"GODLY MANHOOD": EVANGELICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITIES IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT – A CASE STUDY OF THE MIGHTY MEN'S CONFERENCE (MMC)

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DECLARATION

This study was undertaken at the School of Religion Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg in South Africa.

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically indicated in the text, is my unaided work and has not been presented at any other institution of higher learning. It is hereby submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Systematic theology), in the School of Religion Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, South Africa.
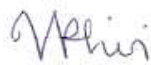
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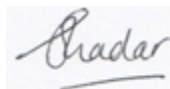
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EDITING CERTIFICATION

We the undersigned declare that we have abided by the language editing policy of the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics in the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal. We also declare that earlier forms of this dissertation have been retained should they be required.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work, first, to my grandfather, Owino Owende, the first and only father figure I knew and learnt from. Thank you for teaching me some top-secrets of loving God and working hard as the very initial steps to becoming a man. You made me know that a 'man' is not what he has but who he is. *Papa* I know this work could have brought you great joy unspeakable. You will always be cherished and deeply remembered.

Second, I dedicate this work to the hundreds of thousands of Christian men whose quest is to become "godly men." May Christ's love, compassion, self-emptying and servanthood be the measure of your lives as you seek to make sense of your masculine self; a process of becoming redemptive and liberating agents.

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ABSTRACT

Men and masculinity studies is a significantly developed field of research in Western scholarship and has gained increased interest in Africa, particularly in South(ern) Africa. This study: *"Godly Manhood": Evangelical Constructions of Masculinities in A South African Context – A Case Study of the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC)* is one that seeks to make a contribution in this field of research from a religion (Christian theological) and gender perspective.

The study investigates how faith discourses within the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC) shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant (mainly, Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity) in post-apartheid South Africa. The study sought to analyse the extent to which Angus Buchan and the MMC's call for men to return to 'godly manhood' either re-inscribe patriarchal conservatism or contribute towards gender-social transformation. In seeking to examine what it means to be 'Mighty Men' and "godly men," the study illustrates how faith discourses within the MMC as a Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal religious grouping inform representations of masculinities. As the study reveals, Charismatic Evangelical theology, beliefs, and gender traditions/ideologies presented by Buchan in his MMC informs perceptions of what is understood as an 'ideal' Christian man. These, as the study shows, influence constructions of masculinities achetyped in patterns of 'godly manhood' as a process of "recreating Christian masculinity."

The study applied drawing on intersectionality as a conceptual framework. The study showed how religion intersects with other socio-cultural, political and economic factors that necessitate changes as Christian men seek to make sense of their masculine self at the cross-roads of various socialisations. Such changes seem to contribute to representations of emerging masculinities within this context of study. The study adopted a qualitative, multi-methods research design and in addition to my personal observations from the conferences, semi-structured interviews were conducted with thirty four men who have been attending the MMC. Analysis of findings reveals that there are multiple representations and constructions of contradictory and conflicting representations of masculinities within divergent voices of what it means to be 'Mighty Men' and practice 'godly manhood.' Although certain core commonalities regarding the concept of 'godly

manhood' emerged from the thirty four men interviewed across the three shades of conservative, Charismatic and Pentecostal Evangelicals, this study makes two important conclusions.

First, it indicates that ascriptions to "godly manhood" inculcated by Buchan and the MMC not only portray patterns of traditional and conventional masculinities, but also remain a patriarchal motivation for restoring Christian male supremacy, control and domination. Second, the study illustrates that while Charismatic Evangelical men have a desire to change, their ascription to 'godly manhood' is characterized by struggle between traditional/conventional male practices and a need to embrace egalitarian views of gender relations. Such results indicate the extent to which contemporary Charismatic and Evangelical Christianity portray expressions of masculinities which are ambivalent.

The study concludes questioning whether Jesus Christ can be a resource for transforming religiously constructed masculinities. The study proposes alternative Christological discourses as counter-models to traditional and patriarchal masculinities.

A NOTE ON KEY TERMS AND IMPORTANT DEFINITIONS

Key terms: *Angus Buchan, Masculinity, 'Mighty Men,' Faith discourse, Mighty Men's Conference, 'godly manhood,' Charismatic, Evangelical Christianity, Pentecostal, Jesus Christ, Culture, Religion, Socio-political, South Africa, Context, Intersectionality, Feminism, gender, God's design, Divine order, Crisis, post-apartheid, headship, Prophet, Priest, King, Male leadership, Perceptions, Representations, Constructions, Masculinism, Response, Alternative masculinity, Christology, Control, Domination, Supremacy, Counter-models, Male status, Patriarchy, Performing masculinity, Responsible men, Manhood and Maleness.*

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AEC   African Evangelical Church

AEAM   Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar

AFM   Apostolic Faith Mission

ANC   African National Congress

AOG   Assemblies of God

CBE   Christian for Biblical Equality

CBMW   Council of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood

CET   Conservative Evangelical Tradition

ChET   Charismatic Evangelical Tradition

CODESRIA Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa

EFMA   Evangelical Foreign Missions Association

EWC   Evangelical Women's Caucus

FGC   Full Gospel Church of God

GC   Gender Commission

HRRSA   Human Rights and Repression in South Africa

IFMA   International Foreign Missions Association

MMC   Mighty Men's Conference

CEPC   Charismatic Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity

PAC   Pan African Congress of Azania

PET   Pentecostals Evangelical tradition

RET   Reformed Evangelical Tradition

SADF	South African Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Services
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
WEU	Women Empowerment Unit in Parliament

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING AND LOCATING THE STUDY

"Stand up and fight: Be a Man" (*Angus Ordinary People,* 2012).

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore how faith discourses within the Mighty Men's Conference (*hereafter* MMC), shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant (mainly, Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity[1]) (*hereafter* CENPC) in post-apartheid South Africa. The aim is to assess the extent these constructions of masculinities either re-inscribe patriarchal oppression or contribute towards gender-social transformation?

The objective of this chapter therefore is to broadly introduce the study by sketching the background and context of the study; locating the study within broader studies and thereby providing a rationale for this study as well as delineating the critical questions and objectives.

1.1. Background and Context

The MMC arose in the early 2000's and reached its climax in 2010 when it was decided to decentralise its gathering (conference) to enable the "conference" to take place in various cities across South Africa and in smaller gatherings as opposed to the massive annual meeting in Greytown. The movement began in a small town named Greytown as an initiative by Angus Buchan,[2] a South African farmer of Scottish descent who later

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[1] While the MMC is perceived to be a movement of mainly Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal men, my research shows that the MMC appeals to men across denominations and the MMC has a following that is quite varied denominationally.

[2] Angus Buchan was born in 1947 in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe to Scottish parents. At the age of six his family moved to the Copperbelt in Zambia where he completed his schooling. Important to note is that due to political, social and economic unrest that Zambia was experiencing, Buchan sold his farm and moved to

became a Charismatic evangelist/preacher (Buchan 2012; Shalom Ministries 2012). The first Mighty Men's Conference and all its subsequent gatherings were held at Buchan's Shalom Farm, a viable agricultural farm situated in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, in South Africa (Buchan 2012; Shalom Ministries 2012). The beginnings of the MMC took place in 2004 as an informal men's get-together with 240 men attending. The movement saw unprecedented growth with 600 men attending in 2005; 1, 060 in 2006; 7, 500 in 2007; 60, 000 plus in 2008; 200, 000 delegates in 2009 and as Buchan claims, "acres of men" (600, 000 plus) in 2010" (Buchan 2012: 12-52), becoming one of the largest Christian men's movement of its kind.

Buchan is a "family man," a husband to Jill Buchan, a father of five, with nine grandchildren. He speaks of having not come from a perfect Christian background but a secure background, with his father as a man's man and his mother a very feminine woman. Speaking of his wife Buchan states:

> I'm so grateful to God that I don't have to compete with my wife Jill. She is a very feminine lady, an excellent cook, a wonderful housekeeper, mother and grandmother. I have been privileged that it was not necessary for her to work from the day we got married. I said on our wedding day, 'you will not work unless obviously it's absolutely a case of life and death.' If we have to eat maize meal and sour milk, then that's what we'll eat, but I want you to be at home bringing up our children (2012:214).

This traditional model of household governance is claimed by Buchan to be *the* 'biblical model' for all Christian families. This is even more vivid as he speaks of his sons: "I thank God my children were brought up according to God's word. The boys were brought up to be men. They were disciplined and received a good hiding for doing things that were out of line..." (Buchan 2012). Buchan's general concern is therefore the need for men to see him as an example and become responsible 'godly men.'

Based on his own story of faith in God, Buchan's bestselling autobiography, *Faith like Potatoes* (first published in 1998 with three reprints so far) brought him international recognition where he majorly demonstrates his struggles as a family man. In 2006, Buchan's award winning film with the same title was produced as a fifty four minute documentary about his life (Joy Magazine 2006). A critical look at this book and film

South Africa with his family in 1978. (Buchan 2012; Shalom Ministries, <http://www.shalomtrust.co.za> [Accessed 10 June 2012].

constantly emphasises the phrase "God's intention for men," which for Buchan as a good Charismatic Christian is realised when men "adhere to God's call." However, Buchan's story on his involvement with the men's movement is established in his latest publication: *The Mighty Men's Journey* (2012) where he narrates the proceedings of the MMC in the last decade. As an Evangelical phenomenon with shades of Conservative, Charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity,[3] the Mighty Men has attracted hundreds of thousands of men from South Africa and even from outside of South Africa. The thronging of men to the MMC can be attributed to at least three factors: a) A Perceived Crisis in Masculinity; b) A Changed Political Context; and c) The Need for more Responsible Men. I will discuss each of these in turn below:

1.1.1. Perceived Crisis in Masculinity

Speaking on the genesis of the MMC, Buchan asserts that God told him:

> I want you to mentor young men. There are very few spiritual fathers in our nation and the world…Young men are desperately seeking role models and mentors. ... I recently saw again how young men have reached a stage in their lives where they don't know what they, as men, are supposed to do. Society has broken the man down so much that he is not sure how far to go or what he needs to do to lead his household. That is the whole gist of the term "Mighty Men." (2012:17-18).

The main supporting factor to Buchan's MMC is the notion that men are in crisis. The lack of fathers and especially spiritual fathers/mentors, lack of leadership in homes and the effect of societal pressure emerges as central concerns in Buchan's faith discourses on masculinity. Hence, Buchan (2012) claims that "God told him" to address the crisis of masculinity among Christian men.

Buchan's position alludes to an essentialist biblical position that seems to urge men to return to their "lost" position of authority over the household as divinely ordained by God. Buchan's pre-occupation with traditional forms of patriarchal masculinity evident in the above, justifies an inquiry into what underlies understandings of masculinity

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[3] The tenets of evangelicalism are discussed in Chapter Five. However, the MMC as a movement confessionally adheres to Characteristics of Evangelical Christianity as clearly stated in their published Statement of Faith. See <http://www.shalomtrust.co.za/inside-shalom/angus-buchan-biography/77-statement-of-faith/> [Accessed 11 April 2013].

among the MMC and Buchan's "godly manhood." On the surface it seems that the movement is aimed at countering the fears of "male-feminization" and seeks to reassert biblical manhood and conservative ideologies of masculinity. Michael Messner (1993, 1997) has categorised such men's movements as an "essentialist retreat" from gender changes. At the heart of this plea to men lies the belief that men have been "feminized." As a result, men are called to retreat so that they can collectively recapture a lost or strayed 'true manhood.' This manhood has been lost due to varying factors not least of all, influenced by political factors.

The advent of democracy seemed to envision the founding of a new era in South African history and with it, the formation of new masculinities. In this regard, Liz Walker (2005:227-228) and Malose Langa (2012:84) have pointed out a wide range of issues that required attention in establishing a new democratically-governed South Africa. They cite several crucial concerns as priorities in the list of the democratically-elected South African government. Among the constitutional and legislative changes that required legislative amendments were laws and enactments aimed at reducing inequalities that previously separated women and men; the need to shift from a male-dominated patriarchal society to a new social order marked by the principle of equality for all; the establishment of State institutions such as the Gender Commission and Women Empowerment Unit in parliament; special efforts in identifying the need for educating female children; the constitutional mandate to protect, promote and monitor gender equality; protecting the rights of women and children against rape and marital rape;[4] and the government's overarching commitment to create job opportunities for women.

With the implementation of the above concerns, research has shown that there has been some shift in gender power relations in post-Apartheid South Africa (Morrell 2001b; Walker 2005; Langa 2012; Morrell *et al.* 2012). Langa (2012) argues that the current social and economic conditions in South Africa make it difficult for many men to achieve 'complete' masculinity as evidenced in securing jobs, marrying, fathering children or establishing their own households. The question arising from this observation is whether the enactment of the post-Apartheid National Constitution and related labour legislation has made gender relations in South Africa any better? Further and important to this

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[4] Some of these include the Domestic Violence Act of 116 1998 (Act No. 116 of 1998) and the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Act 32 of 2007 all aimed at reducing the high level of domestic and sexual abuse.

research is the need to assess the impact such legislative changes have had on men and perceptions of masculinities.

Walker (2005) further argues that the transition to democracy has precipitated a "crisis of masculinity" where orthodox notions of masculinity are being challenged and new versions of masculinity are emerging in their place. Can this crisis in masculinity be portrayed as an outworking of gender changes as men seek to redefine their masculine identities in the context of social and economic shifts in the process of political transitions? Having its roots in a number of social phenomena, including the collapse of traditional man's work, the growth of technological culture, the rise of feminist consciousness among women and the dominance of the idealised forms of masculinity, Stephen Frosh *et al* (2002 in Walker 2005:226) contend that a crisis of masculinity is characterised by instability and uncertainty over social roles and identities, sexuality, work and personal relationships. In such situations, traditional roles normally specified for men as head of homes, providers and protectors are bound to be subject to both challenge and change.

In South Africa, the nature of the crisis in contemporary masculinities seems to be aggravated by the political and socio-economic transition in gender and power relations embodied in constitutional changes and labour legislation at varying levels. Commenting on this Walker states:

> Being a man in post-Apartheid South Africa is of necessity different yet, the present does not represent a complete break with the past. Rather, current models and practices of manhood are historically embedded. The crisis of masculinity in contemporary South Africa may therefore be different but it is certainly not new (2005:227).

In the light of Walker's contention, the nature of the crisis in masculinity is detrimental and seems to take on various dimensions. Recent research indicates that violent masculinities of the past have if anything, become more violent in the present (Walker 2005:228). As observed by Thokozani Xaba (2001:7), these are predominantly informed by the 'heroic struggle masculinity' of the 1980s in the current contexts of unemployment. According to Robert Morrell (2001b:10), the major features of the crisis in masculinity takes note of a generation of children growing up without fathers and that the rise of women in the workplace has taken jobs from men and thereby eroded male

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authority. Other issues illustrative of the crisis currently present in South Africa ranges from men, HIV and AIDS; increased gender-based and domestic violence, sexual assault, increase in the incidents of robbery and murder, increase in child and infant abuse and rape, and finally, unemployment among men (see Walker 2005; Morrell *et al.* 2012; Langa 2012; Partab 2012).

In relation to these observations, Morrell *et al.* (2012:13-14) contend that Apartheid left South Africa with an unusual family structural pattern where forty percent of households are female headed. In most cases, fathers often have little or no role in the upbringing of their children.[5] Relatively speaking, the high level of violence in South Africa indicates that the overwhelming majority of victims are men, killed by other men (Morrell *et al.* 2012:14).[6] This does not mean that violence by men against women has reduced. Female homicide rates is high in South Africa and are six times higher than the rate worldwide where at least half of female victims are killed by their male intimate partners (see Abrahams *et al.* 2009 cited in Morrell *et al.* 2012:15). Fifty-five thousand rapes of women and girls are reported to the police every year (SAPS 2006/2009). In a population based survey, twenty-eight percent of men interviewed disclosed as having committed rape (Morrell *et al.* 2012). I contend that the urgency required in dealing with violence requires alternative definitions and images of what constitutes ideal masculine identity. As long as aggression, toughness and fearlessness remain central in cultural and popular portrayals of being a man, then violence is inescapable because the society's definition of masculinity and femininity are being constantly contrasted.

Additionally, research has shown that South Africa is also rated as one of the countries with the highest number of people living with HIV numbering some 5.2 million (Morrell *et al.* 2012), and the pandemic is highly gendered, with the majority being African women. It is believed that men who perpetrate partner violence are more likely to be HIV infected (Jewkes *et al.* 2011 in Morrell *et al* 2012). In general, the impact of HIV and AIDS is still on the increase on the basis that men seem to make choices based on ideals of masculinity which result in risky sexual behaviours. This, in the context of HIV and

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[5] In 1993, thirty-six percent of children had absent (living) fathers and fifty-seven percent had fathers who were present. By 2002, the proposition of children with absent (living) fathers had gone up to forty-six percent, while the proposition of present fathers had dropped to thirty-nine percent (Morrell *et al.* 2012).

