the idea as though it was approved by the elders. When the finance team had already gone ahead with the plans the elders would be shocked to find out that what was still under discussion has already been implemented. All the elders were accomplished businessmen in their professions who were used to a protocol of accountability from colleagues and subordinates in their work places and expected the same from the pastor but to no avail. The pastor on the other hand was just an ordinary man with not much education as compared to the elders who expected to have a free reign now that he was in an independent setting. The network office was asked to intervene but unfortunately it was seen as taking the pastor’s side by the elders. This led to a church split where a third of the congregation left with the elders. The associate pastor together with a few other leaders was appointed by the pastor as a new eldership that replaced those who left.

“The pastor showed a level of insecurity when the new elders set some boundaries on his power such that he divided the elders from the finance board so he could influence them
separately. There were some hurts in his past including upbringing and personality issues that caused this insecurity” (Words of the participant- 2016).

When the new elders sought to address the things that caused a power struggle with the previous elders, the pastor took physically ill with an anxiety attack. It was at this point that the elders had to assess if he was still fit to lead the church or not. He gave them permission to do as they deemed fit in the interest of the congregation and so they decided to terminate his services.

5.2.8 Eighth Participant

This was a congregant at the same Contentious Charismatic Church as the seventh participant. She narrated a different story, that of a power struggle between the eldership team and one elder. The senior pastor had a desire to change his leadership style. He wanted the congregation to be led by a team effort and no longer by one man. This he did with all the elders in agreement. He therefore declared his intentions to shift into more of an oversight responsibility and not run the day to day administrative duties of the congregation. He needed more time to focus on building the entire network of churches and not just the congregation. While inquiring on which elder would be willing to step into his shoes, one elder in particular volunteered. This elder was then set aside as the leader before the congregation but with reservations from other elders and founding members of the congregation. They all agreed however because the pastor was keen to set aside this elder as a new leader in the congregation. The elder had marital problems that he did not disclose to the pastor or to other elders. There were rumours that he was bossy and controlling to his subordinates at work. This, however, was just ignored as a rumour.

A few months down the line his marital situation was exposed by the wife and the rumour spread quickly in the congregation. When the elders called him to give clarity, he agreed to the rumour that there were marital problems that were unresolved in his marriage. He then submitted his resignation letter voluntarily as a leader/ pastor of the church, which he later withdrew. Unfortunately at the time he withdrew his resignation, his resignation was already accepted by the elders. When the elders did not accept his withdrawal he felt rejected and unfairly judged so the power struggle began and ensued for months after he took offense and opened a case against them.
5.2.9 Ninth Participant

This was a congregant who was a youth leader in an African Initiated Church called Divided Church in Zion (not its real name). He narrated a story where there was a power struggle within the church leadership and the congregation on liturgy. This church was constituted in a form of an Episcopalian polity with an arch bishop on top and several bishops under him responsible for each of their areas, with their own priests under them. One of the bishops after his visit from Johannesburg came back preaching against the liturgy of clothes and a few other things that the church practiced which in his view were not necessary for salvation since they were just outward expressions but the most important was the inward experience of an individual with God. Most AICs are distinguished by their attire which forms an integral part of their liturgy. This message was not challenged by the arch bishop or other bishops because they took it as a rumour since the advocates spoke it privately to those they knew and also within their region. The message, however, kept on growing and influencing more and more people even the youth. “When we as the youth caught the truth about salvation as an internal matter and not so much an outward matter we immediately took off the garments we used for church and mobilized others to follow suit including the immediate termination of the beating of the drum during worship. In retrospect, we were radical, forceful and lacked wisdom because we wanted to change a historical practice overnight”( Words of the participant-2016).

When the youth caught the message the entire church began to take the message seriously. A meeting was called by the priests and other ministry leaders (men’s leaders, youth leaders, women leaders etc.) to discuss this challenge to their liturgy. The constitution was requested from the leadership but it was kept by the arch bishop and it did not come forth because he never attended the meetings. The resolution which was taken outside of the arch bishop and his bishops was that people had an option to wear or not to wear their attire. This divided the entire church from the bishops (although they were not in the meeting) to the ordinary member. Some were for and others were against the wearing of the church attire. The arch and some of his bishops did not get involved in this debate because they were really not so much educated people and did not feel confident enough to handle some of the debates that were articulated by a younger educated generation. Factions developed that affected even families where some families wanted to wear the attire and others did not. Ultimately those who did not want the attire were
excommunicated from the church; this, however, caused an exodus of a lot of people since there were many who were already influenced. The ultimate outcome was that each bishop, including the arch bishop, went his own way with his own people in his area and effectively the church was split into small independent groups.

5.2.10 Tenth Participant
This was one of the bishops in the same Divided Church in Zion who shed more light on the same power struggle incident. He gave a short history of the church which had had a background of three splits since its origin. This latter split was caused by a lack of a successor after the death of a very strong leader of the church and as a result splinter groups were formed which became independent of each other. Divided Church in Zion was one of the splinter groups. The narrator was a bishop at the time of a power struggle in the congregation concerning liturgy. The bishops were also divided on this issue of liturgy. When they could not find a solution they unanimously decided to go to the arch bishop who was also as undecided about the matter and as a result he appointed one of the bishops to lead the discussions. The arch bishop latter on resigned from his position and so did all other bishops which led to a split with every bishop going independent. The church had been more than fifteen years in existence when the split happened. “As much as this was a painful experience, I have come to realise that the split was the work of God” (Words from participant- 2016).

5.2.11 Eleventh Participant
This was a pastor who was part of a classical Pentecostal church called Wayward Pentecostal church (not its real name). He narrated a story where there was a power struggle between himself as a pastor and an elder. He told how this elder and his family were known to suffocate the work of the ministry by buying the affection of the pastors through extra things they would do for the pastor so they could manipulate and control him. When he arrived in this small local assembly, which was hosted in the house of the elder, he was told that after the church service the pastor and his wife must have lunch here at the house. When he declined he realized that the elder became hostile. The pastor did not back down but maintained his position. The elder then tried to use other methods of influencing people against the pastor but the pastor was a step ahead of him by staying in touch with
the members to get to know them better, so by the time the elder came to them they were already on the pastor’s side. “What makes elders have control over the pastor is the fact that the pastor depends upon them in terms of accommodation, financial allowances and incentives like pastor’s Christmas groceries and financial gifts” (Words of the participant-2016). The church outgrew the house to a bigger venue and the pastor gained favour with members and also those who used to be members but left the church because of the manipulations of this elder’s family, came back when they heard that the current pastor was able to handle him. The elder was an educated man and used to intimidate the previous pastors by his education. This time however he could not because the pastor was himself a well-educated man. “If you are at their level or above they become uncomfortable” (Words of the participant- 2016). One time the elder just went up front to correct something when he thought was disorderly without consulting the pastor. Not only was he untactful but he was also rude in the manner in which he addressed the matter, trying to score points against the pastor before the congregation so it would seem like the pastor is out of touch with what was happening in the church. At the end of the church service, the pastor went to him to find out what his comment was all about and why he did not inform him (the pastor) about the situation. He confessed to the pastor that his wife was the one who advised him against informing him although he had thought about it. “Elders believe that they are resident pastors and as a result they will take that role from you if you are caught napping as a pastor” (Words of the participant- 2016). Fortunately the time for the pastor to leave the congregation had come as his term of office was over and so the power struggle never got to be fully blown.

5.2.12 Twelfth Participant
This was a regional leader of the same Wayward Pentecostal church and he narrated generally on some of the issues of conflict they had dealt with as a regional office of the church. He indicated that one of the problems of a power struggle was between the deacon and elders in a congregation. The elders are responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of the congregation whereas the deacons are responsible for the administrative wellbeing of the congregation. These become two centres of power in the congregation and can cause serious power struggles that sometimes hinder the progress of the church. For example, the deacons were also a finance board of the congregation and could therefore refuse to make
payments on projects that the elders had approved claiming that there were no funds for that project. The elders on the other hand are governors of the church and feel that their authority is being undermined by the deacons. The pastor could sit as a chairperson of both committees and could delegate anyone within the committee to chair the meeting. When there was a power struggle between the two committees, the pastor found himself having the hard task of reconciling the two and helping them to work together. If he took sides the other party became hostile to him. This was a difficult situation and could result in a fully blown conflict that could stifle progress in the church if not correctly managed. “Most pastors are not well equipped to deal with issues of conflict management in the congregation. They tend to preach at a situation instead of listening and adjudicating or mediating and arbitrating over matters of conflict” (Words of participant- 2016).

5.2.13 Thirteenth participant
The participant is a pastor from a classical Pentecostal church called Rocky Pentecostal Church. He told the story of a power struggle between him as a pastor and his elder. He narrated a story of a plan to plant a second church in a village. The elder who was his right hand man was staying in this village and therefore was given the right to assist the pastor in planting this church. This elder was also a successful businesses man and so he made a generous contribution towards the building of the church. The church was built and the work of the ministry was doing well, he was then set aside as an elder in charge. The pastor used to come and conduct services once a month. The elder then requested to be set aside as an ordained minister because of the pressure by other ordained pastors in the community who used to divert people from his congregation to theirs telling people that he was not an ordained pastor. This was a big thing in the village because of its communal nature. According to the polity of the church the pastor had to be the one who requested the national office to give the elder credentials as a lay pastor because he needed a higher academic qualification according to the requirements for ordination. This, however, would take a longer time so a quicker process was to be made a lay pastor. The regional office approved it and the pastor organised a function to set him aside and the village was invited to come and witness this ceremony of setting aside the elder as a lay pastor. The elder was still part of the local church council in the first church, which was a structure that supported the pastor in leadership matters. The attitude of the elder began to change

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towards the pastor after he was now set aside as a lay pastor. This was where the power struggle started.

The elder now saw himself as an equal to the pastor. When the pastor summoned him to meetings he no longer responded although he was a right hand man to the pastor at the same time in charge of the church in the village. When the pastor realised his behavior he decided to release him from his local church council duties so that he could focus on ministry work in the village. He also stopped calling the pastor for pastoral advice as he used to do before. The pastor assumed that perhaps he needed space.

After the pastor released him from the local council duties of the church, he was very unhappy and told the pastor that constitutionally the pastor had no right to do anything in the meeting without him as his right hand man. Unfortunately his constitutional claims were incorrect. He subsequently reported the matter to the regional office charging the pastor of expelling him from the local church council. “The main problem with our church polity is that we do not have any higher title except pastor, as a result there is no distinction between senior pastors who have been serving for many years with lots of experience and those who have just been made pastors either by ordination or by being set aside as lay pastors. We all sit as equals in regional meetings” (Words of participant: 2016).

The regional office sent an investigating team which came to the pastor to hear his side of the story. The pastor showed them constitutionally that the elder was at fault by thinking that he could not call council meetings without him. The investigating team agreed with the pastor then went to see the elder on his own. The pastor was not sure what the team discussed with the elder but the tensions were still there.