[6] According to SAPS (2013), the current level of murder rates sits at 38.6 per 100,000 populations, being more than four times the global average. It is also argued that between 1995 and 2009, the total prison population increased by 33%. Of the total prison population, 98% of prisoners are male (SAIRR 2010).

AIDS remains detrimental to men's health and that of their partners.

In relation to the crisis in masculinity in South(ern) Africa, it is therefore important to examine further how men have responded to social, political and economic shifts that have brought changes in gender power relations. In using Raewyn Connell's work, Morrell (2001b:10, 30-35) has highlighted three categories of responses that men in South Africa adopt while negotiating gender relations; (i) reactive or defensive response, (ii) accommodating response, and (iii) responsive or progressive response. In his later work, Morrell (2002:2) further draws from Messner's work on the men's movement in the United States by identifying how men respond to the crisis of masculinity, and highlights similar responses to those derived from Connell's work. The three categories of these responses that Morrell cites are: (i) men who seek to protect their privilege, (ii) those who respond to a crisis of masculinity, and (iii) those who fight for gender justice. I will discuss these three categories later in the thesis when examining how the Mighty Men's movement responds to some experiences of the transition as a religious grouping.

As part of the response on issues dealing with crisis of masculinity, scholars in the field of men and masculinity have shown an increased interest in research that seeks to engage and interrogate diverse forms of masculinities. This is evident through the vigorous emphasis that has been noted emerging in this field of research. A preliminary review of the literature will be presented a little later in this chapter.

1.1.2   The Post-Apartheid Political Context

In studying constructions of masculinities in South Africa, one must not underestimate the influence and effects of the previous Apartheid State and its systems. This is particularly informative to my research. As Morrell (2001b:22) suggests, Apartheid South Africa was a man's country. It is further established that the present day socio-political landscape of the country is a clear product of its colonial and apartheid past (Morrell *et al* 2012:14). Clearly as observed by Morrell *et al* (2012), from the start of the European settlement in 1952, the country's history has been marked by a brutal, violent, struggle over land, with forcible dispossession of the indigenous population. Therefore, it is evident that power was exercised publically and politically by men. In black and white

families, men held power, made decisions and earned the money.

Although men were in control and held authoritative power, not all groups of men were equal in status and the use of power by men varied depending on race and class. With the creation of a race-based hierarchy, white men assumed superiority over black people[7] groups. Morrell (2001b:22) for example observes that for black men, the harshness of life on the edge of poverty and the emasculation of political powerlessness gave their masculinity a dangerous edge. Notably therefore, the State, among other contending ideologies in South Africa, remained the most powerful institution that influenced the formation of gender and organisation of power among its citizens. The Apartheid State[8] in this case, achieved its purpose through its policies of segregation by imposing race and class categories, which resulted in various perceptions and patterns of masculinities. Echoing this is Newton Brandt (2006:44) showing that there remains little doubt that the imposition of Apartheid provided the dominant ideology of masculinity.

Buchan's call for a "return" to 'Godly manhood' cannot be separated from the post-apartheid political context within which such a call is made, especially in a post-1994-apartheid South Africa. Also important to consider are the shifting gender relations since then, with possible effects on men and ideals of masculinity among Charismatic Evangelical men. With this said, one striking aspect of the MMC is its demographics. The MMC seems to attract predominantly (80%) white South African Afrikaans and English speaking men. Buchan has also made an impression on black, Indian and coloured

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[7] The term 'black' (at times used interchangeably with 'African') used in this chapter refers to a combination of black, Coloured and Indian racial groups based on the understanding of race classifications in South Africa. According to van Jaarsveld (cited in Fourie 2008:247), the old *Voortrekkers'* perception of black people was generally negative—they were portrayed as barbarous, predacious, bloodthirsty and treacherous and in addition, God willed that the children of Ham should remain cursed eternally, as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

[8] Geoffrey Cronjé has been described as the most important formulator of apartheid policy. Based on complete racial segregation, apartheid was a systematic and exhaustive policy meant to solve the race problem 'forever' and ensure a home for future generations of white South Africans (Fourie 2008:247). Cronjé's justified the complete racial segregation based on the biological differences between the races, as a means of preventing miscegenation (a form of maintaining racial purity) which was not only contrary to the idea of an Afrikaner nation, but also against the will of God. An important aspect of Afrikaner nationalism argues Fourie (2008:249), was the theological justification that it is God's will that nations should live apart and maintain their group identity. The Human Rights and Repression in South Africa (HRRSA 1989:6) shows how under Apartheid, white theologians manipulated the Bible and Christian teaching to affirm the ideological interpretations that underpinned white segregationist worldviews and belief structures, thereby ensuring that life was considered sacred only for whites, the rest of humanity being annihilated to boost white conditions of life (see also Brandt (2006). To be an Afrikaner was to be a Christian, resulting in the concept of Afrikaner Christian nationalism. Among the racist policies (See Langa 2011:77), were the rigid Group Areas Act, (i.e., the physical and geographical segregation of racial groups); the Bantu Education Act, class, and resource inequalities, among many others.

communities which comprise the remaining 20% of its attendance. But, given the demographics of the country, the MMC is clearly most attractive to White men.[9] In his article: *Inside the Mighty (mainly white) Men's Conference,* Nicolas Brulliard points out that:

> By urging them to surrender their life to Jesus and by promoting the importance of their role as the heads of their families, Buchan provides white males with the order and structure some crave in a rapidly changing South Africa. Many have been church-goers but have been captivated by Buchan's message specially directed at them, telling them they can be Mighty Men (May 30th 2010, GlobalPost Stories).

In a rapidly changing and transitional society such as South Africa, Morrell (2001:7) stresses the need to address the challenge of identifying what forces operate to effect changes in masculinity; as well as when, where and how such changes occur and what their effects possibly are. Similarly, Raewyn Connell (1995:29, 30) argues that, "To understand masculinity historically we must study changes in social relations;" masculinity is being produced as a cultural form in an interplay between changing social relations [and realities—*my addition*]; and this interplay is nurtured as a strategic response to a given situation."

Within this socio-political context, the need for responsible men also emerges, and this is a third focus of Buchan's MMC.

1.1.3   The Need for "Responsible" Men

The MMC puts forward its main purpose as a movement raising responsible men. The central aim for the MMC, according to Buchan, has been to make a call that men should take their "rightful" position in their homes, communities and in their work place. Buchan asserts his ideal of what responsible men will yield:

> Dad protecting and loving his wife, mom loving her husband and looking after her husband and children. The children are well-mannered, obeying their parents, totally secure because dad has taken up his responsibility as prophet, priest and king in the home (2012:187).

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[9] The population distribution by race indicate the population of South Africa totals to 50.58 million comprising of 79.5 Black, 9.0 Coloured, 2.5 Indian or Asian and 9.0 White (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

Buchan further promotes, reaffirms and defends gender traditionalism stating:

> God raised each man up and gave him the genes to be the head of his house, not *over* his house, but *of* his house. ... Men were created by God to watch over their wives and children. They were given the broad shoulders to carry the load and lead. A woman has a very special role at the heart of the home. Behind every great man is a woman. ... (But), the devil is hell-bent on breaking down man's masculinity. He wants men to be unsure of who they are and what they're supposed to do (2012:180, 187)

To summarise, Angus Buchan (2012:161-162) has asserted that the MMC phenomenon is a 'God phenomenon' where "God is calling His [sic] men back to Himself from every denomination, every class, race and creed, every age group, and He's calling them together to spend good quality time in His presence." Buchan further contends:

> The Lord is restoring man's masculinity. When men start to hear what God can do through nobodies … A completely different paradigm shift takes place and happens especially in the midst of multitudes of men. Men start to realise again what they have been created for and why they are on this earth (2012:166).

Such calls for a "return to God," and responsibility where God is to restore men's masculinities are often packaged by Buchan in the form of 'spiritual campaigns' where men are urged to adhere to 'godly manhood' patterned for men. These calls towards a 'return to God' therefore employ "faith discourses"[10] which envision alternative kinds of men. Hence, such faith discourses remain a foundational motivation upon which Buchan and his MMC seek to 'recreate Christian masculinity.' How are these discourses taken up and to what extent do these discourses hold potential for transformative change? This is what this thesis intends to engage with.

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[10] Charismatic, Evangelical Christianity use popular Christian notions about maleness to proliferate faith discourses as factual claims. Faith discourses geared towards men are often presented as teachings or motivational talks at pulpits and also often found in Christian self-help books for men. Most faith discourses postulate that something is crucially wrong with Christian men and that men have lost their traditional role or what makes a real man (see for example TD Jakes 1997, Cole 1982, Munroe 2001, McCullough 2008 and Buchan 2012). Faith discourses on Christian ideals of masculinity among Charismatic, Evangelicals echo the melancholy of 'lost maleness' and is similar to notions portrayed in mythopoetic men's movements. Inspired predominantly by poet Robert Bly, writings in mythopoetic work encourage men to long at the mythical past in order to 'return' and find models for contemporary manhood. Bly (1990) argues that men must reclaim their religio-cultural heritage which has been destroyed by modern society especially where young males are strangely attached to the world of women. A search for deep masculinity is needed (see Bly 1990; see also Kimmel 1995; van der watt 2007).

1.   Preliminary Literature Review

Peter Middleton (1992:152) makes an important inquiry asking: "Is masculinity a discourse, power structure, an ideology, an identity, a behaviour, a value system or all these?" This inquiry compels a definition of what scholars mean by masculinity.

1.2.1   Defining Masculinity

Pamela Attwell (2002) notes that the terms "masculinity" and "masculinities" are constantly employed in literature relating to men undertaking academic work on men and gender, but also widely employed in popular accounts of men (see McMahon 1993:675). As its earlier scholars have highlighted, defining masculinity is difficult (see Clatterbaugh 1990, 1998; Connell 1995; Attwell 2002; Fournier and Smith 2006; Langa 2012), mainly because the question that arises is: What constitutes masculinity? In fact, others have pointed out that the term "masculinity" is seldom defined (see McMahon 1993). Langa (2011:29) therefore observes that the definition of what makes a man is often taken for granted and masculinity is assumed to be something inborn and natural. The difficulty in defining masculinity therefore is well captured by Clatterbaugh's caution stating:

> Masculinities are not like the numbers of shoes in a gathering... their kinds (pumps, loafers, etc) are not apparent. There are no ready criteria that allow us to identify masculinities... It may well be the best kept secret of the literature on masculinity that we have an extremely ill-defined idea of what we are talking about (1990:27).

To put this succinctly, what we mean by 'masculinity' has been problematised[11] by some theorists. What remains constant, however, in almost all definitions is that the term masculinity refers to a specific gender identity belonging to individuals who have specific experiences of what it means (in terms of feeling, thinking and behaving) to be a biologically male person.[12] According to John Beynon (2002:56), masculinity is viewed as a set of practices, into which individual men are inserted with reference to upbringing,

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[11]See Clatterbaugh (1998); Fournier and Smith (2006) who indicate the various ways in which the usefulness of the very concept of 'masculinity' has been challenged. They point on how it's loose and slippery usage could result in confusion especially when it has come to refer to many different things (e.g. cultural images, every day practices, institutional structure etc). Instead, they have suggested refocusing critical studies of men on 'men's practices' rather than masculinity.
[12] See Morrell (2001a), Connell (2000) and Whitehead (2002).

family, location, work and subcultural influence. As such, masculinity is not shared, but are those aspects of men's behaviour that fluctuate over time (see Brittan 1989:3).

Masculinity studies therefore seek to understand the enactment of 'masculinities' while interrogating a set of behaviours and characteristics that men hold. In this way, masculinity is to be understood as series of "dynamic relational process" which are not fixed (see Messner 1993:724). As an analytical concept, then, 'masculinity' refers to how men negotiate the masculine self in various settings. Masculinity is an outcome of how men configure their identities in diverse environments of social, cultural, religious, political and economic realities (and settings). As a result, these variables do impact men's lived experiences and as they seek to assert their masculine sense of self they reproduce masculinities in the process.

Connell (1995:71) and Beynon (2002:2) have highlighted that rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object (a natural character type, a behavioural average, a norm, a standardized container, fixed by biology, into which all 'normal' men are placed, something 'natural' that can even be measured in terms of physical attributes), we need to begin focusing on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct their gendered lives. This remains central and critical in a research of this kind within Evangelical Christianity. This is important, firstly because the concept 'masculinity' remains central in seeking to theorise how Christian men are constantly and religiously gendered. Secondly, this also enables one to examine the implications of such gendering on men as they seek to make meaning of their gendered identity as Christian men, fathers and husbands.

1.2.2   Studying Masculinity or Masculinities?

According to Connell (2012:5), studies of masculinity crystallised in the 1980s as a research field. However, Robert Morrell and Lahoucine Ouzgane (2005) have observed that the subject of masculinities in Africa remained neglected. This assertion has changed with time mainly because men and masculinity as a critical field of research in Africa has

continued to have an increased interest in the past decade.[13] In their research, Lisa Lindsay and Stephan Miescher (2003:2) have argued that this new field has mainly theorised masculinity by drawing on studies from Australia, Europe, and North America with little attention paid to the rich variety of gendered practices in Africa.

The literature indicates that very few scholars are actually seriously working on masculinities as an area of research in Africa. Morrell's work on masculinity to a wide large extent remains seminal (See Morrell 2001a; 2001b); Morrell and Ouzgane (2005). Other publications that have made considerable contributions in this area of scholarship include: Lindsay and Miescher (2003)—whose edited volume focuses on sub-Saharan African history; Linda Richter and Robert Morrell (eds.) (2006) and Catherine Cole *et al.* (2007). Although most of these works continue to engage the conversations which began with western scholarship, their unique contribution can be seen in their attempts to address changes that have taken place in male gender identities in the contemporary African contexts. However, research on masculinity from religious and theological perspectives are still scant.

Attempts to engage debates on issues of masculinity in Africa and South(ern) Africa in particular have been evident at various occasions. First, from 2 to 4 July 1997 a Colloquium titled 'Masculinities in Southern Africa' was held at the University of Natal, Durban.[14] Second, The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) focused on masculinities as its theme for the 2005 Gender Institute. The institute's emphasis was more on a close investigation of the changes that take place within the content and contexts of masculinities. To achieve its purpose, the institute engaged discussions around the contemporary patterns of the projection of masculinity, the factors and trends that shape masculine behaviour in Africa, the modes by which these masculinities express themselves in different spheres, and the implications of contemporary masculinities (see CODESRIA 2009:2). It is therefore important to take

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[13] According to Ouzgane and Morrell (2005:4), masculinities as an area of research are growing and are diversified with scholarship in Africa mainly coming from Southern Africa. Insisting that academic research on men in Africa is still in its infancy Saheed Aderinto (2008:142) has shown that South African has predominantly taken the lead in this area. The major concern that Aderinto highlights is the geographically relative nature of research and publication in this area (see also van Klinken 2011b).

[14] This was organised by Robert Morrell on discussions revolving around raising key issues and suggesting new ways of thinking about South African history in relation to masculinity (see report published in *South African Historical Journal* 1997, vol. 37 no. 1, 167-172). Arguably, what made this Colloquium unique was the need to interrogate categories of gender and examine the historical construction of gender identities and relations (Morrell 1997:168). Some of the twenty-nine, most historical papers which were presented in the Colloquium were also published in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1998, vol. 24 no. 4.

a thorough look at the kind of changes that brought emphasis on men and masculinity in the context of Southern Africa.

As Langa (2012:29) argues in relation to new social science research, there is no universal blueprint of masculinity that is found across all cultures. Masculinity differs in terms of class, race, ethnicity, and culture. For this reason, scholars agree that there is no uniform masculinity but a multiplicity of masculinities. It is therefore more acceptable to employ the term 'masculinities' to match the cultural constructions and expressions of masculinity[15] (see Connell 1995, Morrell 2001a). In South Africa for example, there cannot be one, typical South African masculinity but rather different masculinities.

It is therefore in order to use the plural form of masculinities while speaking about the varied forms that constructs of masculinity takes even within Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity from a religious perspective. Beynon (2002:2) captures this idea well, insisting that men are not born with masculinity as part of their genetic make-up; rather it is something into which they are acculturated and which is composed of social codes of behaviour that men learn to reproduce in culturally appropriate ways. He further contends that indeed masculinity can never be considered apart from culture: on the contrary, it is the child of culture, shaped and experienced differently at different times in different circumstances in different places by individuals and groups. Equally, I would argue, that masculinities also cannot be seen apart from religious beliefs and traditions, even though this aspect is sometimes ignored in certain definitions. For example, Whitehead and Barrett in attempting to define masculinities, assert:

> The nearest that we can get to an 'answer' is to state that masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine. So, masculinities exist as both a positive, inasmuch as they offer some means of identity signification for males, and as a negative, inasmuch as they are not the 'other' (feminine)(2001:15)

From the preceding literature review it becomes apparent that most literature focusing on men and masculinity studies in South(ern) Africa are from a social and historical

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[15] Since masculinity is not monolithic not all men have the same form of masculinity but a number of masculinities exist along a wide spectrum. Representations of masculinity come to existence as men act. These are actively produced, using the resources and strategies available in a given social setting.

perspective and these rarely engage with issues of religion (and theology) on constructions of masculinities. However, Ezra Chitando and Sophie Chirongoma (2008); Adriaan van Klinken (2011a); Sarojini Nadar (2009) and Rubeena Partab (2012) as scholars in the field of religion and masculinity in Southern Africa have highlighted the fact that religion is a major force that should relate to the construction of masculinities across African cultures. They have also noted the role that religion plays in transforming masculinities (See also Owino 2010), and hence there is an emerging field of studies that is fast growing in the area of religion and theology with regard to, masculinities. This thesis is a contribution to this growing body of literature

1.2.3   Men and Masculinity Studies: A Feminist Persuasion?

Connell, *et al.* (2005:2) attributes the increase in global research on men and masculinity to gender issues for men following the world conferences on women that began in the 1970s. Within this inquiry, Kimmel (1987:10) has asserted that the women's movement and the academic breakthroughs of women's studies for at least two decades suggested that the traditional enactments of masculinity were in desperate need of overhaul. As a result, Kimmel (1987a) concludes that such critiques prompted among some men a terrified retreat to traditional construction; to others it inspired serious re-evaluation of traditional worldviews, and offered support for the social, political and economic struggles of women. Beynon (2002:3) has noted that the increased examination of twenty-first century forms of masculinities are itself a product of our times and is in part a consequence of feminism and in part a reaction to it.

Following this view, Connell *et al.* (2005:2) has further argued that some scholars called this discipline "men's studies" reflecting a reaction against "women's studies" and this certainly points to the origins of this field of research. If this be so, then it can be concluded that the emergence and the development of men and masculinities studies originates from feminism. Hence, the formative phases of men and masculinity studies cannot be examined apart from taking note of some inspiration gained from feminism, women's studies and from the women's movements. This is seen either as a form of a reaction against feminist advances or towards a good cause as a quest towards understanding men's lives and experiences.

With new challenges and experiences among men, two issues require clarity for men and masculinity as a field of study. First, studies on men and masculinities (as it later came to be known) needed to define the scope of its inquiry; and second, directions for this field of study needed to be established. Significant to note in these early periods in the development of men's studies (or studies of men and masculinities), are the concerns and debates regarding issues of terminology, questioning what to call this field of knowledge. Within this struggle of naming, a shift from 'women's studies' to 'gender studies' is evident. Further, it is within gender studies that men and masculinity studies took root. On this matter, Kimmel (1987a:10) shows that men's studies addressed similar questions to the study of men and masculinity. As such, men and masculinity studies responds to the shifting social and intellectual contexts in the study of gender and attempts to treat masculinity not as the normative referent against which standards are assessed but as a problematic gender construct. Kimmel stresses:

> As women's studies have radically revised the traditional academic canon, men's studies seek to use that revision as the basis for its exploration of men and masculinity. Men's studies seek neither to replace nor to supplant women's studies: but seeks to strengthen, to supplement women's studies, to complete the radically redrawn portrait of gender that women's studies have begun….(1987a:11).

As Anthony McMahon (1993:675), has argued, to study men, it would seem, is to study masculinity. Thus, men's studies is defined by one of its key advocates, Harry Brod (1987 in McMahon 1993), as "the study of masculinities and male experience." In other words, studies of men and masculinity must take 'masculinities' as its object of interrogation seeking to explore the various ideologies that contribute in shaping and reproducing masculinities. What men practice are forms of being men hence patterns of masculinities. Concurring with this argument is Connell *et al* (2005:3) who contend that, paradoxically, it might be argued that studies of men and masculinities continue to deconstruct the gendering of men and masculinities and assumptions about them.

Therefore, whether we call this field "men's studies," or "studies of men and masculinity," or even "critical studies on men," (Connell *et al* 2005:3) it is important to takes note that these terms should more accurately be understood as a reflection of the nature of contemporary work, which is inspired by, and not simply parallel to, feminist research on women.

1.3 Rationale

My interest in this study was sparked by my Masters research completed in 2009.[16] The study sought to investigate how Evangelical beliefs about maleness influenced selected male discourses on the image of God, reinforcing supremacy, control, manipulation and domination, constructing God as masculine and all-powerful and thereby reproducing theologies of violence and abuse . In my conclusion, the study highlighted the need for more engagement with the notion of violent and aggressive masculinities among Evangelical men. My Masters study was one of few studies which began to engage with the notion of masculinity from an Evangelical perspective in a constantly changing post-apartheid contemporary South Africa; mainly inspired by few other studies by Chitando (2007); Chitando and Chirongoma (2008); and van Klinken (2011a). Many of the existing studies are from a sociological and psychological perspective. This current study is located mainly in religious and theological studies. This suggests therefore that examining representations of masculinity within this set focus is timely and seeks to address an important gap especially adding to Evangelical scholarship.

Furthermore, in the past three decades, masculinity studies have gained increasing attention not only within its pioneering fields of social-scientific confinements but also in other disciplines as well. Western scholars,[17] especially those who pioneered the field of masculinity studies in gender and sociological perspectives have done extensive work in this area. In relation to Africa, research on men and masculinities is predominantly South (ern) Africa influenced, with scholarship also beginning to emerge in other parts of Africa.[18] Even though new concerns on men and masculinities are being researched, the

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[16] See Kennedy Owino (2010).

[17] It is not possible to draw attention to all the relevant literature on men and masculinity within Western scholarship. However, some notable sociologists in this field of study whose work remain seminal include Robert Connell (1995, 2000, 2002); Michael Kimmel (1987a, 1987b, 1995, 1997); Michael Kimmel and Michael A. Messner (2001); Michael A. Messner (1997), and Victor J. Seidler (1989, 1994, 2006).

[18] It is likewise impossible to exhaust the list of all African scholarship on men and masculinities that has emerged in the recent past. However, few are noted here. Extensive work in my context in this field is presented by the works of a pioneering South Africa scholar, Robert Morrell (2001a, 2001b. See some bibliographical reference for Journal publications). Even so, interest in this field of research has been observed through the growing numbers of publications that has taken notable attention on issues of men and masculinities within scholarship in Africa in various Journals. Several publications in this have been made available in the *Journal of Constructive Theology* Volume 12, No.1 (2006) and in Volume 14, No. 1 (2008). Other research publications have been done by scholars such as Robert Morrell and Lahoucine Ouzgane (2005); Linda Richter and Robert Morrell (2006); Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher (2003); and Catherine M. Cole, Takyiwaa Manuh, and Stephan F. Miescher (2007), Ezra Chitando and Sophie Chirongoma (2012) and Adriaan S. Van Klinken (2013).

body of literature tends to historicise masculinity. According to Sean Gill (1999:160) and van Klinken (2011b:275-276), the subject of religion, theology and masculinity in the study of men and masculinity is a relatively recent one and the body of literature in this area is relatively small with issues often only explored briefly.

So it is in these two main areas – Evangelical Christianity and gender studies (specifically masculinity studies) that this study seeks to make an intellectual contribution.

Citing the paucity of thorough academic research on the MMC, Nadar in her (2009) exploratory article on this movement emphasises the need for researchers to pick up the concern and further interrogate the larger dynamic of the MMC. This study responds to such a call and challenge. Important to this current study and its intention in exploring masculinities among the CEPC, is to continue the on-going conversations among African scholars and theologians in particular, who have taken as their task to engage issues of masculinity within the interface of gender and religion from one perspective to the other (see for example Nadar 2009; West 2010; Chitando and Chirongoma 2012; Partab 2012; and van Klinken's 2013). The observations made by such scholars remain informative to my work, and their findings are engaged as dialogue partners in this current study.

Apart from considerations of its religious (Evangelicalism) and theoretical (Masculinity studies) context, the MMC, as was asserted earlier, is also informed by changes in political landscape, constitutional rights relating to gender rights, race equality, and recognition of rights to sexual orientation, change in gender roles within economic tensions at the market place, unemployment, the rise and awareness of feminism and its strong call for gender equality and finally the escalating rates of HIV and AIDS. Hence, literature on traditional and conventional models of dominant heterosexual masculinities and norms of 'hegemonic' masculinities is equally important to this study (see Morrell 2001b, Fourie 2008, Walker 2005, Hadland *et al* 2008, Morrell *et al* 2012, Langa 2012 and Partab 2012). Among major issues of concern relating to men and masculinity in the South African context, Morrell *et al* (2012:14-15) emphasise: fathers with little or no role in the upbringing of their children, very high levels of violence and a country with the highest number of people living with HIV (5.2 million people). Walker (2005:226) too observes that, "Some men's responses to the shifts in gender power relations have been violent, ruthless and reactionary. Yet, others have been embracing." In one way or the

other, these concerns feature as a problem by (and for men) and impact on representations of masculinity often encompassed within discourses on 'crisis in masculinity.' Although this current study is informed and founded from within the disciplines of Theology and Religion, it takes into consideration the prevailing socio-cultural, economic and political factors which contribute to how Buchan and the MMC are renegotiating ideals of religiously patterned forms of becoming Christian men.

Finally, it cannot be denied that research on masculinity and religion has pointed out that religion generally promotes patriarchal masculinities. The negative role attributed to religion in constructing and promoting gender ideologies which maintain and legitimise male supremacy, control and domination which in most cases lead to violence, abuse, and gender inequalities is demonstrated in such research (Phiri 2002; Chitando and Chirongoma 2008; Nadar 2009; van Klinken 2010a; 2011b 2011d; Partab 2012). For this reason, scholars of gender and religion contend that religion should be treated with suspicion (see van Klinken 2011a:8, 22). Inquiring on the role of sacred texts and Christian teachings as legitimising male supremacy and domination, van Klinken (2001a) for example argues that the intersection of religion and masculinity requires a critical examination of religious discourses on masculinity, and how Christianity in particular may support or resist masculinities through images, theological symbols and anthropology. While much research has been done on how Christianity supports oppressive masculinities not much research has been done on how it may be harnessed to resist such masculinities. Therefore this current study undertakes not only to interrogate patriarchal forms of masculinity but also engages alternative discourses as counter-models to predominant oppressive masculinities.

As Shannon Davis (2007) shows, it is clear that conservative Protestant doctrine and religious affiliation impacts on gender teachings and so influence increased levels of traditional gender perspectives which eventually reinforce unequal gender principles (see also van Klinken 2013 and Togarasei 2012). Such studies indicate how strong the influence of Protestant Christianity can be on issues of gender inequalities. It is therefore my argument in this study that representations of what it means to be a 'man,' are formed within faith discourses and this is in turn reproduced in socio-cultural, political and economic responsive contexts. The fact that Christian men's movements and gatherings (local and international) have become such an important part of the ecclesial

landscape in many parts of the world (The Promise Keepers movement in the United States is another example) testifies to the fact that masculinity in religious contexts remains significant and requires consistent academic attention. Connell's (1993:597) assertion therefore holds true, that "masculinity has become problematic in a way it never was before." Most African theologians engaging issues of religion and gender will agree with Connell's conviction that never before have issues around masculinity been problematized and taken as such a central concern in Africa, and especially in sub-Saharan Africa, than in the past few decades. It is therefore important to investigate the manner in which religious and theological beliefs intersect with other variables to inform representations of masculine identities for men within the MMC. Van Klinken (2011b:278) argues for the importance of the critical intersections of religion and masculinities when he points out that "several critical aspects of dominant masculinities are believed to be informed by religious beliefs and practices."

Questions around men and religion have therefore necessitated wide spread attention to studies of masculinities in gender and religion from varying perspectives, both at a practical and a theoretical level. Hence, the importance of this study on the MMC in South Africa.

1.4 Critical Questions and Objectives

There are a number of broad questions which brought me to this study. I will state these before I hone in on the critical question and objectives.

1.4.1   Broad Questions which Shape the Study

To what extent do theological discourses inform and influence constructions of masculinities? What socio-cultural, political and economic shifts in South African society impact on Christian men's sense of what it means to be a 'real man' and/or a "godly man" among Charismatic Evangelicals and Pentecostal men? How do class, sexuality,

race, age, and ethnicity by which South African societies are structured influence emerging forms of masculinities portrayed by the MMC?

Furthermore, why has the MMC called men to "a return to God?" Could this be a religious backlash against feminism? More important still: what kind of "godly manhood" is being recreated and reproduced? Could it be that such a "return to godly manhood" is only conventionally motivated? Or are Christian men challenged enough towards transformative praxis envisaging alternative positive ideals of masculinity? How are men encouraged to make sense of their masculine self within their religious, family and community contexts and how does this impact on their varied understandings and meanings of what it means to be a 'Mighty Man' and a 'godly man.'

In response to the gains made by feminism, and constitutional review for gender equalities, Charismatic Evangelicals have called for a return to "Godly manhood" that re-establishes patriarchal, traditional and conventional ideals of masculinities as "God's design" for humankind. Given that Evangelicals are "Christ-centred," can feminist Christologies assist in developing alternative forms of masculinity which are not patriarchal?

All the above broad questions can be summarised in one critical question:

Critical Question
How do faith discourses within the MMC shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa, and to what extent do these constructions of masculinities either re-inscribe patriarchal oppression or contribute towards gender-social transformation?

Sub Questions
1. What are the faith discourses which exist within the MMC?

2. How do the faith discourses within the MMC shape constructions of masculinity?

3. To what extent are these constructions of masculinity oppressive?

4. To what extent do these constructions of masculinity hold potential for gender social transformation?

Objectives

1. To delineate the faith discourses which exist within the MMC.

2. To demonstrate how these faith discourses shape constructions of masculinity.

3. To analyse to what extent these constructions of masculinity are oppressive.

4. To assess to what extent these constructions of masculinity hold potential for gender social transformation.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

The study is developed in ten chapters divided in two parts. Part one comprises of chapters one, two, three, four, five and six. Part two discusses the findings of this study. It comprises of chapters seven, eight, nine and ten. A brief description of the thesis structure is as follows:

Chapter one introduces this study providing a broader overview. As an introduction to this study, I discuss the purpose of the study by sketching the background and context of the study. The chapter locates the study within broader studies and thereby provides a rationale for the study as well as delineating the critical questions and the objectives of the study.

Chapter two discusses the conceptual theories and approaches to this study. I critically review some key psychological and sociological theories which have been informative in masculinities studies. My objective in this chapter is to engage the central framings/approaches within psycho-social and scientific theories of masculinity which have been used to theorise masculinity in men's studies. I conclude the chapter by locating the current study within a social constructionist perspective, seeking to apply intersectionality as an applicable theoretical basis for this study. While I review literature on intersectionality as a theoretical framework, I intentionally move away from the normal social constructionist approach to theorising masculinity. My focus is to inquire on the suitability of intersectionality approach in theorising masculinity.

Chapter three locates this study within studies of masculinity in the wider South(ern) African context. The chapter highlights the background to studies of masculinities within South(ern) Africa with an aim to review literature on men and masculinity studies in this context of study. I therefore establish the socio-religious, cultural, economic and political context in which the MMC is located. I then present a review of three categories of literature to assist in establishing the increased interest in religion and masculinity studies in South(ern) Africa.

Chapter four presents discussions on evangelicalism. In this chapter, I have discussed in detail the historical synopsis and the tenets of evangelicalism and Evangelical Christianity. The chapter locates the MMC as a movement that portrays expressions of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal forms of Christianity by situating the movement in the South African religious context. The major tenet of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostalism are discussed as a form of Christianity portrayed by the MMC. The chapter concludes by looking at the Evangelical gender patterns (culture) and the impact this has on representation and constructions of masculinity, suggesting that religious beliefs promote certain institutional gender ideologies, religious gender roles, practices and attitudes.

In Chapter five I describe the methodology, research method and design applied for this study. My objective in this chapter is to describe and justify the use of qualitative multimethods design as an appropriate research method for this study by utilising a mixed method approach. The chapter presents how the study samples were arrived at, the primary methods of data collection and the process used to analyse the data.

Chapter six examines faith discourses of the MMC within the 'perceived' crises of masculinity in South Africa. Arguing that masculinity "crises" is more 'perceived' than real, I explore Buchan's call for the Mighty Men to "return to godly manhood" as the most prominent faith discourse.

Chapter seven provides faith discourses on masculinity within a socio-political post-apartheid context as portrayed by Buchan and the MMC. In the chapter I explore how faith discourses shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity as a response to social, economic and political

changes in post-apartheid South Africa.

In Chapter eight I explore what Buchan and his MMC understand by 'responsible manhood.' I interrogate faith discourses intended to encourage "Mighty Men" to be responsible men while seeking to make sense of their masculine self. In the chapter, I indicate that masculine performance is central towards enacting male roles prescribed for godly manhood.