5.2.14 Fourteenth Participant

The fourteenth participant is a deacon from Rocky Pentecostal church and a member of the general counsel of the congregation. She sheds more light on the power struggle between the pastor and his elder. The pastor had made the elder his right hand man because he was the longest serving member of the leadership. Their relationship had always been close and the elder had always had respect for the pastor. One time there was a funeral around the village where the elder resided and after the funeral the pastor was inspired to start a church in that village seeing that there were no Pentecostal churches in the village. This was how the church was planted.
The village church was directly mentored by the church in the city but after the setting aside of the elder as a lay pastor the communication was no longer smooth. The elder no longer came regularly for the council meetings. Unfortunately the power struggle had caused the outcome that there were attitude problems between members of the two churches. At one time there was a national event which required young people to participate in it. In that event the young people of these two churches exchanged unpleasant words to each other. This was also noticed by other congregations in attendance. The other unfortunate part was that there were gossips that made the rounds between the churches because there were times when the pastor’s sermon would be known and responded to by the elder in the village warning the pastor to stop preaching about them on his pulpit something that was unfounded.

It is worth noting that “the elder is a very generous person who loves entertaining church leaders including the regional office when they come for regional meetings in the church. He would even volunteer to book them in hotels at his own expense” (Word from the participant- 2016).

5.3 Data Analysis

5.3.1 First Participant

The story of the first participant shows a transition from one polity to the other. The founder of the church was operating as an independent church for nine years, therefore, using an Episcopalian type of polity where he was like a (self-appointed) bishop of his congregation, being the main one giving direction to the church and the leaders that were there were supporting his vision. When he decided to introduce the congregation to the denomination of the Valley Pentecostal church, he was effectively changing polity from an Episcopalian polity to a plural-elder congregational polity. A plural- elder congregational polity as explained in chapter two, takes away authority from any single individual and places it in a bigger group where all are equal and decisions are made unanimously. When the governing elders discovered that they were now equal to the pastor, especially because he was not ordained just like them, they saw no reason to give him a special treatment based on the newly adopted polity of their church.

The cause of a power struggle, therefore, seemed to have been the transition from one polity to another and in this case a shift from an Episcopalian polity to a congregational
polity. There was also a shift not just of polity but of power. At the beginning, the power dynamic in operation was a relational power where everyone knew their place in relation to the other. It is what Foucault calls a net-like relationship that exists in a family where there is a power flowing between a husband and wife; parents and their children (Foucault 1980). In this relational power there are no apparent power struggles. This seemed to have been the relationships in the past nine years where the founder related to the congregation as his spiritual children and they saw him as their spiritual father. When the congregation changed its church polity, the power dynamic also changed from a relational to an institutional form of power. The latter is a repressive form of power and, therefore, prone to power struggles.

5.3.1 (A) Documents of Valley Pentecostal Church

According to the constitution of the Valley Pentecostal Church, which was made available at the time of the interview, a recognised leader of a congregation even if he is not an ordained minister is taken as a leader, member and vision carrier of the governing body and also of the congregation. This, therefore, classified the polity of the church as a single-elder congregational polity. The single-elder polity operates from a premise of ‘primus inter pares’ meaning, ‘first among equals’. Although members of the governing body are equal, they have among them a leader from whom they take their cue. This was, therefore, totally different from a plural-elder polity and, therefore, a misinterpretation on the side of the governing body.

When it came to financial allowances the constitution gave discretion to the governing body to decide. Unless there were other factors unknown to the researcher that caused the governing body not to give the full benefits that the founder used to receive, the reason given of not being an ordained pastor is nothing short of vindictiveness. There seem to be a lack of maturity on the side of the governing body to dishonour a man who had given his life and resources to building the work from the beginning to where it was by the time he died. Looking at the research problem on what caused power struggles in relation to this particular case, it is not the abuse of power, nor the lack of governing policies (although the introduction of the new denominational policies sparked the power struggle), it was, however, the misinterpretation of polity that caused the power struggle. Other factors that caused the power struggle outside the research problem were the sudden change of church polity and also the insensitivity of the denominational heads to withhold ordination.
Although they were operating well within their constitutional rights; they lacked the foresight of the implications of their decision.

5.3.2 Second Participant
The story of the second participant demonstrated a lack of proper leadership skills on the side of the governing body, in their inability to discern what they were looking for and also not being diligent to ensure that the person they wanted was capable of meeting their expectations. It also showed a lack of spiritual maturity on the part of the governing body which seemed to be stuck in the past and comparing the present with the past. They were not looking for what God desired to give them but they were looking for what they wanted God to give them. It is a spiritual responsibility of every leadership group to discern the will of God especially on such a spiritual assignment of getting the right pastor for the congregation. After they realised that they made a mistake in their choice, they started to look for all the pastor’s mistakes and they found them even though others were very trivial. The leadership also lacked submission in that they overlooked the advice they were given by the regional office. At the end, it cost the congregation a lot of money let alone shame and a loss of members.

When referring to literature reviewed, Haugk’s (1988) antagonistic levels of conflict can be seen in this story. The conflict began at a normal level where the governing body was just reporting the problem to the region. The conflict must have escalated to a level of disagreements when the regional committee came to hear both sides of the story. It most likely escalated to a contest where there was a moderate antagonism while still under the internal process of the church. When the governing body ignored the recommendations of the regional office and proceeded with termination, the level of conflict must have reached a fight or flight mode which is a major antagonism level. It was at this stage that the pastor opened a legal case against the congregation, further escalating the conflict to a hard core antagonistic stage where the conflict was intractable especially when the verdict was delivered against the congregation.

5.3.2 (A) Document Review
The policy of Valley Pentecostal Church on reporting grievances concerning a pastor’s poor job performance states that such grievances must be reported to the region and a team of
church investigators would be sent to verify those grievances. After the verification the team would then make known their findings and recommendations. The congregation followed exactly what the policy on grievances stated. The investigating team came and found that the accusations were unfounded they then advised against the congregation terminating the pastor’s services. This is why when the governing body decided to proceed anyway leaving the pastor no option but to follow the legal process knowing that he had been vindicated even by the church’s internal processes. This story in relation to the research problem revealed that power struggles in this congregation were caused by the abuse of power by the governing body.

5.3.3 Third Participant

The story of the third participant brought out a number of issues; among others was the reality of peer rivalry in ministry among young pastors who were mentored by the senior pastor. All of them most probably wanted to be the ones to succeed the senior minister as their role model. The issue of resources and power could have been also an attractive package for a starting young minister. The elders who also played the political game of supporting a specific candidate were also trying to secure their future positions as elders in case their candidate won. This, therefore, became a big political game typical of what power can do when people are hungry for it. Clearly there were ulterior motives that were underlying the entire power struggle. When a conflict precipitates to a fist fight in a church service, it shows that people had now been taken over by an evil spirit that made them not to even respect the house of God. The other issue was the lack of giving a clear direction by the senior leader as to who should have been the rightful successor. This was a lack of proper leadership skills and had it been done publicly by him, it would have avoided the damage that happened when he was no longer alive. The other problem was perhaps a lack of education on his part which disadvantaged him when it came to the complexities it demands for managing growth and attention.

Galtung in the reviewed literature talks about an actor conflict which is a deliberate conflict that a person engages in with a full awareness of their internal contradictions and still chooses to pursue the conflict hoping to get specific results (Galtung 1996:74–76). This actor conflict is what happened to each faction in this power struggle. This was no longer just a normal or an abnormal conflict for that matter but was now a spiritual conflict, which was
characterised by evil (Rediger 1997:63-68). Spiritual conflict is discussed fully in chapter two on literature review. The cause of the power struggles in this congregation, were the ulterior motives that each person had which were propelled by selfish ambitions for power and control.

5.3.4 Forth Participant
The story of the fourth participant gave further information on the power struggle of Warfare Pentecostal Church. On the issue of multiple pastors, the church was advancing into new levels of growth. This growth was unfortunately not planned for, which showed a lack of proper leadership skills. The claims that every pastor made of being the next successor demonstrated the danger of not declaring things publicly as a senior leader. Had the senior pastor made this matter public, there would have been no confusion whatsoever. The other possibility was that they may not all be telling the truth. This is what Foucault calls Power that is paired with truth (Foucault 1980:131-132). This truth, however, is a propaganda with self-promoting intentions. The damage that came because of the power struggle show that the conflict had reached intractable levels. This conflict related to the coercive conflict model of Bartos and Wehr, when before the passing on of the senior pastor the power struggle was most probably already existent among the junior pastors but it was still non-coercive. At the beginning there was pure cooperation followed by the promise of rewards that the senior pastor made in an attempt to perhaps persuade these young preachers not to leave and perhaps join another church elsewhere because of lack of preaching opportunities in the congregation. When he passed on, however, threats of coerciveness began and escalated to non-violent verbal coercion until the conflict climaxed into violent coercion, the consequences of this coercive conflict still followed those who were party to it after the event. (Bartos & Wehr 2002:27)

5.3.4 (A) Document Review
The constitution of Warfare Pentecostal church regarded this congregation as a sovereign assembly since it was able to support its own minister and had more than fifty working members who were baptized in water. Such a sovereign assembly has the power to choose its own pastor, deacons and conduct its own affairs on its own accord. It also has the right to administer discipline to its own members based on scripture and its own constitution.
Based on the constitution it was the prerogative of this congregation to manage its own business in terms of choosing a pastor. The succession plan was entirely in the hands of the congregation.

Surprisingly this congregation was not given a sovereign status although it qualified. This is why it was perhaps difficult for the senior pastor to say who would be taking over from him. The congregation handled its business like a sovereign assembly since the senior pastor was also the district head of the denomination in that region. This indicated that a lot of operations in the congregation were done by the book. Meaning that they did not follow the polity of the church in many things hence; the constitution was also silent on matters of conflict hence there were no processes to follow when there were fights and the legal route was the only possible way out of this debacle.

In answering the research problem on the causes of a power struggle in this narrative the causes were not because of the abuse of power but because of the insatiable desire for power by leaders of the church including the pastors, deacons and the church board.

5.3.5 Fifth Participant

The story of the fifth participant is more concerned about the costs of the new pastor which is typical of an elder’s concern. The new pastor came at a high price for the congregation and because the elders were performance driven coming from a secular culture of performance in their own work environments, they expected value for money and they set high standards of performance for the new pastor which he could not meet. This type of power struggle is what Galtung calls a structural conflict where the conflict is not deliberately done but there are unseen factors that cause subconscious internal contradictions which affect attitudes and alter behaviour which can be cognitively observed (Galtung 1996:74-76). Some of the factors could be that the new pastor was a not a young man and, therefore, he was used to doing things in a particular way as a mature pastor. He was also not called by the elders of Afflicted Pentecostal Church but was sent by his own church to come and help. In his understanding, therefore, he was not accountable to the elders but to the church that sent him. The other factor is that he was white, serving a black church. This presented cultural differences and expectations.

The European culture is generally private and task oriented, therefore doing office work which included making calls was a norm. Whereas on the other hand the African culture is
very communal, socially interactive and people oriented, therefore spending time interacting with people was an expected norm. What caused power struggles, therefore, was not what could be physically observed but internal contradictions that were based on cultural differences, age and different accountability approaches. The power struggle, therefore, in this narrative was caused by a structural conflict.