Chapter nine discusses alternative discourses of transformative masculinity within evangelicalism. In the chapter I draw from faith discourse on Christ's maleness as portrayed by the MMC. In the chapter, I engage ways in which Buchan's notions of godly manhood can result in transformative praxis within the MMC.

Chapter Ten presents a conclusion to this current study as I argue for the significance of the study while seeking to open new areas for further research.

Chapter Summary

My objective in this chapter has been to introduce this study by explaining the purpose of the study which is to explore how faith discourses within the MMC are taken up by men and shape constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa. I further explained that my intention was to understand to what extent such discourses hold potential for transformative change. I have therefore sketched the background and context of the study by identifying three factors which lead to the thronging of men to the MMC. This has been attributed to: a) perceived crisis in masculinity; b) the post-apartheid political context; and c) the need for responsible men. I have also located the study within broader studies by delineating the study of masculinity as an academic discipline. I have provided a rationale for the study as well as outlining the critical questions and the objectives of the study. Chapter two will now provide an overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that undergird this study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The elusiveness, fluidity and complex interconnectedness of masculinity
in modern societies add to the complexity of researching and writing in
this area. Chris Haywood and Máirtin Mac an Ghaill (2003:4)

2.0 Introduction

In chapter one I outlined the central purpose and objectives of my study, as well as
attempted to delineate the study of masculinity as an academic discipline. This, as I
showed, finds focus within the ongoing discourse on men and 'masculinity crises' in the
post-apartheid South African context within the expressed need for responsible men
among the MMC. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the conceptual theories and
approaches to this study.

Connell *et al.* (2005:4) have argued that there are as many theoretical social science
perspectives on men and masculinities as there are theoretical perspectives in the social
sciences more generally. As they argue, these vary and range across different disciplines,
theoretical perspectives, methodologies, conceptualizations, and positioning's (2005:3).
This suggests that men's studies should be a vibrant field of research engaging with
numerous theories. Jacobus Stéphan van der Watt (2007:32) argues that theoretically, the
field has been rather restricted and dominated by few perspectives—notably sex-role
theory, gender theory and Jungian theory—that were originally developed in psychology,
psychoanalysis, sociology, philosophy and social-biology and often subsequently
reworked by the so-called 'second wave' of feminist theory.

My major objective in this chapter is to critically present some of the debates on
constructions of masculinities by discussing the four central theories which dominate
masculinity studies. These are concepts employed in masculinity studies as frameworks
through which sociology and psychology seek to understand men and masculinity. In this
chapter I will first, describe and analyse some major psycho-social and scientific theories

of masculinity as I primarily draw from the works of Raewyn Connell (1995), Stephen Whitehead and Frank Barrett (2001), Robert Morrell (2001a), and Malose Langa (2012) among other scholars. While Morrell, Whitehead and Barrett draw predominantly from Connell, Connell's works remains ground breaking (although informed by other works). To a large extent, Connell's works have shaped masculinity as a field of research not only in Europe, Australia and North America but also in Africa. Second, I will discuss the value of the theory of intersectionality to my study which positions itself within a social constructionist perspective.

Various social and scientific theorists have engaged in debates that have developed ways that seek to understand masculinities. The focal task with most of the influential theories in this area of study has been thoughtful attempts that seek to develop the link between men's bodies, patterns of behaviour and perceptions of masculinities. It is vital for a study of this kind to take note of some of these theories while seeking to explore constructions of masculinities within Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity (CEPC). I therefore turn to examine some early developments on social theories that have influenced psychology, hence, sociology of masculinity within social sciences as an academic discipline. The key issue is to highlight how theorists have gradually moved from theories of psychology, psychoanalysis, and social-biology in theorising masculinity to a social constructionist approach of gender and masculinity which has informed my study in religion and gender.

2.1 Psychoanalysis Theory

The psychoanalysis theory is based on Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical principles rooted in psychology. This makes Freud's work the starting-point of modern thought about masculinity and the earliest scientific accounts of the development of masculinity (see Connell 1995:8; Langa 2012:49). According to Whitehead (2002:23-26), even though Freud did no systematic work on masculinity studies, as the "founding father" of psychoanalytical theory, his early work has influenced conceptions of masculinity to this very day. Focal to my current research is the conclusion of all the debates within the psychoanalysis movement that climaxed in 1911 by the split between Freud and Adler (see Connell 1995:15). Their main focus was towards a theory of masculinity.

Psychoanalysis is therefore useful as a theoretical tool in analysing relationships through which masculine identities are created and reproduced.

Freud's main argument was based on an understanding that adult sexuality and gender identity are not fixed by nature but are constructed through a long and conflict-ridden process (Connell 2001:9). Connell (2001a:10) further notes that one of Freud's major hypotheses was that human beings were constitutionally bisexual and that masculine and feminine currents coexisted in everyone, hence, masculinity can never exist in a pure state since layers of emotion coexist and contradict each other. Whitehead (2002:24) observes that Freud argued that the underlying assumption is that children are not born with a social and cultural identity, but that this is formed as a direct consequence of their contact with others, in particular parents. Hence, Freudian theory postulates that infants came to recognise their biological sex mainly through observing parents and in the process, children begin to resolve the complexities of either feminine or masculine constructions (Whitehead 2002).

David Barlow and Mark Durand (2009:17-20)—in *Abnormal Psychology* demonstrate that Freud in his theory arrived at a conclusion that all young boys (from age 3 to age 5 or 6) undergo psychosexual conflicts which is characterised by early genital self-stimulation. As a result, the boy lives in a fantasy to kill his father and, unknowingly, to marry his mother. In view of this, Stephen Frosh (1994) indicates that we arrive at what Freudian theory has termed –the oedipal stage of development which is viewed as pivotal in the establishment of gender identity and sexual orientation. Depicting this process vividly, Barlow and Durand (2009) stress that Freud saw the boy child as entering the Oedipus complex of loving his mother and desiring her as his sexual object. As a result, he starts to develop jealousy and resentment towards the father who is viewed as a rival for the mother's attention, but these feelings induce fear in the boy child. To relive this fantasy, they highlight that Freud suggests:

> All young boys relive this fantasy when genital self-stimulation is accompanied by images of sexual interaction with their mothers. These fantasies in turn are accompanied by strong feelings of envy and perhaps anger toward their fathers, with whom they identify but whose place they wish to take. Furthermore, strong fears develop that the father may punish that lust by removing the son's penis—thus, phenomenon of castration anxiety (Barlow and Durand 2009:19).

At the same time, Freud termed the counterpart conflict in girls the "Electra complex" where he viewed the young girl as wanting to replace her mother and possess her father. Central to this is the girl's desire for a penis, so as to be more like her father and brothers—hence the term 'penis envy' (Barlow and Durand 2009:19). Critiquing Freud's view, Langa (2012:48-50) insists that masculinity is neither biologically determined nor simply a product of social stereotypes and expectations. It involves a complex and difficult process of psychic constructions, marked by anxiety and contradictions.

2.1.1   Criticisms of Psychoanalysis Theory

Freudian theory has met a number of criticisms.[19] First, as early as 1911, Adler, being among the very first, criticised Freud, arguing that the theory of repression was mechanistic observing that the feminine was associated with weakness and hence, devalued by culture, setting up an internal contradiction between masculinity and femininity. As a result, the adult personality is thus formed out of compromise and exists under tension (Connell 2001:16-17). This would then suggest that men are the superior sex. On similar grounds, further critiques were later picked up by Marxist and feminist psychoanalysts. For instance, the attempt to synthesize Marxist economic analysis and Freudian sexual science brought light to the ideology of "authoritarian family" as the site where the production of class society and patriarchy is accomplished (see Connell 2001). Put simply, Langa (2012:51) questions: "Is Freud's theory sexist?" In addressing this question, some feminist theorists have problematised Freud's idea of the Oedipus complex and the girl's desire for a penis. In this case, for Edley and Wetherell (1995:43), masculinity is seen largely as a positive identity, while femininity is constructed as something negative or a 'failed' form of masculinity. Feminist scholars have also argued against Freud's social construction of femininity as one that has contributed to male dominance and patriarchy as a 'norm' (Whitehead 2002:24-25). According to Langa (2012:51-52) "Freud's theory would consider men to be active, assertive, competitive, rational, goal orientated and aggressive as a consequence of the resolution of the Oedipus complex, the inference then being that all of these qualities are less developed in women

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[19] Equally important to note, other scholars working in the area of masculinity within the field of psychology have found Freud's theory useful. For instance, Langa (2012) has argued for the value of the psychoanalysis theory as a relevant framework of research in exploring the lived or subjective experiences of being and becoming masculine.

because of a less dramatic oedipal resolution." I also argue that the desire of girls for a penis in Freud's theory would further portray women (femininity) as incomplete without the male (masculinity).

Second, in relation to constructs of masculinity Whitehead (2002:25) has shown that in the process of castration anxiety, the boy suppresses being feminine by rejecting the mother's love. Critically refuting this part of Freud's theory, Connell for instance insists that Freudian theory of psychoanalysis is radically incomplete stating:

> The worth of psychoanalysis in understanding masculinity will depend on our ability to grasp the structuring of personality and the complexities of desire at the same time as the structuring of social relations, with their contradictions and dynamisms (2001:21).

Hence, constructions of gender identities (and masculinities for that reason) within the web of factors that contribute to the complexities that are frequently mentioned by social science theorists require an investigation of structures of social relations. Psychoanalytical theory is therefore limited in analysing the effect of social, cultural and religious ideologies on identity constructions. Whitehead and Barrett (2001:24) has mentioned that any critical examination of Freudian theory, or indeed psychoanalysis itself, needs, then, to be interpreted with one eye on the fluidity of the concepts under discussion. This therefore introduces the need to interrogate representations of masculinity that sit at the heart of psycho-social constructions of masculinity. Central to psychoanalytical theory are traditional masculine notions that call men to avoid expressions of emotions and to accept weakness as feelings associated with femininity, this taking central part in most cultural socialisation for boys and men. At the heart of this study is the need to interrogate some of the traditional masculine representations as stereotypes that encourage men to live removed from the persona.

Third, what the focus of my study is concerned most with is the 'fear' and the 'anxiety' that is found at the core of masculine identity formation in relation to a theoretical construct of masculinities. As argued by Langa (2012:50), in his theory, Freud seems to suggest that the formation of masculinity is primarily connected to boy's fear of castration and that the identification with fathers is largely defensive, arising out of the need to defend against castration anxiety. The question that this raises is whether feminine 'suppression' as a mechanism for dealing with masculine fears of 'castration'

does end with boyhood or men continue to live with fear and anxiety throughout their lives as adults. The answer is simple and yet complex, in that psychoanalysis offers a means of understanding how the internal realm of fear and anxiety seems to interweave with the external tensions of realities as men negotiate masculine identities in the process of searching for a sense of 'security'.

Addressing this notion of fear and anxiety, Langa (2012:50) draws on several theorists who indicate that the fear of castration does not disappear but continues to threaten to engulf the masculine subject, who continuously lives under the threat of a possible psychic disintegration. Citing Whitehead, Langa (2012:50) has shown that any fear of castration could lead to 'masculine anxiety', which is the fear of collapse in self-identity as a man. To this I add, that fear of castration at times might be as a result of dissatisfaction with the masculine self. In a discussion that points to the fragile nature of masculinities, Langa (2012:50) goes further in explaining why men experience pressure to display their 'manliness' in front of other men; through, for example, engagement in risk-taking behaviours in order to prove that they are not castrated, but still men. This is an interesting phenomenon in itself in that it demonstrates the complexities that exist as masculinities are constructed and reproduced. This study therefore seeks to explore further the contours of possible contradictions apparent in such constructions of emerging forms of masculinities among Christian men in South Africa. As I will show below, exploring changes in gender/social roles leads to such contradictions. In the subsequent section, I investigate how sex role as a category of understanding the social genderedness of a society has informed understandings of masculinities.

2.2 The Sex/Gender Role Theory

Any analysis of the formative years of research in relation to masculinities before the advent of feminism and women's liberation movements in the 1970's (Connell 1995:23; Carrigan *et al* 2002:99) indicates efforts towards an understanding of sociology of gender. Sociology of gender studies drew on the emergence of the "sex-role" framework.[20]

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[20] It is clearly established from sociological literature about men that sociology of masculinity appeared before the "sex-role" theory as a paradigm. Carrigan *et al.* (2002:103-104) point out that the main propelling concern at this point was on sociological discussions of the *conflicts* involved in the constructions of masculinity with specific focus on boys and men whose behaviour were perceived as a "social problem."

Donna Winslow (2010:6) observes that traditionally, sociology saw the binary division of men and women into distinct social roles but never questioned the ways that patriarchy and heterosexuality exerted social control. Viola Klein illustrates the point even more clearly:

> There is a peculiar affinity between the fate of women and the origins of social science, and it is no mere co-incidence that the emancipation of women should be started at the same time as the birth of sociology (cited in Carrigan *et al.* 2002:101).

Research therefore indicates that Social Science as a distinctive field of study took shape during the later ninetieth century, at the height of European imperialism (see Connell et al. 2005:5). At this stage gender issues were among its main concerns, but not until after critique by feminists who then began to study the ways in which gender influenced society (see Winslow 2010). This must have led to struggles towards emancipation of women that later seemed to many social scientists as a measure of social progress (Connell *et al* 2005:5). At the heart of this struggle were concerns that came with sex/social roles.

The 'male sex role" (Connell 1995:22) is a concept that dates back to the 1930s but appeared in American social science journals in the 1950's. As an approach in gender studies, the 'role' theory emphasised sexual difference, gender patterning of roles for men and women within the family setting and the society, as a process of learning norms for conduct where being a man or a woman meant enacting a general set of expectations which are attached to one's sex (see also Whitehead 2002:19). Used in explaining social behaviours as cultural norms, Connell (1995:23) has argued that roles are defined by expectations of norms, sex roles by expectations attached to biological status. From such articulation, one begins to see that masculinity and femininity can be interpreted as internalised sex roles, the product of social learning or 'socialization.' Social science theorists have therefore argued that this way of conceptualising gender through roles goes back to an early psychoanalysis approach which first took its shape from the social-psychological concept of the "male sex role theory" (Connell 1995; Connell 2000; Connell 2001).

For instance, the "father absence" was one such social concern that became a focus of research then, where the home was separated from workplace as seen in the historical tendency of capitalism.

For Whitehead (2002:19-22) as a by-product of functionalism and the role theory, sex/gender role was in part a response to the impact of the social and economic transformations that took place in the Western world by then. As a process of acquiring the "appropriate" model of functionalism and codes of gender behaviour, the sex role theory was used to give some insights into, and make sense of, the changing roles of men and women and the new expressions of masculinity being acted out and 'forced on' men following social changes arising at the end of the second World war (Whitehead (2002).

By the mid-century the sex role paradigm had dominated Western sociological discourse on women (Connell 1995; Carrigan *et al* 2002) and was later termed as the concept of 'social role.' Carrigan *et al* (2002:101-102) deduce that this social gender pattern of sex-roles established structural differentiation and reproduction across generations as structural requirements of any social order whatsoever.[21]

Further, using notions of performance which are very crucial to sex role theory, Whitehead (2002) argues that sex role goes along with some kind of masculine essentialism that creates a belief that, in essence, successful performance (of roles) forms the basis of all gender roles and being. What stands out here in relation to representation of ideal masculinity is how culture (and religion) has essentialized certain masculine and feminine roles as divinely unquestionable. For instance, we see strains brought by the dichotomy between the private (for the feminine) and the public (for the masculine). Such have been adopted in relation to understanding masculinities only from a performative perspective as informing the being of men.

2.2.1   Criticisms of Sex Role Theory

A thorough critique of sex/gender role theory did not begin until the mid—to late 1980s with the second-wave feminism and theorists of patriarchy who argued for a new trajectory in critical study of men (Whitehead 2002:22). Even though we no longer raise similar questions as those raised by feminists then, the tension along sex role notions for both men and women might not have changed but must have turned complex with our

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[21] Carrigan *et al* (2002:101) mention that the key figure in the developments of the functionalist sex-role theory was Talcott Parsons, who by the early 1950s wrote the classical formulation of America sex-role theory, giving it an intellectual breath and rigor it had never had.

modern contexts.

First, critiques arise on the basis of socialisation as neither uniform nor unproblematic to men. Noted by theorists of masculinity (Whitehead 2002:22; Connell *et al* 2005:5) the sex/gender role theory was erected on biological determinism, where 'roles are added to biology to give us gender.' In this way, it can be argued that in analysing the sex role theory, it is evident that the theory cannot provide an explanation for differences between women and men, especially in respect to issues of power. Further, and as Whitehead (2002:22) has highlighted, 'gender role strain' is equally problematic and damaging to men as they are to women. Partab (2012:19) has shown that through the lenses of the ideological dimensions of masculinities, masculine gender role socialisation is viewed as contributing to gender-related cognitive distortions for men who are overcommitted to modifying their behaviour according to masculine prescribed behaviour.

Second, biological determinism advances the notion of biological essential difference as the basis of an 'essential identity' to what it means to be a real man from a universal perspective. Even though traditional forms of essentialism were applied mostly in describing women, the belief that emerges as Serene Jones (2000:24-28) has detailed, is the fundamental biological difference between men and women that is seen as undergirding society. If, 'essentialism' and 'universalism' (used interchangeably by many feminist theorists) refers to any view of women's nature that makes universal claims about women based on characteristics considered to be an inherent part of being female (Jones 2000:26); then I deduce that an essentialist approach to masculinity argues for inherent and unchanging qualities or masculine 'essences' for men universally, detrimental to the being of women. As Whitehead (2002:132) notes, and I concur, biological determinism reinforces an essentialist view of gender while locking female and male into a gender dichotomy that underpins inequalities.

Similar trends of gender binaries have been adopted in religious circles. These are evident through the language of 'biological determinism' and traditional essentialist masculine ideas that reflect the absoluteness and unchanging nature of gender and sex roles. This by itself supposes that conventional forms of masculinity are natural facts and hence, 'divine'; and so, sex/social roles are not cultural products of socialisation. New questions

are beginning to arise with changes that are taking place currently in societies. First, how does the pressure to maintain an essentialist state of manhood impact, for instance, on Christian men in ensuring that they retain the enacted general set standards of who a real man should be? Second, if changes arose at the end of the second World war that necessitated new expressions of masculinities, what then are the changes taking place in current contemporary societies, influencing emerging masculinities? It is interesting to explore how social, political and economic transformation in South Africa, for instance are currently forcing, and informing new models of functionalism and whether such have effects on roles for men. Further, do these changes portray new expressions of masculinities?

In what follows, I turn to examine the Sexual Anatomy theory that has contributed to social scientific knowledge towards the study of masculinity, thereafter analysing its implications to constructions of masculinities.

2.3 The Sexual Anatomy Theory

Connell (1995:47) highlights that dominant and fashionable in the 1970s was the notion of socio-biology as a concept that men's bodies are the bearers of a natural masculinity. This approach, according to Connell, presupposes a broad difference in the character traits and behaviour of women and men with perspectives based within the metaphor of biological 'mechanisms' (where the body as is seen as a machine). Clare Moynihan (1998) asserts that sexual anatomy is a biological concept (and theory) of sex that medical researchers apply from a positivist perspective in explaining masculine constructs. In other words, the theory suggests that masculinity is natural for all men since it is determined biologically. Edley and Wetherell highlight that biological anatomy as a concept has been used as proof of being a man, arguing:

> Being a man takes on a universal status, generalisable and immutable. Aggression, reason, need for control, competitiveness, and emotional reticence are thought to be 'natural' attributes for a man; contradiction or ambiguity is anathema to him (1995 in Moynihan 1998:1072).

These point out 'ideologies of masculinity' that portray dimensions of masculine traits as natural to male biological make up. Connell (1995:45-47) further shows that those

theorists who hold this gender ideology seek to arrive at a better understanding of the relation between men's bodies and masculinity. Drawing on the language of biological science, some sociobiologists insist that true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies (Connell 1995).[22] In this case, brains are 'hardwired' to produce masculinity; men are genetically 'programmed' for dominance; and aggression is in men's 'biogram' (see Connell 1995:48). Within this approach therefore, true masculinity is seen as natural (since the body is a natural machine which produces gender difference—through genetic programming, hormonal difference or the different role of sexes in reproduction). Poignantly, Connell concludes that according to sexual anatomy theory:

> Mass culture generally assumes there is a fixed, true masculinity beneath the ebb and flow out of daily life....Since religion's capacity to justify gender ideology collapsed, biology has been called to fill the gap....We hear of 'real man', 'natural man' and the 'deep masculine.' This idea is now shared across an impressive spectrum including...the mythopoetic men's movement, the Christian fundamentalists, the essentialist school of feminism and the Jungian psycho analysts (1995:45).

2.3.1   Criticisms of the Sexual Anatomy Theory

I begin by raising a question of the extent to which sexual anatomy theory proves problematic in understanding how the masculine gender is constructed. Refuting this theory, Connell (1995:47) has shown that this is almost entirely fictional and that the views are mistaken. Accordingly, she suggests, both biology and social influence combine to produce gender differences in behaviour (Connell 1995). As such, to understand masculinity, we must study changes in social relations (Connell 1995:29) and such changes will indicate that gender (and masculinity) is not fixed in advance of social interaction but is constructed in interaction (Connell 1995). Unless this is understood, she argues, it will be accepted that patriarchy is based in a hormonal "aggression advantage" which men hold over women (Connell 1995:47).

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[22] According to this conventional theory, men's bodies are bearers of a natural masculinity produced by the evolutionary pressures that have borne down upon the human stoke. Hence, men are believed to inherit with their masculine genes tendencies to aggression, family life, competitiveness, political power, hierarchy, territoriality, promiscuity, and forming men's club (Connell 1995:46).

We need to consider a number of essentialist arguments at this point. The understanding of masculine behaviour as biologically constituted and 'natural' advance an essentialist and a 'naturalistic' approach to gender (and masculinity). In this case, masculinity is understood based on biological anatomy. Diana Fuss (1989:2) and Serene Jones (2000:26-29) have defined essentialism as "a belief in true essence, that which is most irreducible, unchanging, and therefore constitutive of a given person or thing." Although we could argue that biological sex should be considered as a factor that might influence male behavioural patterns among other factors in a social setting, strict essentialist thinking emphasises male, female differences that eventually define masculinity as superior while femininity as subordinate. Further, if masculine practices and behaviour are explained from a naturalistic perspective, then male dominance is justified and patriarchal structures will be considered normal. This would suggest that masculinities pre-exist apart from social, cultural (and religious) influence. Also, evident within the essentialist paradigm, masculinity is unchanged by social, cultural and historical processes and the differences between men and women are seen as universal and enduring (Kaminer and Dixon, 1995 in Attwell 2002:11), a position which Connell (1989) strongly opposes.

Important to consider at this point is Sean Gill's (1999:162) suggestion, that in a research of this kind, one must seek to elucidate the ways in which religious doctrines, symbols and practices (and I add—'gender scripts')[23] function in the creation and in maintaining ideas about masculinity. Equally important, is also the need to engage and examine how social and cultural constructions of gender influences theological discourses that normalise religious ideologies of masculinities.

In the previous sections I have examined the three major scientific theories that have influenced discussions on issues of masculinity. I have highlighted how theorists have gradually moved from theories of psychology, psychoanalysis, and social-biology in theorising masculinity. Evident is the limitation that such theories have in theorising

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[23] Using Robert Abelson's (1976) definition, Godfrey Phetla (2007:4) states that "a script is defined as 'a coherent sequence of events expected by the individual involving him [sic] as either a participant or an observer'." According to script theory, Phetla (2007:4) argues that "people typically pattern their social responses in order to maximise their control over given situations." Gender scripts therefore refer to a particular reasoning that people and institutions will use to guide, for example traditional gender roles assigned for men and women. In this case, 'faith discourses' seem to reinforce socio-cultural gender scripts which seek to conceptualise masculine expectations on how to respond within a set socio-economic and political context among Charismatic Evangelical Christians.

masculinity from a religious perspective. In what follows, I explore the contours of a social constructionist approach as a theoretical perspective in studies of gender and masculinity.

2.4 A Social Constructionist Approach to Gender and Masculinity

My earlier discussion on theoretical approaches to gender and masculinity indicates that masculinities are not a biological construct. Carrigan *et al.* (2002:114) have captured this well in their statement "...—where biology says 'what' (and) society says 'how'." I would suggest that the 'how' of society with regards to construction of masculinities is achieved through social interaction. To this effect I concur with Connell who has argued:

> Masculinity is not a biological entity that exists prior to society; rather, masculinities are ways that societies interpret and employ male bodies (1996:211).

Connell, whose studies on masculinity is mainly advanced in two seminal works (1987) and (1995) is credited with the thinking of the theory behind a social constructionist approach to masculinities. According to Morrell (2001b:6-7) "Connell developed a theory of masculinity which sought to take account of psychological insights and social forces, which attempts to blend personal agency with social structures, taking into account diverse intellectual influences of materialism, feminism and critical theory."

In modern sociology of gender, Connell's (1995:35) argument postulates that gender is not fixed in advance of social interaction but is constructed in interaction, and this is the key concern of recent work on masculinity. Connell (1995) therefore clearly rejects both essentialist understandings of masculinity and sex-role theory. Like with sex role research, Connell contends:

> This is concerned with public conventions about masculinity. But rather than treat these as pre-existing norms which are passively internalised and enacted, the new research explores the making and remaking of conventions in social practice itself (1995:35).

Within this theoretical approach, Connell (1995) insists on a position where bodies are seen as sharing in social agency, in generating and shaping course of social conduct. This

shows that masculinities are constantly in active construction. Rob Gilbert and Pam Gilbert (1998 in Attwell 2002:15) support Connell, stating that "... being a man is a matter of constructing oneself in and being constructed by the available ways of being male in a particular society." Social constructivist[24] theorists therefore argue that gender (and masculinity in particular) is influenced by historical, social and cultural factors in various contexts and specific settings (Connell 1995:3-36, 68; Moynihan 1998:1073; Morrell 2001b:7; Attwell 2002). Moynihan (1998) suggests that social constructivist theorists do not ascribe a single meaning to maleness but attribute many different theories of what it means to be a man. This is widely informative to this current research mainly because my approach in investigating how faith discourses influence constructions of masculinities within Evangelical Christianity has adopted a social constructionist approach that seeks to explore particular patterns (and representations) of masculinities that arise in South Africa.

The social constructionist approach has made two major contributions in theorising masculinities. First, it has highlighted that men are not just men with a fixed masculinity, rather, masculinity is fluid, changing and historically constructed (see Connell 1987; 1995; 2000 and Morrell 2001b), stressing that masculinities come into existence as people act. Along this contour of a social constructionist approach to masculinities, it is also argued that masculinities are not inherited nor are they automatically acquired in a one-off way (Morrell 2001b). These are constructed in the context of class, race, ethnicity, and other factors which are interpreted through the prism of age.

Second, while various masculinities are produced within a particular social setting, there is a need to understand the nature of the relationship between "multiplicities of masculinities." Hence, Connell (1987) introduced the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" as one of the results of the social constructionist approaches to masculinity. The central thesis in Connell's argument shows that while men oppressed women, some men also dominated and subordinated other men (see Morrell 2001b:7). This concept has enabled theorising "multiple masculinities" that take different forms, and will be invaluable to my work on the MMC as I theorise the relationship between Angus Buchan and the men who frequent the MMC meetings. Connell (1995) also shows the

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[24] Roberta Garner (2001) has argued that the major lasting impact of feminism on social theory has been the rise of social constructionist theories to a position of dominance in the last decades of the twentieth century. These theorists argue that all aspects of the social order are products of culture.

relationship between these different forms of masculinities as hierarchical in nature putting the various forms into different categories such as subordinate, complicit and marginalised. These she terms as non-hegemonic categories of masculinities (see also Morrell 2001b). In defining the concept of hegemony, Connell states:

> The concept of 'hegemony,' deriving from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations, refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. At any given time, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted. Hegemonic masculinity is the configuration of gender practices which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordinate position of women (1995:77).

What seems central in this definition is how cultural ideals intersect with institutional power either collective or individual, from which hegemony is established (Connell 1995:68). Morrell (2001b:7) observes hegemonic masculinity as that which dominates other masculinities and creates prescriptions of cultural images of what it means to be a 'real man.' Hegemonic masculinity is, then, not a description of a real man but is rather an ideal or a set of prescriptive social norms (Attwell 2002:17), or "... the most honoured or desired" (Connell 2000:10).

The intersection of cultural ideals and institutional power that results in the formation of dominant hegemonic masculinity requires interrogation in this study which focuses on representations and constructions of masculinities within Charismatic Evangelical Christianity. Two issues are worth exploring, resulting from Connell and Morrell's observations on multiplicity of masculinities within the complexities of social interaction.

First, for Connell (1995), even in speaking of masculinity at all, we are 'doing gender' in a culturally specific way. Hence, in understanding religion as part of a cultural system, the question that arises is to what extent does Charismatic Evangelical Christianity suit a definition of a 'subculture?' This is important for this current study to enable an examination of the impact of institutionalised religious gender cultures and ideologies in influencing representations and constructions of masculinities. Julie Ingersoll (2003) —a historian, has applied a perspective of evangelical historiography and cultural production theory that has enabled her to frame evangelicalism as a subculture. Using gender as a category of culture, Ingersoll (2003:2) shows that religious traditions are cultural systems,

always in the process of change and always in search of a coherent narrative. Hence, conservative Evangelical attitudes on gender are characterised by fluidity rather than a fixed norm.

Second, what emerges from the above theorisation is that Evangelical Christianity is a religious 'cultural system.' It is therefore important to interrogate whether "hegemony" exists in the emerging forms of masculinities within this form of Christianity and what 'religious images' are prescribed as ideals for a 'real man' (godly men) in this case. Also, and central to such an inquiry is the need to investigate what happens in situations where male privilege that comes with religious institutional power bestowed on men is challenged within this 'cultural system.' What happens if men can no longer live up to the expectations of an ideal Christian man? Pointing to such dangers, Partab (2012:68) argues that such men might be constrained by the many demands of desired ideal manhood because of the constant state of 'fluidity' as they negotiate around the many layers of what it means to be a man.

Thus far my intention in this chapter has been to give a detailed overview of the major sociological theoretical approaches to the study of masculinities. These have focused on the psychoanalytic, sex-role, sexual anatomy/biological, and social constructionist framework as categories of theorising masculinity. I have engaged in critical analysis of these theories examining their implications for construction of masculinities. So far, my analyses indicate the difficulties that exist in theorising masculinity from a psychoanalytic, sex-role, sexual anatomy/biological perspectives. The interdisciplinary nature of this study therefore necessitates the need for a social constructionist approach to theorising masculinity from an interdisciplinary perspective. In the next section, I turn my attention to the ways in which I will negotiate the interdisciplinary nature of my thesis. One way in which I do this is to employ the concept of intersectionality.

2.5 Intersectionality

Intersectionality emphasises the gains of employing multiple dimensions of social variables and identity categories in exploring construction of masculinities. According to Jenifer Nash (2008:2), the intersectionality approach emerged in the late 1980s and early

1990s from critical race studies, as a scholarly movement that grew out of feminist and womanist scholars of colour within the legal academy, committed to problematising law's supposed colour-blindness, neutrality, and objectivity. However, this does not imply that intersectionality was not in use before then. Anastasia Vakulenko (2007:185) argues that the intersectionality approach had been in existence twenty years earlier as a seminal theoretical development within feminism and had spread through most feminist theory.[25]

By definition, Aristea Fotopoulou (2012:19) asserts that intersectionality is the systematic study of the ways in which differences such as race, gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity and other socio-political and cultural categories interrelate. Maneesha Deckha (2004:16) earlier also highlighted that employing an intersectional approach meant: "paying attention to how multiple social forces of race, class, gender, age, sexuality, and culture intertwine to shape our experiences." This highlights a vital caution for a study of this kind to consider the requisite of giving attention to more than just one aspect (variable) that seems to influence construction of identity because social identities are not independent categories. It is therefore vital to address intersectional questions while exploring constructions of masculinity with regard to the relationship between religion, gender and other factors.

Also, intersectionality was linked with what Vakulenko (2007) terms as "large-scale, historically constructed and hierarchical power system and interlocking systems of domination or the organising principles of society" conceptualising gender, race, sexuality and so on in terms of systematic forces that shape society rather than as behaviours featured by individuals. Vakulenko's (2007:186) argument is informative to my study in that identity should be conceptualised through informed 'behaviours.' Important to consider in Vakulenko's argument on the intersectionality approach is the intersection of institutional power intertwined with individual behaviour and its influence on identity construction. Of particular concern for this current study is religious institutional power at the disposal of faith communities to inform and influence representations of being a woman or man. Her updated usage of intersectionality therefore highlights the need to

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[25] Elizabeth Cole (2009:170) shows that The Combahee River Collective (1977/1995) describes the history of the concept of intersectionality tracing it among a group of Black feminists who wrote a manifesto that has been cited as one of the earliest expressions of intersectionality arguing: "We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously." Cole argues therefore that the concept has much deeper roots in that in the United States, Black scholars-activists had long theorised this position and attempted to incorporate it into their politics.

take into account that there is inseparability of the individual identity from social structural factors.

In the discussion that follows, I locate intersectionality as a critical theory within the broader framework of feminist studies.