5.3.6 Sixth Participant
The story of the sixth participant revealed a challenge of shifting from one polity to the other just as we saw in the first participant’s story. This, however, was different in that it was not assumed or speculative as in the first story but it was a congregation that used to be Presbyterian and had now shifted into a Pentecostal-charismatic polity. This would always be a problem because although people may seem excited and in agreement when they choose to shift in church polity, the reality is that the practicality of the shift is not easy. Humans are beings of habit and generally do not adopt easily to change. We have already seen in the first participant’s story; that a shift in church polity translated into a shift in power. In a Presbyterian polity as discussed in the literature review in chapter two, the authority does not rest in the congregation but in a group of ruling elders who are called a ‘session’ and who run the affairs of the parish together with a minister who is set aside by the regional presbytery to conduct the session. The minister is responsible for teaching while the ruling elders are responsible for administration.

To shift from one church polity to the next, without dragging the previous tendencies into the new one, is unlikely. This was exactly the challenge of the Afflicted Charismatic Church. The church polity had changed but the people were still the same and had the same positions. A congregational polity is also a complicated system in that there is a single-elder or a plurality of elders system. Chances are that the pastor was hoping for a single-elder system where he would have more authority whereas the elders were operating from a plurality of elders system where all were equal.

The other challenge was that the church had a track record of terminating pastor’s services. The very problem they were trying to avoid when they changed polity was the very one that persisted even in the new polity. This, therefore, indicated that the problem was beyond church polity. The statement ‘you are one of us’ in the narration, shows that the elders had
their personal interest and not the interest of people at heart. They wanted someone who would do what they wanted done. This revealed selfish ambitions and a political agenda of setting aside someone as a pastor who would advance their agenda and it also showed why other pastors could not last. The fact that they also set her as an ‘acting pastor’ which is not even in the constitution of the congregation, was a sign that they were not intending to have her serving long in a pastoral seat. Perhaps another reason for her to be set aside as acting was that she was not an ordained pastor, she was a female and she was a peer to the elders since she was one of them. The elders revisited the Presbyterian pattern they left, more than ten years ago, by separating the teaching minister/s and the ruling elders based on 1Timothy 5:17. This may have been a strategic move to reduce or even remove the influence of the pastor over the administrative matters of the congregation which they felt were exclusive to elders. Hornqvist discusses the element of power that is used by the elders here, which is called a negative repressive power where compliance is enforced by punishment. A full discussion of repressive power is in chapter two. (Hornqvist 2010:9,10)

5.3.6 (A) Documents Review

The constitution of Afflicted Charismatic Church is a congregational plurality of eldership. The pastor of the church is chosen by the eldership among the elders and is accountable to the elders. The pastor is also the chairperson of the elders’ committee. The eldership is the main governing body of the church. There is also a pastoral fellowship team which is where all the pastors of the church meet together and deal with spiritual but non-governmental things, which are exclusive to elders. This was the reason why the pastor’s services were terminated when she no longer cooperated with the elders’ wishes.

In answering the research problem as to the causes of a power struggle, in this case it was not necessarily caused by the change of polity as much as that has a major contribution, but we have seen that the power struggle existed even before the change of church polity, therefore, it was caused by the abuse of power by the elders who had personal interests to hold on to power and remain in charge.

It is worth noting here that the elders of the Afflicted Charismatic Church have recently decided to step down and allow the current pastoral team to lead the church fully without their interference. This was a commendable step on their side and a sign of repentance.
5.3.7 Seventh Participant

The story of the seventh participant started from a shift in church polity. The only difference was that The Contentious Charismatic church was not changing polity more than it was changing the mode of operation within the same congregational polity. Most classical Pentecostal churches which are congregational are connective in operation; meaning they are all connected together at a regional and national level with decisions that can be binding if unanimously agreed, although their local churches are autonomous (independent from each other). In most Pentecostal-charismatic churches the congregational polity is associational (rather than connective); meaning they are not bound by any central body but they can choose to freely associate with each other with no strings attached. The differences between the connective and associational modes of congregational polity were discussed in full in chapter two on literature review. In the fifth story, therefore, the church has shifted from a binding connective congregationalism of a classical Pentecostal church, to that of an associational congregationalism in a Pentecostal-charismatic church. The elders thought that since the pastor they wanted was from the same classical Pentecostal background that he would have an understanding of working well with them as elders. They were, therefore, operating from a premise of plurality of elders where they were all equal in governance although they may not all have been equal in gift, whereas the pastor was operating from the premise of a single-elder who was a leader of the pack both in gift and governance.

The conflict that transpired out of this congregation was what Galtung calls a structural conflict; meaning the structure of the congregational polity made the conflicted parties to interpret a particular behaviour of the other as negative and this then triggered negative attitudes which led to internal contradictions that continue to perpetuate the conflict. In other words both parties were not deliberately provoking each other and, therefore, were not cognitive of the negative attitude that was caused by the negative behaviour they saw in each other. The real cause of the negative behaviour was hidden from both and it was imbedded in the structural dynamics of the polity. (Galtung 1996:74-76)

The insecurities of the pastor also did not help the situation. He probably felt intimidated by the education level of the elders who were accomplished professionals and therefore he used manipulations and became controlling in order to assert his authority.
Mac Millan talks of the four channels of power which are the muscle, the code, the pitch and the reward. The pastor used pitch as a channel of power (although used in a deceptive way) in order to manipulate the situation in his favour. A pitch is when you influence people through marketing or advertising techniques of what you want, in a persuasive way, until they buy into what you are selling. Adverts can be deceiving but very appealing. This is manipulative power. (Mac Millan: 1978)

5.3.7 (A) Document Review
The old constitution of Contentious Charismatic church promoted a single-elder model. In the old constitution the single-elder was the leader and vision bearer and he was the one who set the pace and led from the front. His eldership team supported him but he was the one who had the final say. He had no set term of office, as long as he still operated within the code of conduct of the church. It is, therefore, this liberty that gave the pastor in question the freedom to lead. The cause of conflict based on the research problem was the abuse of power by the pastor based on his insecurities.

5.3.8 Eighth Participant
The story of the eighth participant highlights an important lesson that when there are reservations among some leaders about a specific direction the matter must not be just overlooked but must be thoroughly investigated in order to be completely sure that a prospective individual was the right candidate, especially for a leading position. The qualifications of an elder found in 1Tim 3 must be investigated carefully. The rumour of being bossy and controlling was not to be taken for granted for a leader who was at a high position like an elder or a pastor. This fitted one of the four channels of power, the muscle, where one used force to have his way (Mac Millan 1978). By using the legal route he showed his determination to use the muscle power of the law to challenge or sway the decision of the church. All he wanted was his position back as leader of the church and as a part of the elders.

5.3.8 (A) Document review
The amended constitution permitted the eldership to exercise their right to accept or reject the resignation and, therefore, they were within their right to reject the withdrawals. The rejection was also based on grounds of the elder not being in a healthy marital relationship
that threatened the very office of a leader. This was a problem of an individual who was power hungry which was the cause of the power struggle.

5.3.9 Ninth Participant
The power struggle of the ninth participants was caused by a disagreement in liturgy. The liturgy in this case was the religious attire and the drums that were used for worship among other things. The way the new revelation on salvation was presented was secretive and private and, therefore, this was the first problem. The leadership’s avoidance of dealing with the problem was another breeding ground for the power struggle to gain strength. This showed a lack of proper leadership skills in dealing with the problem. Their lack of education perhaps also contributed to their silence, in that they probably felt small to engage in debates about liturgy. The form of power used by the new revelation group is what is called a marriage of power and knowledge by Foucault (1980:52). Those who have knowledge will always have the power over those who don’t. The group that came with the new revelation on salvation had a lot of young people ultimately who were educated and could argue their perspective based on scripture. This was unheard of in the Divided Church in Zion. Usually leadership was never questioned especially on liturgy. The bishops including the arch were older people who themselves never questioned their predecessors, so this was a new phenomenon in the congregation which they did not know how to handle.

When power was mixed with truth (even if it was subjective truth) it carried the ability to sway people (Foucault 1980:131-132). The word of mouth was a catalyst in spreading the new revelation or ‘truth’ and it seemed effective. The youth lacked the sensitivity it required and the patience to introduce a new thing. This impatience because of immaturity of being young was also a catalyst of the power struggle between the leadership and the ‘new revelation’ group. The channel of power that the youth used in the four channels of power in Mac Millan’s taxonomy of power was the power of muscle and a code (MacMillan 1978). The muscle power was displayed by forcefully wanting to make people adopt what you were convinced of immediately.

The code power refers to a code of ethics a person uses to defend his position. There must have been a number of biblical codes that were used to persuade the unconverted about what true salvation was in order to coerce them into the ‘new revelation’. Unfortunately
this use of power could not convince everybody because not everyone especially older people got easily swayed from what they believed.

In answering the research problem concerning the causes of a power struggle, the causes were on differences of doctrine.

5.3.10 Tenth Participant
The historical foundation of the church had splits, which was typical of independent churches. The lack of a clear direction on succession of leadership in independent churches can cause major power struggles. The fact that the bishops were also divided on this issue shows how far the power struggle had gone. The resignation of the arch bishop was the final blow to the church because he was the highest most authority in the church. This showed weakness on the side of the leadership of the church. An unskilled, weak leadership was what caused the power struggle to not only divide the church but to totally scatter it.

5.3.10 (A) Document review
The constitution of Divided Church in Zion is silent about the core matters of a power struggle. There is nothing in the constitution that refers to the liturgy about the dress code and beating of the drum or any other outward expression of worship, including the usual going around in circles when the Zionists worship. This could have been the reason for the silence of the bishops and the arch bishop seeing that even their polity documents did not give any direction on this matter.

5.3.11 Eleventh participant
The story of the eleventh participant showed a manipulative and controlling elder who used incentives to manipulate and control pastors. This was a power strategy that worked through rewards (MacMillan 1978). In other words one was persuaded to do something through a promise of receiving a reward for compliance. When there was refusal to comply such individuals would then use their status of education to intimidate the pastor. This was where knowledge was used as a tool for power (Foucault 1980:52). It will take a pastor who was not insecure to be able to stand up to such manipulation. This is where the pastor needs to be also a well accomplished person and, therefore, not easily intimidated by a person’s level of education or wealth.
5.3.11 (A) Documents review

The constitution of the Wayward Pentecostal Church states that the elders have a responsibility to look after the church and its governance. The pastor is a chairperson of the elders and, therefore, the leader of the elders’ committee and consequently the leader of the congregation as a whole. When the elders were not happy with the pastor’s leadership they reported the matter to the regional leaders who then started an investigation process by calling the pastor and his committee to hear both sides of the story. If the pastor was found guilty he was then suspended and was assigned under the supervision of the congregation that he originally came from or any other congregation that the regional leaders would determine to be fit for his restoration. If the matter investigated was seen to be worth a higher level of discipline, it was then referred to the national executive office that had the right to excommunicate a pastor.

This is a congregational polity whose operations fluctuated between the single-elder and the plurality of elders. The single-elder operations authorised the pastor to be the leader of the elders and therefore to be the one who gave the cue and direction in the congregation. In practice however, it was a plurality of eldership that operates because there must be unanimity in the elders before any decision the pastor or any other member initiated was approved. The latter seem to be the culture of the church hence the elder in Wayward Pentecostal church wanted each pastor to be under his authority. What exacerbated the power struggle was that the church had a rotation system of pastors where a pastor could only stay three years in one congregation then he was taken to another church. This gave the elders the authority to see themselves as the unofficial ‘resident pastors’ of the congregation and, therefore, become resistant to the initiatives that a pastor who was stationed for three years may have wanted to implement, especially if that initiative fell outside of what the elders wanted to see happening in the church.

As much as the constitution gave the pastor the power of leadership in the congregation in practice the power resided with the elders who had to find accommodation for the pastor, determine his stipend/salary, do special Christmas bonus functions for him etc. Most pastors found themselves at the mercy of the elders and those who resisted, brought upon themselves many power struggles and suffering. The cause of the power struggle in this case was the abuse of power by the elder.
5.3.12 Twelfth Participant

It is a healthy management practice to separate functions of governance from those of administration so that there is accountability of one to the other. This is even practiced in secular circles outside the church. Two centres of power, however, will always pose a challenge in terms of submission and interrelation. It takes a skilled leader to be able to handle such dynamics of power.

What works best in this kind of environment is the use of a pitch as a channel of power. This is mostly used in advertising/marketing and a reward channel of power for incentives is used to motivate (MacMillan 1978). The pastor needs to know how to win over both committees to work together by motivation.

The constitution of Wayward Pentecostal church creates an overlap of roles between these two offices but when carefully read it makes a distinction. The constitution says that the elders are responsible for the governance of the church and have a responsibility to assist the pastor with his permission in preaching, administering baptism and the communion meal and also to pray for the sick. It then says that the deacons serve in an administrative capacity for the church as office bearers eg. Vice chairperson, secretary and treasurer etc. but they may also preach, conduct funerals and pray for the sick at the request or permission of the elders or the pastor but are not to administer the communion meal or baptism. The cause of power struggles is personal egos of individuals who want power and will use what seem to be the constitutions’ overlapping of roles, to pursue their own interests.

5.3.13 Thirteenth participant

The elder was the pastor’s right hand man but when he was made a lay pastor he saw himself as a pastor’s equal. This could have been caused by the fact that he was the one who made a generous contribution towards the church building and, therefore, he felt it was his own property since he built it with his own money. As a business man who was self-employed and having his own properties it was probably natural for him to see the church building and, therefore, the congregation as something he owned. The only thing he was left with was to be ordained as a pastor.

This, however, was a process that needed him to have a theological qualification which most probably was not his interest but he was interested in being an ordained pastor who was
running a church. There were clear personal ambitions on his part hence as soon as he was ordained a lay pastor; he began to see himself as a full ordained pastor. In the IsiXhosa language there is no word that is used to describe a ‘lay’ pastor but the only description is to say ‘mfundisi’ meaning pastor. Other alternative names to distinguish an ordinary preacher from an ordained pastor were to describe the person as either an evangelist (umvangeli) or a preacher (umshumayeli). The pastor did not want to use these other distinguishing words of ‘evangelist’ or ‘preacher’ when he was setting the elder aside because he wanted the villagers to respect the elder as a pastor although according to church polity he was just a lay pastor. When the lay pastor experienced the level of respect he was now afforded by the villagers as a pastor, it really inflated his ego and made him think that he was now a fully ordained pastor. It was this inflated ego that was provoked when the pastor removed him from the local church council. He felt demoted and this bothered him. He still wanted some form of control in the first church as he had control in the village. The pastor also reacted perhaps out of offence when he saw that he was now being ignored and no longer respected. He exercised his power as an ordained pastor of the congregation by removing the elder from the local church council. In his argument when explaining this decision to remove the elder he says he was not expelling the elder but it was just an administrative decision to decentralise operations so that the elder could fully focus on the village church without the burden of having to also attend to matters of the city church.

The nature of the conflict between the pastor and the elder is best described in a conflict triangle presented by Galtung’s (1996:72). There was a negative behaviour that stirred up a negative attitude or assumption which was brought by internal contradictions about what could be physically seen, therefore producing a negative reaction. In both cases the conflict was an actor’s conflict which is a deliberate calculated action. The elder was deliberate about not consulting the pastor anymore, since he felt he was now his equal, and deliberate also about his reaction of charging the pastor to the regional committee. The pastor was also deliberate about taking him out of the council. (Galtung 1996:74-76) The power that the pastor used in this situation was a negative repression of power where you force compliance by punishment. (Hornqvist 2010:11-13)
The regional office did not seem to have finished their job properly because they did not reconcile the two but they just listened to their stories individually. They would have needed to intervene before the conflict entered more complicated stages.

5.3.14 Fourteenth Participant
The conflict could be located at level three of Haugk’s (1988) antagonistic levels, where the conflict had entered the contest stage because of a competition even among members of both congregations. If not addressed, the conflict could move to the next level of a fight or flight. The elders’ generosity could be clouding the judgement of the regional leaders from reprimanding him in his misconduct. His use of the power of incentives and rewards to tame the regional leaders, continues to blind the leaders (MacMillan1978). The cause of the conflict was, therefore, an individual’s hunger for power, in this case, the elder.

5.3.15 (A) Document Review
The constitution of Rocky Pentecostal Church stipulates that the local church council is ‘responsible’ for the spiritual and material welfare of the congregation. It also stipulates that the pastor is the one who is ‘ultimately responsible’ for the spiritual and material welfare of the congregation. The pastor is also the chairperson of the local church council and he is the one who convenes meetings. The elder was, therefore, incorrect to claim that the pastor could do nothing without the local church council. Yes the local church council was ‘responsible’ for the wellbeing of the congregation but the pastor is the one ‘ultimately responsible’.

5.4 Themes/categories from data
There are ten themes/categories that came from the data collected in interviews and document reviews. These themes were developed through an open coding process in grounded theory.

See Appendix A for the data summary table.
5.4.1 Open coding

5.4.1.1 Polity
Polity is one of the focus areas of the research problem and the research questions and it was the highest category in the interviews on power struggle and the one most saturated. Among the twenty interviewees, thirteen (65%) of them made mention of church polity as a major contributor in power struggles.

5.4.1.2 Money
The second highest category was money. Money was also mentioned in the research problem but not in the research questions and out of twenty interviewees about eight (40%) mentioned money as a contributor to power struggles.

5.4.1.3 Education
Education was not mentioned in the research problem or questions and yet was also one of the high contributors in power struggles. In twenty interviewees, eight of them (40%) mentioned education as one of the contributors to a power struggle.

5.4.1.4 Maturity
Maturity was also not a focus area in the research problem or questions and yet it was also one of the fourth highest contributors to power struggles. In the twenty interviewees, six of them (30%) mentioned maturity as a contributor to power struggles.

5.4.1.5 Leadership skill
Leadership skill was not a focus area in the research problem or questions and yet it was also one of the fourth highest contributors to power struggles. In the twenty interviewees six of them (30%) mentioned leadership skill as a contributor to power struggles.

5.4.1.6 Insecurity
The insecurity of leaders whether the pastor or the elders/ governing council/ church board etc. was not a focus area in the research problem or questions and was low in mention with only five people(25%) out of the twenty interviewees making mention of it.
5.4.1.7 Transition
Transition refers to a church moving from one polity to the next. This was not a focus area in the research problem or questions and was also low in mention with only five people (25%) out of the twenty interviewees making mention of it.

5.4.1.8 Secular leadership
This refers to leaders using a secular style of leadership based on their secular work experience that is not adoptable in church leadership. This was also not a focus area in the research problem or questions and was also low in mention with only five people (25%) out of the twenty interviewees making mention of it.

5.4.1.9 Healing
This refers to a lack of healing from a previous power struggle before entering another. This was not a focus area in the research problem or questions and was one of the lowest in mention with only three people (15%) out of the twenty interviewees making mention of it.

5.4.1.10 Ulterior motives
This refers to motives (usually selfish) other than the ones expected of a leader in a given situation. This was also not a focus area in the research problem or questions and was also one of the lowest in mention with only three people (15%) out of the twenty interviewees making mention of it.

5.4.2 Focus coding
The second stage in grounded theory was focus coding also known as axial coding (Strauss and Cobin 1998). This is where the research focuses on the data that is most saturated. In this case the top five themes would be the focus

5.4.2.1 Polity
The main issue about church polity was not its absence but it was the fact that it was never used or referred to until there was a power struggle in the congregation. Things were done outside of polity and when power struggles began it became difficult to get direction from the church polity which was ignored while things were still normal. There were also other
factors of polity that were raised like the misinterpretation of polity when it was available, also the lack of policies in the congregation that would guide in power struggles but these last two were lower in occurrence. Neglecting to use the available church polity, was therefore one of the contributors to a power struggle. (Refer to participant 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, et al)

5.4.2.2 Money
The mismanagement of money; the misuse or abuse of money; the deprivation of others from getting money due to them because of those in authority who wanted to use it as a control tool; using money to buy favours etc. Money therefore was one of the major factors contributing to a power struggle second to polity. This is why it was included in the research problem although not mentioned in the research questions. (Refer to participant 1, 2, 3, 4, et al)

5.4.2.3 Education
It transpired in the interviews that a lack of education could contribute to power struggles especially when the pastor was the one who was not educated. Others also tended to take advantage of his lack of education. The pastor also could easily have felt intimidated by the fact that he was uneducated while leading people who were educated. This may have caused the pastor to either submit to the supportive leadership who could take advantage of him at will or to felt so insecure that he used other means of coercion to assert his authority. Education, therefore, became the emergent theory since it was not mentioned in the research problem and questions (Refer to Participant 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 et al)

5.4.2.4 Maturity
A lack of maturity was the one that caused leaders to lose face with the people they were leading. It also caused leaders to make quick decision without thinking them through properly. Immature leaders are more position focused than responsibility focused that is why they will fight for positions and control without understanding the responsibility it will require for them in leading people. Immaturity, therefore, became the emergent theory since it was not mentioned in the research problem and questions. (Refer to Participant 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 et al)
5.4.2.5 Lack of leadership skill

A lack of leadership skills had made leaders unable to make critical decisions and to discern what was needed. Leadership skills are most needed when dealing with difficult people. It took a skill to manage difficult situations that if not properly handled could cause unnecessary strife that could lead to a power struggle. Most of the power struggles could have been minimised if the leaders had been skilled enough to handle volatile situations. Leadership skill, therefore, became the emergent theory since it was not mentioned in the research problem and questions. (Refer to participant 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 et al)

5.4.3 Theoretical coding

The third and last stage in grounded theory is to present a story line that shows the interrelationships among categories where a theory would be developed to add to existing theories. This is called a theoretical coding or a selective coding.

In polity as mentioned above, the greatest challenge is not the absence of church polity in Pentecostal churches but not making use of polity when it is already at ones disposal in the documents of the organisation is what creates an environment that is conducive for power struggles to ensue.