2.5.1 Locating Intersectionality Approach within Critical Feminist Theory

Irene Browne and Joya Misra (2003:488) convincingly argue that the development of intersectionality is rooted in the work of scholars who were interested in Black feminist theory, a body of research within post-colonial feminism in the late 1990's (see Knudsen 2010:61). As a construct that has been in women's studies for over thirty years, Nash (2008) in her "*Re-Thinking Intersectionality"* establishes that the concept of intersectionality has been used in recent gender research as a primary analytical tool dominant not only for theorising oppression but also as a way of conceptualizing identity. In this way, Leslie McCall (2005:1771) and Jennifer Nash (2008:1) have stressed the importance of intersectionality describing it as "...the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies, in conjunction with related fields, has made so far." Stephanie Shields (2008:301) contends that, as an analytical tool, intersectionality is a critical feminist theory for our present understanding of gender, transforming how gender is discussed. Therefore, intersectionality not only aids our understanding of gender, but calls for our thoroughness in analysing what informs construction of gendered identities.

There are varied understandings of what feminism is all about:

First, Ann Clifford (2001), contends that feminism is to be understood as a perspective of life, seen as social activism rooted in women's experiences of sexually based discrimination and oppression. Any feminist movement has a role to end oppression, discrimination, and violence directed against women based on the conviction that women need to acquire full human dignity and equality with men (Clifford 2001 and Rakoczy 2004). Hence, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (2011:1) argues that the analysis of domination and struggle must be central to a critical feminist approach while Musa Dube

(2002:103) refers to feminism as a movement of women and men seeking to understand the construction of women as secondary citizens and seeking to fight to empower women.

Second, feminism is understood as an academic method of analysis being used in nearly every discipline (Clifford 2001:17). As an academic method of analysis, feminism is critical, liberative and constructive (Rakoczy 2004:11), seeking to reconstruct human societies, social structures and religious institutions as well. According to Joann Wolski Conn (1991:217), feminism is a critical evaluation of the experienced, patriarchal world. As a critical theory, Saskai Wieringa (1995:5) posits that feminism is a discursive process, a process which produces meaning of undermining representations of gender and recreating new representations of gender, womanhood, of identity and collective self. Pushing the argument further, Wieringa (1995) shows that feminism carries multiple meanings, limited neither to recent movements, nor in public outbursts and in the struggles in the private domain, for these private struggles are always expressions of the external collective process.

This is informative to my study in two ways. First, the individual and collective processes within structures of power dynamics influence how masculinities are represented and reproduced. I contend, for instance, based on the context of this current study, for the need of critical awareness of the cause and effects of patriarchy as domains of power. Important to note is that the patriarchal world is reproduced and maintained possibly as men happen to be at the "intersections" of collective socio-political, cultural, religious and economic forces as realities which contribute to create and shape 'ideals' of manhood as men renegotiate their masculine identities. This patriarchal world is then experienced harshly mostly by women, but also at varied levels by subordinate males who cannot live to achieve "hegemonic" categories of manhood. Second, and important, is that feminism seeks to challenge biological essentialisms/determinism attached to universal perceptions of gender identities associated with men and women, a tendency that defines womanhood as "different" and "inferior" to manhood which is seen as superior. This kind of gender binary describes men and women in a hierarchical pattern where socialised gender behaviours define what is considered 'authentic' masculinity and femininity. For example, women are emotional and men must be rational. In such situations, feminism as a critical and analytical framework discursively engages ways of

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recreating alternative representations of gender identity which are not oppressive but inclusive. This indispensable character of feminism as a critical theory has been engaged in this study in seeking to ascertain whether feminist approaches (and specifically feminist theology) within Christian theology could assist with exploring alternative counter images of masculinities which are not patriarchal but life affirming. In this case, feminist theology as a strand of feminism remains significant to my study.

To my knowledge, very limited academic work, if any, has covered the link between feminist theology and theories of intersectionality. However, a critical look at feminist theological work illustrates an inclination to intersectional perspectives either directly or interactively. As such, feminist theology engages various intersections which impacts societies, beginning their discourse with women's experiences. This, however, does not mean that issues of masculinity do not feature as important to feminist theologians.

When men and women reflect on issues of feminism from a Christian theological perspective, the end product is feminist theology, of which Christian feminist theology is an example. The overriding contour of feminist theology as pointed out by Pamela Young (1990:11) is that feminist theology draws on the broader project of feminist theory. Like feminist theory rooted in the women's movement of the late 1960s and 1970s in North America, Jones (2000:13-14) shows that "feminist theology" can refer, as well, to any type of feminist "spiritual" thinking about God. With its distinctive interest in Christian theology, Jones contends:

> This kind of feminist theology takes special interest in the lives of women bringing their experiences into the drama of the Christian message and explores how Christian faith grounds and shapes women's experiences of hope, justice and grace as well as instigates and enforces women's experiences of oppression, sin, and evil. It is a theology that articulates the Christian message in language and actions that seek to liberate women and all persons, a goal that Christian feminists believe cannot be disentangled from the central truth of the Christian faith as a whole (2000:14).

At the centre of this Christian message are masculine figures who have contributed in shaping its scope for ages. Representations of masculinities have been at the centre of Christianity history, a fact that cannot be easily refuted. The reason why the Christian message enforces women's experiences of oppression, I would argue, could be because

the history of this message (as most feminists would argue) is shaped by and is often from a masculinist worldview. For Rosemary Ruether (1993:13), the use of women's experience in feminist theology calls into question the basis of "universal theology" which is largely based on male experience.

Central to the quest of Christian feminist theology is the interrogation of how patriarchal perceptions are created and maintained in religious contexts, thereby informing articulation of Christian theology and life practices among men and women. In seeking to assist the church to see with renewed clarity, the intersections of Christian traditions, doctrinal beliefs and the interpretation of scriptures that sanction certain practices as "divinely" ordained by God must take central emphasis in examining contextual constructions of gendered identities within Christian faith communities. Clifford (2001:30) has argued that Christianity is not exempt from criticism where sexism, racism and classism are concerned. Therefore, I would argue that the means through which these "isms" interlock require thorough analysis while investigating constructions of masculinities.

Fiorenza (1994, 1999) for example notes the importance of interrogating the concept of kyriarchy which construes structures of inequality and domination emanating as a result of socialisation within categories of race/ethnicity, gender, class, religion, nationality and sexuality. As a concept, kyriarchy depicts the rule of emperor, master, lord, father, husband over subordinates, indicating a complex pyramid of dominations and subordinations (Fiorenza 1994:14). Putting forward kyriarchy as interlocking and multiplying systems of domination and submission, Fiorenza (2002:125) critiques Western postcolonial white feminists for focusing on gender alone. She argues that this constructs a dual system of patriarchy and imperialism which does not consider the intersectional analysis of the interconnectedness of various forms of oppression.

Kyriarchy remains crucial in the context of my study as I examine constructions of masculinity within Charismatic/Evangelical Christianity in a postcolonial context. This is important when dealing with kyriarchal powers and hierarchies which arise from the intersections of religious beliefs and Christian theologies and other socio-cultural categories within my scope of inquiry. In applying suspicion in my analysis, it is interesting for instance, to explore how the effects of kyriarchal histories of Christian

traditions continue to enforce masculine domination in order to influence 'ideal' forms of contemporary representations of masculinities within CEPC. These are addressed in later chapters of this thesis.

The intersection of religion, culture and theology must not only remain important while theorising oppression of women in Africa as most scholars would advance, but also proves informative in understanding how various factors interconnect with other categories contributing to masculine construction. This requires attention especially when theorising men's representations of ideal masculinities in an African context.

2.5.2   A Critical Evaluation of the Intersectionality Approach

Latest research discloses the infrequent and insufficient work on masculinity from an intersectionality approach. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, even a special journal issue which published empirical research on gender using intersectionality perspective has no work focusing on its applicability for masculinity studies (see Sex Roles 2008, volume 59). Likewise, Helma Lutz *et al.* (2011) edited volume on *Framing Intersectionality* barely discusses masculinity from an intersectional perspective. In relation to such observations, Nobert Finzsch (2011) attributes this general lacuna as a fact that may have its cause in the history of the concept of intersectionality itself. It is ironical that so far the concept of intersectionality has not been applied on historical studies of masculinities as it should be and yet the theory is well-founded and widely circulated as a conceptual approach in the disciplines of social science, especially in psychology, sociology, law, humanities, philosophy and economics. Finzsch's analytical concern is noteworthy:

> Intersectionality as an approach that attempts to engage with historically specific forms of power and domination does not lend itself easily to the analysis of masculinities, because men have been perceived as being the other in possession of power and privilege (2011:1).

This study addresses this gap by extending to an alternative approach towards understanding masculinities from a social constructionist perspective. Before I can go further and illustrate how I intend to extend the concept of intersectionality for theorising masculinity from a social constructionist perspective, it is in order to note some problematic criticisms mentioned against intersectionality.

Criticisms surrounding the concept of intersectionality have focused on a number of concerns especially in the United States and in Europe (Davis 2011:43). For the purpose of this research, I will highlight only three which call for attention in seeking to extend the intersectional concept to studies of masculinity. First, the analytic attempts of using analogies and images in explaining the intersectionality approach are numerous and repeated concerns suggest that these are sometimes confusing. Nira Yuval-Davis (2006:196) for instance points at the imagery of crossroads and traffic, developed by Crenshaw (2001).[26] Other imageries and metaphors used to underpin the assumptions depicting the connectedness of factors and categories are those such as 'interlocking,' 'overlapping,' 'interwoven,' 'indivisible,' 'multiple dimension,' 'the inseparability of factors,' 'mutually reinforcing,' etc. Also, along with these images is the use of black women as prototypical intersectional subjects (see Nash 2008:4). On the one hand, I echo these concerns especially that such a wide range of imagery and metaphors could make it difficult to contextualise our understanding of intersection at varied levels. Also, this depicts intersectionality as an approach of "addition" which always remains open for 'one more' (religion+gender+culture+what?). However, on the other hand, I would argue that this is what makes intersectionality unique, for a researcher will always seek to find the "missing +." The question should not be whether the idea of an intersection is the right analogy to be used, but the major issue is the propensity of this framework to embrace a variety of images in explaining its theoretical position in a diverse manner to enrich research. The underlying emphasis for me would then be to understand the focal aspect of intersectionality; that is, the constant consciousness that factors and categories 'operate together.'

The second challenge with intersectionality emerges directly from the above discussion. The whole imagery of identities at 'intersections' cannot be analysed outside of the 'complexities of intersectionality' which emanate from the theory itself. Nash (2008:50) explains that the difficulty of crafting a method introduced with it methodological

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[26] The word intersection means that one line cuts through another line, and can be used as an analogy to denote streets crossing each other (Knudsen, 2000 <http://www.caen.iufm.fr/colloque_iartem/pdf/knudsen.pdf>). Crenshaw (2011) has revised her analogy to describe oppression of women as though happing at an intersection of crossroad over the past years in her writings. However, her initial imagery and analogy of traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions which has been taken up by many other studies is worth considering here. She points that discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination (Crenshaw 2011:29). See also Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 1998).

challenges of complex analyses. Similarly, McCall (2005:1772) adequately argues that intersectionality introduced new methodological problems in that the complexity arises when the subject of analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis. Ludvig contends:

> The weaknesses of intersectionality become more obvious when trying to apply it to empirical analysis: its implications for empirical analysis are, on the one hand, a seemingly insurmountable complexity and, on the other, a fixed notion of differences. This is because the list of differences is endless or even seemingly indefinite. It is impossible to take into account all the differences that are significant at any given moment (2012:246).

What this reminds me is that theories do not exist to solve theoretical complexities and make praxis any simpler. In actual fact, theories only offer us a lens through which we analyse the complexities existing for the purpose of informing the best possible praxis to adopt. In this case, William Deal and Timothy Beal's (2004:xi) observation is worth considering when they state that a theory should not be a collection of concepts and principles that either prove or dis-prove ideas and findings. They stress: "... theory is something like a pair of spectacles, that one uses to frame and focus what they are looking at, as a tool for discerning, deciphering (or interpreting) and making sense" (Deal and Beal 2004).

Third, picking up from the previous point, scholars have argued on the lack of clear defined intersectional methodology as a challenge in relation to the concept of intersectionality (see McCall 2005:1771; Shields 2008:302 and Nash 2008:4). Among the questions raised are whether intersectionality is a theory, or a perspective method? Or as still others see it, is it a 'reading strategy for doing feminist analysis?' How many intersections are there? Can a quantitative approach ever work from an intersectional perspective and what would that look like? (see Nash 2008:5 and Shields 2008:306). Further, feminists have given relatively little attention to writing about the methodologies for studying intersectionality (Winker and Degele 2011:52). Nash (2008:5) observes that critics of intersectionality have not developed a rigorous method of examining multiple subject positions, highlighting how one should pay attention to the points of intersection.

This current study is not meant to address all these luring methodological questions. However, Davis' (2011:44) observation is helpful: "Paradoxically, precisely the vagueness

and open-endedness of 'intersectionality' may be the very secret to its success." Also, among the methodological solutions that Shields (2008:307) offers is that there is clearly no one-size-fits-all methodological solution to incorporating an intersectionality perspective, and a both/and strategy seems the best way forward. Further, McCall (2005) and Winker and Degele (2011) have delineated a range of methodological premises applicable in multiple, intersecting and complex social relations which I have applied as a method of analysis in my next chapter. Before concluding, I aptly capture what underpins intersectionality for this study as relates to constructions of masculinities.

2.5.3   The Rationale Underling Intersectionality Approach for Masculinity Studies

Masculinities as a socially constructed component of gender is basically about how men hold diverse representations of understanding their masculine self. The major question here is what informs that process of understanding and what it means to be a man, for instance, in a changing South African context? Further and crucial is that masculine identities are constructed along power axes of difference informed by various factors within certain categories. This stated, I begin this conversation by considering Kimmel:

> Although men and masculinities are understood as explicitly gendered, men and masculinities are not formed by gender alone. Men are not simply men or simply about gender, and the same applies to masculinities. The gendering of men only exists in the intersections with other social divisions and social differences (1987:3).

Kimmel's argument possesses the challenge to consider extending intersectionality for masculinity studies to inquire how other factors influence social constructions of masculinities. Of note here is the awareness that intersectionality as a theoretical lens was applied to subordinated social groups. Another interesting, if not paradoxical twist for me is that the theory was used on black women as subjects of oppression.

By the simple fact that human beings are not passive "recipients" of an identity position, but "practice" each aspect of identity as informed by other identities and institutions (see Shields 2008:302), it is important to consider an intersectional approach for masculinity studies. The progression of my thesis in this quest is as follows. First, all men at any

given time find themselves at intersections where social, cultural, political, economic and religious factors/variables or dimensions cut-across identity categories of race, class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. Second, because all discourses of masculinity are fluid and complex, multiplicity and change cannot be avoided, making it difficult to conceptualise construction of masculinity in a linear manner, but as in an interwoven web of activities. Third, therefore, these social factors and identity categories operate together to influence construction of masculinities.

I am keen to state that Kimberle Crenshaw (1988, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 2011) and Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 1998, 2000) originally applied the concept of intersectionality to analyse how variables of race, class and gender form interlocking forces which mutually overlap to inform experiences of oppression and subordination among women of colour. I borrow the same thought pattern from Crenshaw's analogy of discrimination as traffic in an intersection to facilitate my extension of using intersectionality as an analytical lens towards understanding how various social, political, cultural, economic and religious forces (factors/variables/dimensions) mutually constitute/inform and reinforce[27] identity categories of race, class, and gender in constructing masculinity.