The use of polity could have, in many instances, empowered those who were at healthy levels of conflict to know how to manage the conflict and not to escalate to an intractable antagonism (Haugk1988:27-35). The knowledge of one’s polity, its interpretation and correct application is what was needed. Knowledge comes through education and therefore education becomes the major role player even in terms of polity.

When polity is known, correctly interpreted and applied there would be no need for money to be used as a tool to manipulate situations to favour a particular party. Money itself needs knowledge for proper management and handling. Financial education is, therefore, a critical element which would ensure the proper running of the affairs of the church but also in empowering or educating pastors on how to manage their own personal finances such that they were able to take care of themselves without being vulnerable to financial manipulation.

A lack of proper leadership skills is caused by a lack of knowledge on various methods and skills of leadership. Leadership is a skill that must be taught to both pastors and their leadership teams. When leaders are fully developed and well skilled, it does not matter
what church polity is in operation and how many times one changes from one polity to another, they will be able to handle the challenges presented by various polities. This is where maturity comes in. When a leader is knowledgeable enough on different leadership and management skills, that leader will demonstrate a high level of maturity by being secure and confident no matter how seemingly unfavourable the polity of the church may be and how hostile the environment, a skilled leader will always demonstrate maturity by being temperate in all situations and as a result he is less likely to be manipulated by money or any other form of manipulation.

5.4.3.1 The emerging theory
A lack of education for a pastor and his leadership team including the congregation on church polity issues, financial issues and leadership skills, is what causes a lack of maturity in the congregation which becomes a breeding ground for power struggles.

5.5 Preliminary Conclusion
5.5.1 Limitations
There are some limitations worth mentioning that could impact the analysis of data. The original plan was to get twenty eight interviews, interviewing four from each church. Eight people could not be accessed some because of being unavailable by telephonic contact while others would agree telephonically but the time of meeting would not be suitable. In the twenty that were accessible and interviewed, only fourteen were used because their presentation on power struggle was inclusive of the explanation of others since some were referring to the same incident that took place in one congregation, mentioning them would be repetitious. The other limitation is that most interviewees were in the urban areas and only a few were in the rural area. There were also more males than females interviewed; this was not intentional but circumstantial.

5.5.2 Reflexivity
The researcher grew up in and all his childhood and youth life was spent as a member of a classical Pentecostal church. The rest of his adult life was spent as a member of a Pentecostal-Charismatic church. In ministry the researcher has experienced power struggles that led to the termination of service in a Pentecostal-Charismatic church fourteen years
ago and has also been involved in mediation processes in congregations experiencing a power struggle in leadership. It is possible, therefore, that as objective as the researcher has tried to be, there can be subjective elements in the analysis of the data. The next chapter deals with a pastoral care model for those congregations, pastors and leaders who have suffered under hierarchical power struggles.
CHAPTER SIX
Pastoral Care for those damaged by power struggles in church

6.1 Introduction
The focus of this chapter is to propose a healing model that will therapeutically journey with those who have been damaged by the effects of power struggles in the church. The shepherding model of Gerkin (1997) challenges us to journey with the victims of power struggles. Gerkin however is not able to deconstruct the negative self-image that the victims have internalised because of power struggles. This is where Pollard comes in to buttress Gerkin by positively deconstructing the underlying worldview which the conflicted parties are holding on to, by identifying the worldview, analysing it, highlighting the good of the worldview and pointing out its errors also in order to reconstruct a new worldview.

Both Gerkin’s and Pollard’s models of pastoral care are more philosophical in approach and lack the practical application that facilitates healing in the lives of the victims. Gerkin points out the importance of using a shepherding model but he doesn’t give any practical details on how a shepherding model works out. His model encourages pastoral care givers to journey with the care seekers but it does not unpack further what that journeying entails. This is where the narrative approach comes in.

Pollard on the other hand deals with the thinking behind the power struggle. He unpacks the thinking or the underlying philosophy that informs the way individuals act in a power struggle. Between deconstruction and reconstruction there is a narrative that features.

Pollards idea of positive deconstruction came out of an illustration he was using of reconstructing a new car from the old by changing old parts and replacing them with new ones (Pollard 1997:44-45). Cars are not human and they can therefore not tell their story of how they experienced reconstruction. Humans on the other hand have a story to tell of all their life’s experiences especially when it involves a process of change from one state to the other. Transformation in humans always has a story behind it. This is where the narrative approach could be used through story-sharing. In order to be a good shepherd who properly journeys with the care seekers with an objective to reconstruct their lives, the narrative hermeneutical model of pastoral care must be used.
6.2 The narrative approach

Pastoral care is a mediator between the story of the Christian community and the stories of individuals. (Gerkin 1997:111)

These individuals are afforded the opportunity to share their feelings; their past experiences even their disappointments with the Christian community that is represented by the church as a religious institution. In the case of those who have been damaged by power struggles in the church, their anger and frustration can easily be directed to the church as an institution sometimes even to God who permitted the power struggle to ensue.

The task of pastoral care within this narrative hermeneutical model is to move from one end of the spectrum to the other in order to identify with those who have been hurt by the church or by those in the church. At the same time to identify with the church and its tradition. “Pastoral care involves both the care of the Christian community and the care of persons: individually, in families and in larger group relationships” (Gerkin 1997:113).

6.2.1 The pain

The pain and shame of having been involved in a power struggle, especially if the experience dented one’s reputation; can cause a withdrawal syndrome, as a form of protecting oneself from further hurt. The researcher noticed a difficulty in participants struggling to open up during the interviews, especially those who had been directly affected by power struggles. Some spoke as though they were reliving their experience. One could see pain on their faces as they were sharing their experiences and at the same time, a relief that somebody cared enough to ask them about their pain and to listen to their story.

The impact and effects of a power struggle can cause one to internalise a negative personal identity which brings feelings of being worthless and valueless. Such deep negative feelings can be healed by having conversations with God. These conversations with God are the ones that help to restore one’s sacred identity of being worthy and valuable. (Wimberly 2003:9)

There is a need, therefore, to internalize God conversations in order for one to rid oneself of negative evaluations that came through negative conversations. The stories that we have internalised in our upbringing can cause us to have a negative self-evaluation. It is, therefore, important to be surrounded with positive conversations which will enable a positive self-evaluation. (Wimberly 2003:17)
6.2.2 Membership

Power struggles can recruit one to internalise a negative conversation especially when the conflict escalates to intractable levels. There is a theory in behavioural science called a membership theory. Membership is defined as a state of being committed to relationships, to care and to nurture them. Negative conversation brought by power struggle is able to dismember one from their original state of peace and harmony to that of hostility and antagonism. There is a need therefore for a pastoral model that is able to help individuals to review the story that power struggles have left one with in order to re-edit or re-author these stories. Stories shape who we are but they can also be shaped by re-authoring them to become positive stories. (Wimberly 2003:23-26)

Pastoral care must be an agent of privileging those who have been affected by power struggles. Privileging is defined as a “process of articulating our current story and the conversations that go into making up our stories, assessing the story and its impact on our current life, and deciding to re-author or re-edit the story conversation” (Wimberly 2003 :26).

6.2.3 Externalization

There is a need, therefore, for those who have lost their dignity in the process of power struggle to reconnect with their former membership; this process is called re-membership. Re-membership is possible through a theory that is adopted from behavioural science called externalization. Externalization refers to a process of facing one’s pain and reflecting on the negative conversations that recruited one into a negative self-identity then assessing its impact and choosing to re-author the negatives into positives. Externalization is the ability to dig deep into the internal negative conversation and to expose it or to bring it out and face up to it in order to develop a strategy that will re-author the negative conversations into positive ones. (Wimberly 2003: 27, 28)

This can be done in a form of writing the negative story down or sharing it with someone or with a group so that all the internal negative conversations can be exposed and be dealt with in the open. The ultimate plan of externalization is to be able to privilege God conversations in order to restore ones’ sacred identity, worth and value.
6.2.4 The story of Job

Wimberly uses the book of Job to show how Job dealt with the negative conversation of his life. The first conversation that Job had to deal with was the ancient wisdom conversation which his friends and society internalised. The conversation believed that if one lives righteously it showed in one’s prosperity and, therefore, this was also a sign that God was with them. On the other hand if one was not living righteously then they would be poor and not able to provide for themselves and others; this was also a sign that God had left them as a sin they have committed. This is why the friends of Job were convinced that he must have sinned against God because of what had befallen him. Job had a choice to allow this negative conversation to recruit him in which case he would have then internalised it and walked in the shame of it leaving him worthless and valueless.

Job, however, decided to use the externalization theory in dealing with his situation. The point was not whose fault was it for Job to go through what he went through but how was he going to respond to the challenge of his situation in order for him to privilege God conversation. (Wimberly 2003:29-31)

6.2.4.1 The six steps of Job

The first process that Job applied was to externalise the conversation ancient wisdom presented. In assessing this conversation he realised that it was inadequate and he was not able to address his situation because he knew that he had done everything possible to ensure that he lived righteously.

The second step was, therefore, to totally dismiss this ancient wisdom as irrelevant for him. The third step was to consider other alternative conversations, based on the belief that God would still take care of him despite the sufferings (Job.19:25-26).

The fourth step saw a new conversation emerging out of a belief that God is still with him no matter the situation.

The fifth step was that the new conversation gave way to conversations with God, where Job felt vindicated (Job 38:1-42:6).

The sixth step was to give his new conversation a priority privilege above all other conversations.
The story of Job, therefore, helps to provide a model by which people can externalise their negative conversations and clear the way for God conversations. When applying this model of Job to the question of power struggles, the process of externalisation will have to start by facing the pain that was experienced as a result of a power struggle and all the conversations that led up to the power struggle. Then assessing the impact of the power struggle to find out what did it dismember the affected from; then dismiss the negative conversation brought by the shame and sense of worthlessness. Then move on to considering an alternative conversation which will be positive based on the belief that God will never forsake those who trust in him, despite the prevailing negative environment. It is this belief in God that will pave a way to finding a new positive conversation which will then lead into privileging a conversation with God.

### 6.3 Story sharing

Story sharing is also a model that can assist in healing those who have been wounded by a power struggle in the church and can be used as a strategy to pave a way for God conversations. Wimberly and Wimberly, share a model they used in helping pastoral families to cope with parsonage challenges. Some were rudely dismissed when the time for them to leave the parsonage had come; while others had their privacy interfered with since the parsonage was located at the church, so church members would even come in and open their refrigerators; a lack of enough time to spend with their family because of ministry was the issue for others. This exercise was therapeutic for the whole group and was a way of helping them cope with their daily challenges. (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:36)

Story sharing can be used to journey with those who are damaged through the practice of unmasking, catharsis, relating empathetically, unpacking the story and deciding the way forward. The idea is to bring together those who have encountered a power struggle and were damaged by it in a form of a support group so they can share these experiences together.

#### 6.3.1 The practice of unmasking

The practice of unmasking is the first process of story sharing which “paves the way for seeing, feeling, and thinking openly in the presence of and with the help of others.”
Opening up about a traumatic situation especially to strangers is not an easy thing to do. To assist those who may find it hard to open up, leading questions are asked that will serve as a guide to sharing one’s story.

The structure of the questions was adapted from Wimberly and Wimberly (2007:42). The idea of this line of questions was to give a logical structure to the oral sharing of the story and must not be a hindrance to the flow of the story while a person was sharing. Some people will not need a structured question because they can easily share their experiences but others may need to be guided.

6.3.1.1 The scene
The first leading question to ask the participants is for each to describe the scene or setting of the power struggle. In other words where and when did the power struggle happen? This is to enable the participants to enter the scene in their minds in order to remember the details of what transpired. It is also a way of helping them to enter the story line, getting them mentally and emotionally ready to share more details.

6.3.1.2 The problem
The second step is to invite them to introduce the problem. This is to find out what exactly happened. This is where they begin to share the events of what led to the power struggle.

6.3.1.3 The conflict
The following step is for the participant to mention the key role players in the power struggle and how they all contributed to the tension or conflict as it unfolded; what was the climax of the power struggle, outcomes or resolutions?

6.3.1.4 The plotline
Finally, they will share a plotline they are able to discern in the whole experience. A plotline is the direction that God is stirring a person to, using their challenging experience. This is where one discovers the lessons to learn from the experience, if at all one is able to be objective enough to discern God’s plotline in the whole experience. Wimberly and Wimberly (2007) use a metaphor of a wind to describe how plotlines work: “A plotline is a dynamic force pushing and pulling us towards God’s future.... God’s unfolding plotline is like the wind that blows, catches us up and takes us in the desired direction of meaning and wholeness” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:32). It is worth noting here that some participants may be so
affected by the experience that they may not be in a position to even see if there is any positive plotline God is working out.

6.3.2 The practice of inviting Catharsis

This is a process where the participants can offload the burden of what is troubling them. This is where the participants finally say everything that was bothering them and was bottled inside with no opportunity to let it out. They have an opportunity to get things ‘off their chest’ so to speak. “Whereas unmasking allows the hiddenness of our stories to come to light, catharsis is the unburdening of the heaviness that has accompanied holding on to a troubling or challenging experience or circumstance” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:43). The process of catharsis is most effective when individuals are given enough uninterrupted time to express their feelings. A safe space must be created for the individual to be free to share from the heart. There must be no intimidation whatsoever from others. When they share their stories they must not be judged nor feel the need to defend themselves. While sharing their stories they must feel: “free to sigh, moan, cry, laugh, or express freely the feelings that arise in the throes of story-sharing” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:43).

6.3.2.1 Questions to help in catharsis

The following are some of the guiding questions to assist those who may find it difficult to engage catharsis in sharing their stories:

1. Describe your feelings when you were confronted with a power struggle?
2. What thoughts accompanied your feelings? In other words, what did you want to say or do based on the feelings that you had during the power struggle?
3. What actions did you want to take immediately to do something about your feelings?
4. What actions did you actually take and what was the result of these actions?
5. How did you feel when you were finally able to express how you feel?

(Structure of questions adapted from Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:61.)

6.3.3 The practice of relating empathically (or empathetically)

The dictionary defines empathy as the ability to identify with or understand another’s situation or feelings (Dictionary of the English language: 2011). In line with this definition
the practice of relating empathetically happens in the presence of others who are not just story-telling but also story-listening. In listening to other people’s stories, the group members can identify with the story- shared. This is a sacred moment because the listeners are entrusted with the story of another and in another’s story, they can hear their own. This is therapeutic to both the story- teller and the story listeners. The story teller is experiencing therapy through catharsis while the story listeners are experiencing therapy through reflection of their own situation and identifying themselves with the other.

Empathetic connectedness happens as the group listens to one another’s stories and receives both the story- teller and their story as gifts. “Empathic connectedness means that we feel with and for one another, whereupon mutual supports build and the discovery of insights, resilience, and a way forward begin to emerge” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:44).

The mutual support that emanates from empathic connectedness demonstrated by caring for one another reveals the character and the presence of Christ among the group which creates a pathway for healing as they prepare to move into unpacking their stories.

When dealing with an individual where there are no listeners who can empathise, it is important to lead them into questions of assessing relational empathy in their experience.

6.3.3.1 Questions to ask on empathic relations

The following are questions that can be asked:

1. In your experience of being in a power struggle, were there others you could find to whom you were able to share your feelings? If yes, who were they? If no, was it a difficult thing to find people to share with your story and what made this process difficult?
2. How would you describe the responses of others with whom you shared your feelings?

(Structure of questions adapted from Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:61)

6.3.4 The practice of unpacking the story

This part refers to the beliefs and convictions (also named myths) that the individual holds to when going through a tough and challenging time like power struggle. These beliefs and
convictions are based on past tough experiences. This is what made the individual cope and survive last time and the same will make the individual survive even this time around. An example of this is when someone goes through a tough time and adamantly holds to a belief that no matter what happens they can never lack anything in their lives basing it on the Psalm of David where he says that “I have been young and now I am old, yet I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread” (Psalm37:25). Another can have a conviction that accepts everything happening in their lives as going to work out for good at the end, no matter how bad it is based on the letters of Paul when saying “All things work together for good to those who love God, to those who are called according to his purpose” (Romans 8:28). Myths can be do not have to be based on scripture, they can even be based on English prose or proverbs or just a slogan that goes around motivation circles e.g. “tough times never last but tough people do” a quote by Robert Schuller or “when the going gets tough, the tough gets going” (English Proverb).

It is also possible to have a negative myth depending on one’s upbringing and life’s experiences. The negative myth may be something like ‘Hope for the best but prepare for the worst’ (English Proverb). When someone has this kind of a myth as a general philosophy of life, then they are very pessimistic and when challenges like power struggles come, then they become crushed under that experience because they have been waiting for it. It is this kind of story that needs to be unpacked in the narrative so as to help individuals externalise negative myths and adopt positive ones.

Another type of myth is the image the individual has adopted because of societal expectation and ministry stereotyping. There are two types of stereotype pastors that were presented. One is a public image of a respectable pastor who must never show any sign of weakness but must always appear refined, enterprising and cultured. The other is a pastor who is warm, caring, and transparent who shared with others this warm relationship. Both these are images of what society perceives of a pastor and even of Christians in general.

6.3.4.1 Questions for unpacking your story

The following are the questions that can help an individual unpack their story in discovering their personal myth or the myths that have developed because of societal stereotyping:

1. How did you handle the issue of the power struggle when it broke out?
2. Did you conform or did you rebel?

3. Which stereotype did you portray? The public face which feeds people’s expectation or the private face which shows your human side?

4. Did you use your creativity in a different way to manage the situation?

5. How did this decision affect your ministry life (if a pastor) or your Christian life in general?

6. How did it affect your family and others around you?

7. What is your view of ministry or of the church, after the power struggle?

8. What beliefs or convictions did you develop after your assessment of the power struggle events e.g. ‘go along to stay along’, or ‘keep your friends close and your enemies even closer’, ‘Better settle and go, before things get worse’, ‘I will fight until my last breath’ etc.

9. What is the plotline that informs your convictions and beliefs? Is it healthy or unhealthy? Does it develop and grow you as a person and others around you or does it hinder your growth? Does it add to your ministry or does it subtract from it?

(Adapted from Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:64)

6.3.5 The practice of inviting a way forward

The way forward has to do with assessing our beliefs and convictions from where our plotline is based and aligning them with God’s plan and plotline. When we discover the plan or plotline of God to be different from our own, are we then willing to re-author, to edit and to upgrade our convictions and beliefs to fit into God’s plotline?

“The ultimate key to resilience is the linking of our story with God’s unfolding story...Our resilience comes from God behind our stories, rather than from our stories” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:49).

6.3.5.1 Questions to align your plotline with God’s plotline

In an attempt to align an individual’s plotline with that of God, the exercise is to choose a biblical character or story that best describes the personal plotline.

1. Does your plotline make room for God to act in your life in ways that give hope and direction when confronting difficult situations and expectations of others?
2. Do your beliefs and conviction make room for you to experience God’s guidance? If yes, elaborate in what way.

3. “Does this evaluation lead you to update, downgrade, discard, embrace, edit, or re-author your beliefs and convictions about how you see and respond to expectations?” (Wimberly & Wimberly 2007:65)

4. What have you learnt out of this experience that will help you to be better prepared for any such difficult challenges that may come in the future?

When this exercise of making conversation with others and with oneself has been done, it paves a way for privileging God conversations.

### 6.4 The African context

The narrative approach is strongly used in most African communities. It can be used to educate, to disciple the next generation, to solve conflict situations etc. The palaver is a system through which various matters in the African community are settled using a narrative, story-sharing approach. The palaver can be used for education as already stated but can also be used for fellowship. Another form of a palaver operates in families or clans where disputes within the family are dealt with. This family palaver is still a common practice in most indigenous settings in Africa. Palavers can also be community court systems where judgments are pronounced. Western courts have in many places in Africa replaced these traditional courts. Depending on the matter discussed, a palaver can be a closed or an open meeting. Those who sit at the palaver are elders of the community and they are the ones who legislate on all matters of concern brought to them in the community and in families. Cases can be inclusive of marriage disputes, divorce, community disputes etc.

Insights are shared by the elders through riddles; folktale and those sitting around the fire receive words of wisdom from the elders. Meetings are usually held at night when everyone is back from the fields and the cows are back in their kraals (Mucherera 2009:108-109).

“In the African context, one’s life and stories unfold within the context of community, and it is therefore acknowledged that it is within community relations that health can be achieved” (Mucherera 2009:101) The healing model therefore among Africans works better within a story-sharing approach.
6.5 General healing steps for the wounded

The first concern for the wounded must not be to wallow in self-pity, frustration and anger, or retaliation, but their primary concern must be healing. When every other thing is a priority but healing, then the wounded become self-destructive, and if they move on without proper healing, they can easily project their internal turmoil, on others and damage others too.

Greenfield suggests the following practical steps for healing the wounded.

6.5.1 Face the consequences of the abuse

Like a doctor who firstly inspects the wound before prescribing medication, the wounded must inspect the extent of the damage done because of power struggles. The damage could be inclusive of, but not limited to: betrayal, anger, loneliness, bitterness, cynicism (distrustful of people and their motives), vindictiveness, depression etc.

6.5.2 Find competent professional counselling

Where possible, one must get professional counsellors who are Christians or who have an understanding of ministry and its dynamics. It is advisable to also have spouses and in some cases children too, to attend counselling too because of collateral damage.

6.5.3 Find a support group

The role of a support group for those experiencing power struggles can never be trivialised. “Every minister, whether abused by his congregation or not, needs the insights, encouragement, and understanding of peers who are experiencing very similar challenges. No pastor should be without a peer support group. Wounded ministers especially need one” (Greenfield 2001: 184). Support groups are not only needed by pastors but they are also needed by ordinary members and other leaders in the congregation, also by family members of those affected by power struggles especially those damaged by power struggles.