Building on my thesis above, unlike Crenshaw who placed at the centre of her analysis black women's experience of discrimination like traffic through an intersection which may flow in one direction or it may flow in another; I place constructions of masculinities and the masculine gender identity of Christian men at the centre of my analysis like traffic at an intersection. I follow the traditional argumentation from intersectionality literature by using categories of gender, ethnicity, race and class not as oppressive categories but gender constructional categories. In conversing with Crenshaw and Collins, it is my conviction that there are possibilities that a number of social factors will intersect with categories of identity thereby operating together to mutually reinforce each other. These influence the representation and construction of emerging forms of masculinities in a given context. The thought here is the need to understand that formation of gendered identities must be understood, analysed and explained, by taking multiple dimensions of variables that interact with identity categories to shape

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[27] I use these phrases as described by Shields (2008:302) where "mutually constitute" means that one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another category. "Inform" and "reinforce" means that the formation and maintenance of identity categories is a dynamic process in which the individual herself or himself is actively engaged.

masculinities. This then enables me to examine and explain the "matrix" under which the MMC seek to reconfigure and recreate masculinities. Figure 1 below illustrates the sum total of the thesis described above.
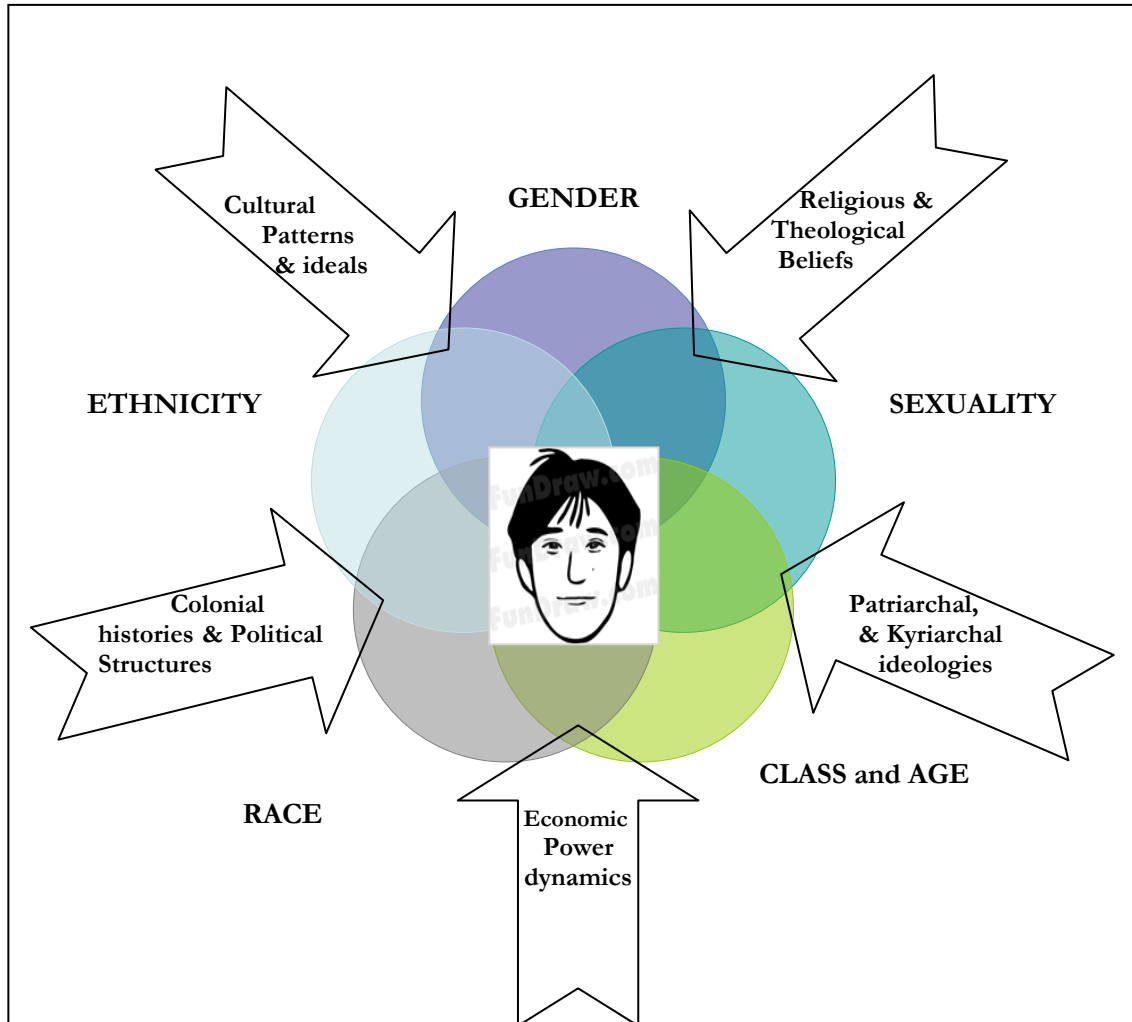
Figure 1: An illustration of an integrated analysis of factors in intersections of perceptions and construction of masculinity (Kennedy Owino 2014).

With reference to centring (and decentring) gender as the master category and axis of formation in this study, two pertinent questions arise in relation to examining constructions of masculinities using an intersectionality approach. First, what other identity categories are deemed necessary in attempting an analysis of multiple categories which inform contemporary masculinities simultaneously? Second, how do I determine theoretically and empirically the vital points of intersection between identity categories and social variables (factors/dimensions)? I have pursued these questions in chapter five on methodological design of the study, but in summary I wish to highlight four

important reasons for an intersectional approach.

First, intersectionality as an approach supports both qualitative and quantitative methods of doing research. I have applied this theoretical approach as a critical and analytical tool since it supports not only an interdisciplinary perspective but is multidisciplinary in orientation with a capacity to 'house' a number of interpretive lenses. In this case, McCall notes:

> The pressing issue then is to overcome the disciplinary boundaries based on the use of different methods in order to embrace multiple approaches to the study of intersectionality (2008:1795).

This has been significant for other theorists of intersectionality as well (Yuvol-Davis 2006; Ludvig 2006; Shields 2008; Nash 2008; Winker and Degele 2011). As an approach that is able to travel across borders and disciplines, I find intersectioanlity applicable in examining constructions of masculinities within CEPC in a South African Context. In view of the nature of intersectionality approach, this study falls within a wide range of disciplines, focusing mainly on masculinity but from an inter-and-multidisciplinary approach of religion, theology, gender studies and feminism. Winker and Degele (2011:51-52) allude to this nature of researching by contending that the concept of intersectionality has become a new paradigm in gender studies where its comprehensive approach offers the potential to look beyond the different theoretical currents and offer up further perspectives for utilization.

Second, an intersectionality approach enables an intersectional analysis of masculinity. I would argue that every male individual occupies multiple categories of gender, race, class, and other social categories. Also, men are situated differently at intersections of social factors and identities and as such, perception of what it means to be a man varies with context. Conceptualising masculinities from an intersectional perspective situates my analysis of masculinities within the sociological strand of intersectionality.

Third, intersectionality will aid me to analyse how power is generated and maintained within the masculine religious space of Charismatic/Evangelical men. The impression here is that every male person has a masculine identity that is shaped by interlocking systems of power relations. Religious spaces are sub-cultural spaces in and through which

representations of masculinities are constructed and maintained through power dynamics. For example, the case study of the MMC adopted for this research depicts intersections of power dynamics that inform negotiations of "godly manhood" within the Charismatic/Evangelical context. Arguing against "double blindness" where most contemporary gender studies remain extraordinarily "religion-blind," Ursula King (1995:6, 12) has underscored the significance of religion for gender formation, specifically urging for a critical examination of the influence of religion on masculine gender construction. This draws attention to the dangers of isolating gender from religion and from other social factors and identity categories.

Finally, intersectionality is squarely focused on praxis and has a propensity to promote social change. Because masculinities are a social construct, not static and 'divinely given' but dynamic, fluid and changing, intersectionality's critical edge enhances its inquiry to be effective as an 'active science.' Shields (2008:309) argues that the goal of an active science is not to create dogma and policies but to inform them. Further he argues, "Research undertaken from an intersectionality perspective does originate from a point of view which includes an agenda for positive social change but the agenda requires data to support it" (Shields 2008). Torres *et al* (2009:588) presses that the intent and outcome of an intersectional approach and analysis is the transformation of practice to address inequalities and promote change. The scope of this study is clearly situated within this action oriented praxis in seeking to support change and transformation in arguing for alternative non-patriarchal and harmonious masculinities which promote life. This will be achieved by exploring whether there are alternative Christological counter-models of 'ideal' masculinities as compared to emerging contemporary ones in the Charismatic/Evangelical contexts.

Chapter Summary

My objective in this chapter has been to critically present some theoretical debates on constructions of masculinities by discussing the four central theories which have dominated the field of masculinity studies. I have described and analysed some major psycho-social and scientific theories of masculinity as I primarily drew from the works of key scholars and theorists in the field of religion, gender and masculinity studies. The key focus has been to highlight how theorists have gradually moved from theories of psychology, psychoanalysis, and social-biology in theorising masculinity to a social

constructionist approach of gender and masculinity which now inform my study in religion and gender. By grounding my study within an interdisciplinary perspective, I have discussed the value of the theory of intersectionality as a lens of analysis within a social constructionist perspective. I conclude with Laura Levitt (1997:3) who observes that: "Theory can enable us to explore the seams in the construction of our identities within the constraints of various social, cultural, and political configurations of power and desire."

In the following chapter I focus on masculinities in the South(ern) African context.

CHAPTER THREE

MASCULINITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH(ERN) AFRICA

> Manhood is an evolving social construct reflecting some continuities but many more changes. In talking about manhood, we are inevitably talking about history (Stearns 1990:3).

3.0 Introduction

Representation and constructions of masculinities among the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC) must be situated within the ongoing debates on men and masculinity studies in the South(ern) Africa context. Could it be that there are significant socio-cultural, political, economic and religious histories that shape and continue to shape changes which inform representations of masculinities in South Africa? It is important to take note of the socio-economic, cultural and political histories of masculinity in the South African context in order to engage Buchan's faith discourses which seek to recreate Christian masculinities among Charismatic men. I therefore present in this chapter a brief overview of literature on masculinity in South(ern), South Africa.

3.1 Literature Review on the Study of Masculinities in Southern Africa

Connell (1995:186) admits that a history of masculinities is a vast and complex terrain. Indeed, a histography of masculinities is one that did not take a central place in research since its inception in the US, UK and Europe. For this reason, an in-depth historical exploration of masculinities across continental Africa is not my intention for this chapter.[28] Instead, I limit my discussions to South(ern) Africa as my context of study. Morrell (2001b:xi), has argued that the history of South Africa lacked a gendered perspective which went beyond the examination of women.[29] In a similar way, Miescher

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[28] While this does not fall within the scope of my study, for a detailed reading on history of masculinities in Africa see: Lindsay and Miescher (2003); Morrell (2001a, 2001b); Connell (1995).

[29] See Pattman 2005 cited in Morell (2001b) who argues that as far back as the early 1970s, gender had come to be associated with femininity. The assumption that gender studies should concentrate on women

and Lindsay (2003:1) allude to the fact that although gender has become a major research focus in African studies during the past twenty years, men have rarely been the subject of research on gender in Africa. Research in masculinity is therefore an opportunity to engage the connection between representations of masculinities in this context of study while engaging the intersections of religion, gender and other factors.

Literature reveals that the study of religion with specific attention to gender is a very recent phenomenon (King 1995:11). In Africa, the link between the study of religion and masculinity is even more recent and an emerging field (van Klinken 2012:216) with an increased interest noted in the past few years. This observation addresses Morrell's (2001b) concern on how in the past relatively little work with a specific focus on masculinity had been published in South Africa. With literature increasing in this field of research, the intersections of religion and changes in gender relations as forces that necessitate inquiry in African masculinities remain crucial.

Three sets of literature need to be highlighted in relation to major notions of masculinity in South(ern) Africa. First, I show some representation of masculinity in Pre-colonial Africa and how the intersection of colonialism and Christianity impacted on shaping representation and constructions of masculinities. Second, I present representations of multiple hegemonies of masculinity in South Africa during the Apartheid era. Third, I highlight the increased interest and response towards men and masculinities studies in Southern Africa from a religious and theological perspective.

3.1.1   Pre-colonial African Masculinities and a Quest for 'Victorian Manliness'

Precolonial African masculinities were by and large socially constructed, fluid, with ambiguous meanings and differed according to cultural, historical settings, and time (Barker and Ricardo 2005; Lynch 2008:11; Mutunda 2009:30). The available literature confirms that various African communities have varying indigenous definitions and

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is a historical concern that scholars have questioned. King (1995:9) for instance shows that the reason why gender studies mainly focused on women and became almost identical with women's studies was because women have been voiceless for so long. King (1995:5) further contends that it is important to consider not only the construction of femininity but also that of masculinity, especially as far as it is grounded in specific religious teachings, and analyse it critically.

representations of manhood associated with war or being warriors, while others were associated with farming or cattle-herding (Barker and Ricardo 2005). These are also defined by tribal and ethnic group practices through a multiplicity of versions, values and ways in which men practice and express masculinities (Lindsay and Miescher 2003:4). Central to the sustainability or success of the constituent families, was also the socialization of boys into manhood. Attaining the status of manhood required observance of certain cultural rites and initiation practices (see Lynch 2008:12).[30]

Ideally, in traditional Africa, it was not enough for a man to achieve a socially recognised status of manhood through cultural initiation practice. Although times have changed and most cultures have been influenced by western representations of what is required of a man; the cost that came with acquiring the status of manhood also required men to start a family. It is, was, and is still the case that a 'man' is expected to be able to have work and provide for his dependents, and own property (especially land, cattle and livestock). This is often traditionally bestowed upon the young men by older men (see Barker and Ricardo 2005:5-6). To a large extent, it is evident that male power from senior men in the community also plays a great role in constructions of masculinities within a traditional African context. To be able to protect and provide is said to enhance a man's social recognition, and his sense of manhood. This is seen through the importance given to the concept of the "big man," i.e., a successful and a hardworking man who has acquired social admiration. Holland (2005:122-123) and Miescher and Lindsay (2003:3) have shown that in pre- and early-colonial Africa, the "big man"[31] archetype offered perhaps the most established model and enduring image of African masculinity that required specific masculine performances at numerous social levels.

The household therefore became a vital space through which masculinity was constructed and performed. Men were expected to possess qualities that were not feminine. Their identity as adult men was attained by entering into marriage where responsibilities of being providers and protectors were stressed. As such, patriarchal

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[30] Research shows that circumcision ceremonies served a supportive function in that knowledge about cultural beliefs, male-female relationships, appropriate adult roles and conflict resolutions are communicated to the men by community elders (see Barker and Recardo 2005; Lynch 2008). However, it must not be generalise that all African cultures practice circumcision as an initiation intended to socialise boys into manhood.

[31] The success of the "Big man" (in most cases fathers, chiefs or elders) was measured not only by material wealth, but by the appearance and loyalty of familial and other followers—especially a large number of wives, children and dependents (see Holland 2005).

norms of masculinity remain at the centre of traditional African indigenous representations of manhood as sharp distinctions between men and women.

Further, it could be argued that representations of masculinities changed with the coming of western imperialist ideals of manliness while some indigenous practices related to 'ideal' manhood were reinforced with the coming of Christianity. In this case, it is important to note the shift in emphasis and understanding of what it means to be manly. For instance, Morrell (1998) notes that in South Africa, colonialism itself often confronted local patriarchies with colonising patriarchies, producing a turbulent and sometimes very violent aftermath.

Barker and Ricardo (2005:12) contend that from the time of Africa's colonisation by Western imperialist nations, African men and manhood have often been constructed in relation to European models of manhood. In actual fact, men have been exposed to new ways of understanding power and dominance. This is informative to this study in that this is arguably an important factor that influenced representations of masculinities in Africa. Are there any connections between Christian missions and colonial patterns on gender construction? Interesting to note is the work of William Barnhart (2005:731) who points out that Evangelicals consistently described a successful missionary as one who combined physical courage and moral virtue, where missionary manliness, with its stress on both physical and moral attributes, prefigured the male image found in Victorian writings on masculinity[32] that emphasised similar qualities. For this reason, Anne O'Brien (2008:68) asserts that religion has long been acknowledged as playing an important part in the construction of nineteenth-century British Imperial manhood, particularly by fostering masculine Christianity in all its complex forms.

It follows therefore that emphasis placed on the notion of 'manliness' as missionaries worked to Christianise Sub-Saharan Africa and Africa as a whole need not be underestimated in relation to how imperialist masculine cultures in the West influenced indigenous forms of masculinity. As a consequence, the forces of colonialism and

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[32] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the ideal of Victorian masculinity was an unquestionable feature of middle class male society in Great Britain and the United States. Victorian masculine idealism is seen as the by-product of manliness that had evolved into a phenomenon of 'muscular Christianity' which tended to exaggerate an excessive commitment to muscle development and physical activity at the expense of Christianity. Not viewed in exclusion, the concept of femininity in the same period demanded of women a certain docility befitting the gendered image of a Victorian lady, a commitment to domesticity and subservience (see Mangan and Walvin 1987 in Barnhart 2005).

Christianisation require further interrogation in order to better understand the historical constructions of masculinity in Africa. Throughout Sub-saharan Africa, agents such as missionaries and labour recruiters had an influential role in transforming men's gendered relationships and identities in the early colonial periods (Morrell 1998:620; Miescher and Lindsay 2003:14). It is certain that with the coming of the Western missionaries, indigenous African understandings of what it meant to be a man were exposed not only to new challenges but also representations which came with missionary Christianity and Victorian ideals of manliness that demanded new patterns of gender practices. Esme Cleall (2009:233) for example argues that missionaries in Southern Africa advocated the indigenous adoption of the British Protestant gender system in their efforts to teach needlework to girls and woodwork to boys in a covert attempt to impart an interpretation of Christianity that was heavily gendered.

With the same vigour, the missionaries strove to convert kings, elites and wealthy household heads as those who epitomised dominant masculinity with a belief that the difficulty of Christianisation was the problem of dominant African masculinity (McKittrick 2003:41). In order to succeed in their mission enterprise, McKittrick (2003:43) has pointed out that the Western missionaries used Christian conversion as a strategy to draw young men away from the influence of their fathers and the kings, to life in the mission stations as a pathway towards Christian obedience and discipleship. Hence, to the missionary, baptism (i.e., the change of name) became a movement away from indigenous masculinities which were based on loyalty to fathers and kings (2003:43).