6.5.4 Deal with anger constructively

One must learn to talk about anger to a confidant, preferably one who understands the challenges of ministry. Anger is dangerous when supressed because it can lead to depression. Some of the healthy ways of dealing with anger are:

• to recognise the anger you are feeling
- to decide whether what you are angry about, is worth being angry about
- to give the provoker the benefit of a doubt
- to learn ways of coming yourself down; like taking long, deep breaths, repeatedly
- to state your grievances without attacking the other person
- to learn to listen attentively to what the problem really is
- to learn to forgive

(Greenfield 2001:179-186)

6.6 Preliminary Conclusion

In this chapter we have argued that Gerkin’s shepherding model and Pollard’s positive deconstruction model need a narrative that will unpack how to journey with the victims of a power struggle and how to positively deconstruct their worldview in order to reconstruct their dignity and self-worth. The narrative hermeneutical approach through the process of making conversations with God was chosen as a healing model for the victims of a power struggle.

Furthermore the story-sharing model has been explored where the practice of unmasking, inviting catharsis, relating emphatically, unpacking the story and discerning the way forward. The African context proved how story-sharing is a preferred healing model for Africans since it is a natural way which Africans used to solve problems.

All this effort of story-sharing has a greater objective of bringing individuals who are damaged by power struggles to privilege conversations with God so that their negative internalised stories can change into positive ones.

The next chapter focuses on the findings and recommendations of the research.
CHAPTER SEVEN
Findings and recommendations

7.1 Introduction
In chapter one, research questions and objectives were set. In this chapter, the findings will show whether the research problem has been answered and the objective met. The following are the objectives of the research as set out in chapter one.

The main objective of the research is to investigate the effects of the church’s hierarchical systems and the gaps of its polity which cause power struggles and conflict that negatively affect a pastor and the congregation he/she is serving.

Specific objectives

- To discover how various denominations within the Pentecostal church are hierarchically structured.
- To examine the extent of the damage caused by hierarchical conflict
- To find a model that will therapeutically journey with the affected congregation and their pastor during and after the hierarchical conflict.
- To make pastoral recommendations that will assist Pentecostal congregations in dealing with hierarchical challenges.

The research problem was:

What is it that causes a power struggle in the hierarchy of Pentecostal churches?

- Is it the abuse of power by the pastor or the elders or the church council?
- Is it a lack of proper systems of governance in the church, perhaps there are no clear policies on lines of accountability, role playing, and boundaries?
- Is it a misinterpretation or a different interpretation of polity?
- Is it a question of dereliction of morals in the church?
- Is it financial or socioeconomic challenges within the church?

In the light of the above, the following are the findings of this study:
7.2 Findings

7.2.1 How various denominations within the Pentecostal church are hierarchically structured

Pentecostal churches do not have a uniform hierarchal structure. They can shift around from one form of structure to another.

The conclusion is that Pentecostal churches operate in a hybrid polity. Both collected data through interviews and literature review confirm that Pentecostal churches are a hybrid of various polities (Norman et al 2004:22). This kind of polity has got both positive and negative outcomes. The positive is that there are no restrictions or rigidity. A congregation can be flexible to assume the polity that best espouses their philosophy of ministry. The negative is that most of the shifting around, from one polity to the next, has not been adequately prepared for. Most church members who were in a previous system find it difficult to transition smoothly into a new polity. They still carry with them the polity of the previous system. The other challenge is that there is no proper education on the current polity chosen. There’s just an assumption that everybody is on the same page. It is this assumption that breeds atmospheres that attract conflict.

7.2.2 What it is that causes a power struggle in the hierarchy of Pentecostal churches?

7.2.2.1 Findings

In the ten categories that came out of data analysis on the cause of power struggles, five were highlighted by most participants. These are put in order of priority as:

- 7.2.1.1 Polity
- 7.2.2 Money
- 7.2.1.3 Education
- 7.2.1.4 Leadership skill
- 7.2.1.5 Maturity

7.2.2.1 Polity

Under polity there are four outcomes, set in the order of priority:
a.) A lack of use of polity although available
b.) A misinterpretation of the existing polity
c.) A change from one polity to the other
d.) A non-existent polity

a.) A lack of use of polity although available

i. There were a high number (40%) of participants who indicated that although polity was available in their congregations, it was never used. Some would use it when they were now forced by the very power struggle. The latter would not be productive because it was open to abuse and misinterpretation since it came at the time of a power struggle. Chances of an objective interpretation of polity during the power struggle were slim. Others would always listen with scepticism even if the polity was accurately interpreted.

ii. The second highest number (30%) of participants indicated that although polity was available in their congregation it was usually misinterpreted or misread. There were cases in the reviewed documents from congregations on church polity that had an overlapping function. Such clauses needed church experts to interpret them or the church as a denomination to workshop them. This was usually not easy or plausible at the time of a power struggle.

iii. This has already been touched on the first above. This point received a low input (20%) from participants. Not many congregations shifted in polity but those who did, needed a lot of undergirding because the process was not an easy one.

iv. There were cases although a very low number (10%) of participants who indicated that they did not have a church polity on power struggle. The problem with such a state of affairs was that when power struggles erupt, it could tear the church apart because of a lack any documentation that could show direction or bring correction to the chaos that sometimes prevailed in a power struggle, as seen in the ninth and tenth participant’s story.

The conclusion on this second finding is that church polity and all its related issues is a number one cause for power struggles in Pentecostal church hierarchy and must be attended to in every way possible in order to reduce such power struggles or at best be able to manage them better. Literature is lacking in this regarding, since most of it points to interpersonal relationships as a high cause of power struggles. This finding, therefore, added
to the existing body of knowledge, on power struggles in the church, with special focus on
the Pentecostal church.

7.2.2 Money (socio-economic capacity)
The use, misuse, abuse of money played a significant contribution to the power struggles in
a congregation. Money or financial resources came up at 40% of the total responses of
participants, making it the second highest. The conclusion of this finding was that money
was a tool of power and it would always feature in matters of power.
Most participants pointed to the influence of money in a power struggle, whether that
influence was positive or negative. This point also took care of the research problem
question on the socio-economic point. Literature also confirmed this assertion about
money, in a case where wealthy members of the church used their financial capacity to
sway things in their direction. Greenfield confirms such a story saying: “denominational
officials fall into this latter category of appeasement, influenced by their desire not to lose
the financial support of the congregation whose minister in under fire” (Greenfield 2001:29-30).

7.2.2.3 Education
Whereas the two findings above were no surprise in as far as they were anticipated in the
research problem questions, the aspect of education came as a surprise, hence it became an
emergent theory in the analysis of data, that was to support existing theories on power
struggles. The lack of education or the possession thereof, was one of the high (40%)
contributors and influencers in a power struggle. It shared a similar response with money,
and therefore positioned itself as an instrument of power. The conclusion on this finding
was that being educated gave one leverage in a power struggle. This was also confirmed by
literature, on power, in the work of Foucault (1980).

7.2.2.4 Leadership skill
Leadership skill was another surprise that should not be a surprise at all because there’s
always an assumption that leaders were skilled by virtue of them assuming leadership
responsibilities. This assumption however was far from the truth in reality. The responses of
participants (30%) pointed in many cases to leaders who because of lack of skill were not
able to steer the congregation in the right direction during the time of power struggles. The conclusion on this finding was that it is a leader’s responsibility to ensure that they are properly skilled and always a step ahead of others in matters of leadership including in all other challenges of leadership. Most literature on power struggles often focuses on empowering the pastor or leaders in general on leadership issues; therefore it covers the subject of leadership skills.

7.2.2.5 Maturity
The final category on causes of a power struggle, based on the data analysis, was the subject of the immaturity of most leaders whether in character, spiritually or any other way that a leader should have reached maturity. Participants (30%) alluded to the weaknesses of leaders, theirs and others, as a contributor in power struggles. The conclusion of this finding was that leadership maturity is what qualifies one to be a leader who commands great respect from both friends and foes. Literature alludes to this maturity when encouraging leaders to be resilient in challenging times of leadership.

In summarising this finding that is based on the analysis of data one can conclude that power struggles are caused by a lack of following or complying with the polity of the church, by lack of financial strength, by lack of education, by a lack of proper leadership skills and a lack of maturity in leaders.

7.3 Findings from literature
7.3.1 Power
7.3.1.1 Relational power
Relational power is a net-like power that locates everyone, in their respective positions, in relation to each other, and without competing with one another (Foucault 1980:97-98). The conclusion therefore is that relational power and not institutional power, was a preferred form of power for the church to use in managing power struggles. Relational power is more aligned to the Christian faith since Christians refer to each other as ‘brothers and sisters’, alluding to the family element of the Christian faith and God as father (sic), therefore, relational power and not institutional power was what would help the church in times of power struggles.
7.3.1.2 Productive Power

Productive power is a form of power that enhances productivity through incentives, motivation and inclusivity, instead of repressing and containing it through punishment, coercion and dominance (Hornqvist 2010:11-12; cf Veyne 2008:94). The conclusion of this finding was that, congregations undergoing power struggles must adopt productive power as a strategy of dealing with power struggles in congregations and not repressive power. The reason for this was that productive power used motivational strategies and incentives to lift people out of the negative, draining atmosphere of a power struggle to a lighter atmosphere that affirmed others despite differences of opinion.

7.3.2 Conflict

7.3.2.1 Structural conflict

Structural conflict informs us that not all conflicts are deliberate. There is a structural element outside those in conflict; that could be the cause of the conflict. The conclusion of this finding was that not all conflict was purposeful or deliberate. This was a very helpful element in resolving conflict in that it redirected the focus of those in conflict outside themselves, in order to be free from subjective thinking to objective thinking. When objectivity prevails it will be easier for quicker solutions to the conflict to be found.

7.3.2.2 Five stages of conflict

There are five stages of conflict that escalate conflict from normal, to abnormal, then to spiritual (evil), (Leas 1985:16; Haugk 1988:35. Rediger 1997:57) The conclusion of this finding is that conflict can be managed while it is still at the beginning stages before it gets to intractable levels. When these stages of conflict are known, one can quickly identify the signs of where the conflict is situated, in order to find a correct intervention strategy, before matters complicate. The ignorance on these levels of conflict could disadvantage those in conflict, who may have found themselves in a position where they could no longer salvage relationships.
7.3.2.3 Gerontocracy – African perspective

This is a way through which Africans dealt with matters of conflict using a system of elders who adjudicated over the community and all its challenges (Odegi-Awuondo 1990:46; cf Osamba 2001:37). The conclusion therefore was that there were indigenous ways of conflict resolution that were more effective than the western ways. These indigenous ways were more effective because of the unity of the community which had common values and customs. It was customary for elders to sit and adjudicate over matters of conflict. Their decision was final and was respected by all. There were binding covenants that were entered into which when bridged brought all kinds of misfortunes. This is what kept the community orderly. The African way sounded simple but effective.

7.4 Recommendations

7.4.1 Polity

7.4.1.1 Hybrid polities.

- A thorough research must be made about the desired polity, with all the pros and cons properly weighed. It is better to outsource experts who will be able to advise on the polity of choice, and if possible conduct a workshop where questions can be answered and clarity sought. This workshop or facilitation must include all critical persons or leaders who are major role players in the congregation or system of polity.

All expectations must be expressed; including reasons why there is a desire to change polity, so that the advice given may be informed by such expectations.

7.4.1.2 Unused Polity; Misinterpreted polity; Non-existent polity.

a. Each church, congregation or network/ organisation must ensure that it knows what its polity on various church issues is, including power struggles. There must be a periodic training system on church polity for all the leaders of the church. This may even be a formal training with tests or examinations in order to instil the seriousness and commitment to the polity. This will also take care of possible misinterpretations of polity.
b. Polity must always be evaluated as to whether it is still relevant to the church or does it need an upgrade. The constitution should be able to give guidance on the processes of amendments.

c. Those who do not have a church polity in general and specifically on power struggles must understand that polity is for their own protection and wellbeing as a church. They need to prioritise this as a matter of urgency.

d. It is a good exercise to study what other churches/ congregations/ organisations with a similar polity even to study the disciplines of those whose polity may be different.

7.4.1.3 Money

Leaders, especially pastors, must not allow themselves to be manipulated through money. They must be quick to discern financial manipulations from congregants. This is a spiritual matter that needs each pastor to be spiritually matured in discerning. Discussion during pastor’s or leader’s forums, can address such subjects in order to strengthen those who were weak in this area. It is good for a pastor to depend on God for provision by working with their own hands and supporting themselves financially. Total dependence on the congregation can give grounds for manipulation and control.

7.4.1.4 Education

Education is inclusive of but not limited to formal (academic) education. Pastors and leaders are encouraged to have some form of formal education especially on ministry in reputable theological institutions. For those pastors / leaders who may be illiterate or who have some form of challenge with formal education, oral tuition can be offered to them in the language and level they can understand. This will help them in being confident when they do their ministerial duties. It will encourage their congregants to take them seriously when they stand to execute their duties, especially when congregants are educated people. The higher the level of education for a pastor/ leader in the church the better the quality of ministry is likely to be. There are also other forms of education that are not formal but are equally important like attending equipping conferences for pastors/ leaders; developing a
habit of reading books on various ministry topics including those that dealt with challenges in ministry.

7.4.1.5 Leadership skills
Every pastor/leader in ministry must always sharpen themselves with leadership materials that can be very helpful in leading the church. The church must from time to time take their leaders for special leadership training seminars so they can stay abreast of cutting edge leadership material. Specialised training must also be done which deals with subjects like power struggles and how to manage them. Experts must be invited who can help pastors/leaders in proactively preparing themselves for all kinds of leadership challenges. Skilling leaders must be a continual practice of the church and leaders must not wait until a crisis arises.

7.4.1.6 Maturity
A pastor/leader must seek to be holistically matured. There must be a genuine desire to grow and be a better person in all areas of life. There are many habits a leader/pastor will have to develop in order to keep growing and maturing. Some of the best ways to maturity is to study the lives of other leaders/pastors who were already ahead in maturity. If it is possible, one could even ask to be mentored by them. Having a mentor who will hold one accountable in ministry is one of the ways one can quickly mature.

7.5 Recommendation based on Literature
7.5.1 Relational Power
To conduct a series of teachings on the concept of the church as a family, and God as a father (sic) over that family; to allocate everyone in the family in their position; to teach and discuss on the role of spiritual leaders in the congregation and where they fit in the family dynamic, in accordance with an espoused church polity. To explore how families should handle conflict, disagreements, power struggles etc. to invite guest speakers who will address the church on the biblical concept of a family. Coupled with the teaching, organise family outings, picnics, fun days or whatever will
foster this relational power in the congregation. When relational power is prevalent, institutional power will be properly managed.

7.5.1 Productive power
Identify things that the church/congregation holds with high esteem, then adopt them as the values of the church in a strategy crafting workshop. If a rule/law becomes a value, which everybody in the church embraces, that law becomes part of the culture of the church when rehearsed over and over again and it will be defended by all. Use incentives to motivate those who do well in the congregation including the leaders around the pastor. When people are celebrated, they pull down their defences and commit to the vision. Try to be as inclusive as possible in terms of church participation including members who are not so consistent. When people feel welcomed and included despite their imperfections, they become committed to the vision completely because they feel valued.

7.5.2 Structural conflict
A workshop that teaches on how to handle conflict so that one can learn to deal with what the problem is and not who the problem is. If people are taught as a way of skilling them on conflict resolution and on techniques of handling conflict, they will exercise that technique in all areas of life. When potential conflicts start they are able to handle them with much confidence. Being proactive on such matters of power struggles would save a church a lot of sleepless nights.

7.5.3 Five stages of conflict
A workshop must be conducted as a training session on conflict. Congregants, leaders and the pastor must be empowered by knowing how to identify the different stages of conflict. When conflict is still at the early stages it can be handled and settled.

7.5.4 Gerontocracy (The African perspective)
Church elders or a group of chosen senior, matured congregants can be trained and set to deal with day to day disputes of the congregants. They must be trained that
they carry authority and therefore they must be careful what they say. That God will back up their words of advice, correction and rebuke. They are the ones who will be available if there are disputes in the church. The congregation and these elders need be taught that the collective is better than an individual, therefore, the words that the elders carry represent the view and opinions of a collective. This African approach will lead to seeking reconciliation among the parties who have wronged each other and not seek to judge who is right or wrong.

7.6 Recommendations for further research

Given the nature of Pentecostal churches whose focus is more on the person and the work of the Holy Spirit than on the institutional church; the following questions come to mind:

7.6.1 What is the importance of church polity in Pentecostal churches?
7.6.2 What causes congregations with a track record of terminating pastors’ services, to continue this habit and not recover from it?
7.6.3 Are church splits, the work of the hand of God?
7.6.4 What is it that validates one’s calling in ministry, is it education or the anointing?
7.6.5 How can the damage caused by succession plans in independent churches be minimised?

7.7 General Comments

In the light of this research the following general observations have been made in the context of Pentecostal churches:

1. On Polity
   A. There is no better, more accurate, or more biblically aligned polity which will suit every church. What matters is how the people handle whatever polity they subscribe to. Their attitudes towards that polity, is what will determine whether that polity will be suitable for them or not.
   B. Opportunists who use loopholes or gaps in polity to advance their own interest will always be there especially within the Pentecostal circles where polity matters are not that rigid. The best things is to continue using teaching and revising the polity so that all are familiar with the right way of interpretation.
C. Polities are man-made systems of governance that ought to be evaluated with every passing generation. What used to work in the eighteenth century may no longer be relevant in the twenty-first century. Polities therefore, must undergo revision and updates. The only polities that may not be able to change are those that are based on fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith.

D. Each church must find out which polity is suitable for where they are in ministry and for what they are called by God to do. When the church is comfortable with a particular polity, they must be willing to understand those who may no longer feel adequately served by that polity. The church can either choose to adjust certain things in their polity, if most people are affected by it, as long as it does not challenge the fundamental doctrines of the church. The church may also choose not to change anything in their polity but rather excuse those who wish to go where their polity needs will be met. Maturity in all these matters must be primary.

2. On power struggle or conflict

A. The African perspective of a gerontocracy that arbitrates over the affairs of the community and backed up by the community, is a concept that must be revisited with the interest of solving the problem of power struggles in society.

B. Covenant meals that were eaten by all, after the elders have arbitrated, in the presence of all, on a power struggle matter, were contracts that were entered into, with serious consequences if bridged, and with a great blessing if complied with. This is something the church can try, especially in light of its understanding of the spiritual authority that has been given to the leadership. The covenant meal given to the church by Christ carries more spiritual authority and can be used as a seal to settle disputes after arbitration has been made by the church elders. In the same way as in the African tradition, those who do not comply with the decision made in the arbitration will suffer the consequences of isolation by the community let alone other spiritual forces that could befall them when they have been ‘handed over to anathema’ in the words of Paul the Apostle (Galatians 1:8)
### APPENDIX A

Data Summary Table: Table adapted from Bloomberg and Volpe (2012:265)

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|          | 13(65%) | 8(40%) | 8(40%) | 6(30%) | 6(30%) | 5(25%) | 5(25%) | 5(25%) | 3(15%) | 3(15%) |

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REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT FOR A MASTER OF ARTS (MA) THEOLOGY DEGREE

You are earnestly requested to participate in a research project that is undertaken as a requirement for MA degree with the University of Pretoria under the supervision of Professor MJ Masango.

The thesis title is:

**A pastoral perspective on the challenge of hierarchy in Pentecostal churches**

The general objective of this study is to investigate the causes of power struggles in Pentecostal congregations with an aim of finding a pastoral care model that will assist congregations struggling with power-based conflict.

The study has two phases, namely:
1. Review of Literature
2. Empirical Research done by way of interviews.

It is with the latter phase of the study that your participation is requested. This will involve an interview with you.

The duration of the interview is estimated to be between 45 to 60 minutes. You are assured that all your personal experience or inputs obtained will be treated with utmost care to maintain confidentiality. In the final report your name will not be divulged to ensure anonymity. You are also assured that efforts will be taken to ensure that all the ethical obligations and considerations will be adhered to. Participation in this research is voluntary. Should you in due course decide to withdraw your participation at any time, you are free to do so.

Kind Regards

Name of participant ........................................

Mr. Matshobane M.M.  Signature......................... Date............................

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APPENDIX C

The Letter of Consent

University of Pretoria
Faculty of Theology
Lynnwood Road
Hatfield
0083
01 July 2016

Researcher’s name: Matshobane MM

Contact Details : 0835715177

Student number : 13416449

Title of the Study:

A pastoral perspective on the challenge of hierarchy in Pentecostal churches

This serves to confirm that I............................ agree to be interviewed by the researcher for the purpose of the study he is conducting. The purpose of the study was explained to me thoroughly. I am aware that my participation is voluntary and I am assured anonymity and confidentiality. The researcher will use fictitious name when referring to me and the information is treated as confidential.

Signed at ...........................................on this........day of ....................... 2016.

Participant’s signature.................................

Researcher’s signature...............................
APPENDIX D

Questionnaire

Name of participant (fictitious name)

Name____________________________________________

Address (optional)_____________________________________________________

Age ______ Gender _______ Marital Status _______

Occupation______________________________ Employer _____________________

High Standard of Education _________________ Tertiary Education _________________

Purpose of the questionnaire: To get the participants to share experiences in their own words.

Interview questions to: Church regional leaders; Pastors; Elders/Deacons and Congregants.

There are nine research questions that were posed to participants.

1. Have you ever experienced a power struggle in the hierarchy of the church? Please share your experience.

2. What were the reasons that caused the power struggle?

3. What was the damage caused by the power struggle?

4. What role did church polity play in addressing the power struggle?

5. Was the church polity correctly interpreted and applied? Please elaborate.

6. Where does power lie in the hierarchy of the congregation?

7. Given a second chance, what would you do differently to avoid the power struggle?

8. What could the parties have done to avoid the power struggle?

9. Is there any other reflection on this issue that you would like to share?
Bibliography


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198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. 10016


Commack, New York.