Having been introduced to the European domain of masculine superiority, Miescher and Lindsay (2003:11) observe that junior African males chose Christianity and labour migration as alternative routes in the acquisition of masculine power. They assert that missionary Christianity used mission schools which had dominated the field of formal education as sites to shape boys into certain kinds of Christian men (2003:13). As McKittrick (2003:43) has shown, literacy and reading came to occupy an important place in the construction of Christian masculinity and marked a new masculine status. This led not only to conflicting and competing notions of masculinity among indigenous men but also to a time of crisis over male authority. In capturing the impact that this crisis had on men and gender relations, Nkolika Aniekwu notes:

> By inserting the ethics of Western Christendom, the colonial regime became the major force in changing sub-Saharan African women's symmetries and identities during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. …The changes affected gender relations through overt support for 'patriarchy'…men's roles progressively separated from women's roles in every sphere of society. Across the continent, 'civilising' missions sought to totally reconstruct African society and culture. The result was that men struggled to achieve autonomy from the intrusive colonial force and to revalidate control over their social lives. Conjugal relations of the new marriage systems also tended to solidify the notion of male dominance within marriage (2006:146).

The argument therefore is that such changes reinforced a gender hierarchy that was already present in traditional indigenous Africa before colonisation and the introduction of Christianisation. Even so, I posit that traditional masculine ideologies have undergone changes influenced by the media, Western ideals of manhood, imperialism and colonialism and religious perceptions of masculinities.

Based on what I have discussed so far, it is vital to look at how colonialism impacted on men in South Africa, thereby influencing how masculinities have been represented and reproduced. The discourse suggests a complex and contradictory description of what it meant to be a man in the lived realities of Apartheid South Africa.

3.2 South Africa and Construction of Masculinities

Histories of South African masculinities portray conflicting indigenously acquired expressions of manhood informed to a certain degree by masculine ideals of colonialism and Christianisation. In a nutshell, South Africa is a middle-income country, with over fifty million people. The population is predominantly female (fifty-two percent) and youthful, with one-third aged below fifteen years (Morrell *et al.* 2012:13). Similarly, Desiree Lewis (2007:4), has shown how South Africa's population remains deeply divided in terms of language and ideological outlook based on the Apartheid policy of segregating the population, and in many cases confined certain groups to impoverished rural areas, thereby accentuating the notions of class and race. Furthermore, Morrell *et al.* (2012:14) posit that while South Africa has enormous mineral and agricultural wealth, it also has a very high unemployment rate and extreme wealth inequalities. The official unemployment rate currently stands at twenty-four per cent disproportionately affecting

black youths,[33] as the country remains extremely divided conspicuously between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.'

Against this backdrop, race and class for South Africa remain as the two major factors that are important to consider as one inquires how men understand their masculine identity and deploy their acquired masculinities. As Morrell (1998:607) contends, class and race factors are constitutive of the form that masculinity takes. This implies that the manner in which race and class intersect contribute to how masculinities are shaped and reproduced, how they are represented in diverse patterns at any given moment in time.

3.2.1   Hegemonies and Construction of Masculinities in South Africa

In studying constructions of masculinities in South Africa, one must not underestimate the influence and effects of the previous Apartheid State and its systems. This is particularly informative to my study. As Morrell (2001b:22) suggests, Apartheid South Africa was a man's country. It is further established that the present day socio-political and economic landscape of the country is a clear product of its colonial and Apartheid past (Morrell *et al* 2012:14). Clearly, as observed by Morrell *et al* (2012), from the start of the European settlement in 1952, the country's history has been marked by a brutal, violent, struggle over land, with forcible dispossession of the indigenous population. Therefore, it is evident that power was exercised publically and politically by men. In black and white families, men held power, made decisions and earned the money.

Although men were in control and held authoritative power, not all groups of men were equal in status and the use of power by men varied depending on race and class. With the creation of a race-based hierarchy, white men assumed superiority over black people[34] Morrell (2001b:22) for example observes that for black men, the harshness of life on the edge of poverty and the emasculation of political powerlessness gave their masculinity a

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[33] Officially, 28% of Africans are unemployed, compared to 5% of whites. But when a broader definition is used (including all who are not employed and are seeking work, as well as those who have become discouraged from seeking work), it is 38% (Morrell *et al* 2012).

[34] The term 'black' (at times used interchangeably with 'African') as used in this chapter refers to a combination of black, Coloured and Indian racial groups based on the understanding of race classifications in South Africa. According to van Jaarsveld (cited in Fourie 2008:247), the old Voortrekkers' perception of black people was generally negative—they were portrayed as barbarous, predacious, bloodthirsty and treacherous and in addition, God willed that the children of Ham should remain cursed eternally, as hewers of wood and drawers of water.

dangerous edge. Notably therefore, the State, among other contending ideologies in South Africa, proved to be the most powerful institution that influenced the formation of gender and organisation of power among its citizens. The Apartheid State in this case, achieved its purpose through its policies of segregation by imposing race and class categories, which resulted in various perceptions and patterns of masculinities. Echoing this is Newton Brandt (2006:44) who shows that there remains little doubt that the imposition of Apartheid provided the dominant ideology of masculinity.

Therefore, by using the concept of hegemonic masculinity, in what follows I briefly discuss masculinities in the era of Apartheid South Africa (1948-1994) by highlighting how race and class have informed different constructions of masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity therefore assists me to explore the relationships between the different forms of masculine hegemony which emerged during the Apartheid era within the contestations of race and class while negotiating power and resistance.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was shaped by Connell's theoretical work on gender (1987, 1995, and 2005). Connell (1995) derived the concept of hegemony initially from the sociologist and political theorist, Antonio Gramsci, and it was taken to define the unequal distribution of power in his analysis of class relations in society.[35] As a dominant form of masculinity in a society, hegemonic masculinity is defined to exercise its power over other rival masculinities by regulating male power over women and distributing this power differentially, among men (Connell 1995; Morrell 1998:607-608; 2001b:13; Morrell *et al.* 2012:20). Identifying hegemonic masculinity with oppressive attitudes and practices that silence and subordinates other masculinities, the concept has been used as an analytical gendered language in masculinity studies which seek to provide an explanation for how a number of masculinities coexist (Morrell *et al.* 2012:11, 20).

The interpretation of hegemonic masculinity has varied among scholars even though they seem to retain its original emphasis as proposed by Connell. For du Pisani (2001) and Morrell *et al.* (2012), hegemonic masculinity is fluid, keeps shifting and represents a set of cultural ideals that are constructed, defended and contested. In this sense, hegemonic masculinity is seen to refer to the dominant standard of masculinity through which men

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[35] See Connell (1995:76-81) on his use of the term 'hegemonic masculinity' citing how masculinities are ranked hierarchically consisting of three categories of subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinities.

are socialised in keeping with dominant cultural stereotypes of masculinity in establishing effective masculine identity (see Langa 2012 and Morrell *et al.* 2012). For example, these may include the dominant social construction of men as brave, strong, and aggressive. Simultaneously, hegemonic masculinity has also been used to refer to "dominant acceptable" norms of gender for boys and men (Morrell *et al.* 2012). In such cases, hegemonic masculinity is used to refer to acceptable norms of masculine behaviour, self-representation and practices (Mfecane 2008 in Morrell *et al.* 2012:24) or 'ideal' standards of masculinity as to that which constitutes a "real man" or forms "successful masculinity" (Joseph and Lindegger 2007 in Morrell *et al.* 2012). In this case, men who subscribe to such ideals of what they understand to be a "real man" hold that a real man must be one who is able to work, provide and support his wife and family, one who is able to perform sexually or have multiple sexual partners, or one who is successful, envied and desired.

It is therefore important to note the following in relation to hegemonic masculinity. First, masculine norms and ideals for men are institutionally and culturally informed (see Connell 1995). This suggests that representation of hegemonic masculinity may cultivate ideologies of patriarchy, thereby enhancing male dominance and oppression at various levels. Second, the acceptance of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa has led to its use either in a lesser or greater extent for the periodization and analysis of masculinity[36] (Morrell *et al.* 2012:15). Crucial to note at this point is that the concept of hegemonic masculinity has received theoretical critique with objections ranging from its excessive impressiveness yet inherent rigidity to capture the complexities of gender power (Morrell *et al.* 2001b:14) and that hegemonic masculinity is considered singular and universal with little acknowledgement given to research-based work that argues for a model of multiple hegemonic masculinities (Morrell *et al.* 2012:11).

Morrell (1994; 1997; 1998; 2001b) and Morrell *et al.* (2012) therefore highlight to show that not only one form of masculinity has been hegemonic, but at least two forms of masculinities operate at the hegemonic level in the South African context. These are briefly reviewed for the purpose of this study.

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[36] See Morrell *et al.*, (2012) for a detailed understanding on how the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been utilised in South African gender research.

3.2.1.1 Hegemonic White Masculinity

White hegemonic masculinity is represented by the political and economic dominance of the white ruling class among white Afrikaans- and English-speaking South African men.[37] The historical and sociological contexts of colonialism and Apartheid (See Morrell 2001b; Morrell and Ouzgane 2005; Morrell *et. al.,* 2012) clearly, yet extraordinarily, divide the socio-political and economic settings along lines of race and social class. According to Joel Mavis (1989:30-31) the term 'racism' in South Africa during the 1940s was restricted to feelings of animosity between Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans and had nothing to do with colour (see also Fourie 2008:247).[38] After the South African war (1899-1902) which resulted from the British expansion, Morrell *et al* (2012:16) note that South Africa came into being as a country in 1910 and remained a British colony until 1961. The 1910 South African Union resulted into a century of racial domination by the white minority leading to the merging of previous forms of white masculinities in South Africa. With the National Party (NP) winning the South African election thirty eight years later in 1948, du Pisani (2001:157) has shown how the Apartheid system was instituted and oppressive racist policies were established against the majority of black people for the next forty or more years. Morrell (1998) argues how "Afrikaner and English settler masculinities interlocked remains to be seen."

Established on the grounds of race and colour, the imposition of Apartheid formally legitimised white hegemony over blacks in order to rule. For example, as Madipoane Masenya (2008:149) contends, the dominant belief was that whiteness and maleness were normative concepts. Post-1948, hegemonic Afrikaner masculinity based on the notion of Afrikaner self-determination used political power to popularize new perceptions of masculinity (see Morrell *et al* 2012). Emphases were placed on Reformed Protestant interpretations of New Testament traditions with masculine images stemming from religious, political and cultural leadership within the burgeoning Afrikaner establishment (Du Pisani 2001:157-58). The dominant Afrikaner symbols of masculinity were represented by traditional rural-based hardworking *boere* (farmers). Du Pisani (2001)

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[37] White masculinity exercised its hegemony in 'white' areas – urban residential areas, places of work and on white-occupied farms.

[38] Clearly this indicates that even among white South African men there were multiple groups of hegemony within this category classified as white hegemonic masculinity. For example, in the British colony of Natal, masculinities were being shaped by the settlers themselves. Morrell (1998:618) indicates that this settler masculinity became hegemonic by borrowing heavily from metropolitan representations of manliness.

observes that the core values of Afrikaner hegemonic masculinity were expressed in the membership requirements of the Afrikaner Broederbond which required one to be white, financially independent, Afrikaans-speaking, Protestant by faith, and male—thereby adhering to Reformed Protestant Christianity and being a baptised member of one of the three dominant Dutch Reformed church denominations. Morrell *et al* (2001:12) thus conclude; "masculinity, violence and the bloody conclusion of war became yoked together in this form of masculine power":

> The South African government was made up of men—Afrikaans-speaking, white men. They espoused an establishment masculinity which was authoritarian, unforgiving and unapologetic. This kind of masculinity was forged in the Afrikaans-medium, all-white schools, and reinforced in such institutions as the *veldskole* (schools for field craft) and in the commandos. …A passive white population accepted these developments not only because it believed government propaganda about '*swartgevaar*' (the danger posed by blacks) but also because the idea of being a man – being a protector, a wage-earner and knowing the right thing to do –made such steps seem perfectly logical. By 1970 South Africa was a highly militarised state with a panoply of repressive instruments to deal with those who did not agree with the direction of government policy (2001b:17).

Afrikaner nationalism as a racist, militaristic and authoritarian force in South Africa will be discussed later in this chapter under the rubric of militarised masculinity. Significant to mention here is that the emergence of hegemonic Afrikaner masculinities marginalised alternative masculinities by silencing or stigmatising them (du Pisani 2001). The new democratic, post-1994 South Africa has brought a challenge to what was hegemonic Afrikaner masculinities. Although Afrikaner men have now lost political power, and Afrikaner masculinity can no longer freely prescribe (or legislate) the ideal of white masculinity to South African society at large, men are no longer as dominant in the domestic sphere as they were when Afrikaner nationalism was in the ascendency (du Pisani 2001:172). Based upon du Pisani's (2001) prediction that a new hegemonic Afrikaner masculinity may in due course emerge, Nadar (2009:558) postulates that Angus Buchan's MMC can be seen as a new and emerging version of Afrikaner hegemonic masculinity. This raises important questions for my study: Are there forms of hegemonies being portrayed within the MMC in South Africa? To what extent do Charismatic/Evangelical faith discourses on masculinity foster hegemonic ideals in their perceptions of 'godly manhood'?

3.2.1.2 Hegemonic Black Masculinities

Unlike in Great Britain and the United States where black masculinity is understood as minority masculinity reflecting the demographic and social realities of those societies (Morrell 2001b), black masculinity in South Africa emerged as a result of urbanization and the development of geographically separate and culturally distinct African townships (Morrell 1998; Morrell *et al.* 2012). Hence, black masculinity in South Africa is not a minority representation of masculinity but rather represents an urban hegemonic group of majority black men in South Africa during the colonial era.

On the one side, the effect of urbanisation within the colonial era was understood by most black men as emasculating. Although urbanisation brought wage-earning activities which were deemed to be a key feature of being 'a man' (Morrell 1998:623), most men settled for jobs which were considered as women's work and menial jobs. These were seen as brutal, unmanly and humiliating. On the other side, the institutionalisation of the migrant mine worker system suggests an alternative understanding of African masculinity in the urban areas where men imaged their manhood and masculine capacities by endurance, physical strength and by being tough (see Morrell 1998 and Morrell 2001b). However, it is observed that these men were subjected to the severity of industrial labour and racial hierarchy, paid pitifully low wages, and forced to work under hazardous and physically demanding conditions (Morrell 2001b:24).

Within this context of urbanisation, it is apparent that African and black masculinity sought hegemony in various ways. First, the desire to maintain their masculine identity as African male workers who were newly in the city was achieved by keeping strong links with their rural roots and kingship ties (Morrell 2001b). This influenced how masculinity was understood in relation to the rural homestead life which they 'owned,' and also ensured a standard of measuring a man's masculinity. Through this, African masculinities remained hegemonic (see Morrell 1998 and Morrell 2001b). This hypothetically illustrates how African men seemed to have dealt with their sense of urban emasculation. Second, this context also presented a complex situation where two rival forms of masculinities sought for hegemony and dominance. It is argued that while white hegemonic masculinity in supervisory and professional positions asserted itself through violence in the mines, black masculinities resisted by justifying violence as a way of dealing with

power inequalities (Morrell 2001b:24-25). Morrell (1998:623) in this case argues that for African workers, violence was an affirmation of manhood, a way of contesting oppressive relations and, in the end, of taking revenge.[39]

The impact of Western imperial oppression and industrial urbanisation upon men in South Africa is therefore evident in the recent histories of violence and aggression among different racial groups. This scenario established constructions of various forms of aggressive masculinities. Three of these aggressive representations of hegemonic masculinities are discussed in what follows.

3.2.2   Aggressive Masculinities in Apartheid South Africa

According to Morrell (2001b:12), the masculinity of the men of the two former Boer Republics had an unbending resolve to defend 'the Boer way of life' and chose to be involved in solving disputes by fighting. As a result of a capitalist state, masculinity which held aggression as the highest achievement mark of a man developed among African men (Morrell 2001b). In response to racist and imperialist policies in South Africa, the black majority formed political parties [e.g., the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress of Azania (PAC)] which were banned in the late 1960's under the Suppression of Communist Act of 1950 (see Alexander, 1985 and Ellis and Sechabe 1992 quoted in Langa 2012:78).) The 1976 Soweto uprising which became a means of popularising the ANC's Freedom Charter of 1955 (Langa 2012), made a significant turning point in the anti-Apartheid struggle. Overall, violence and aggression became a common mark and weapon for the Apartheid state and among organised liberation struggles in South Africa. This context established a pace for various aggressive masculinities as discussed further in the next section.

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[39] Significant to black masculinity is that most senior African men negotiated non-violent methods of engaging imperial oppression. In view of this, black masculinity in South Africa seemed to assert itself as counter-cultural expressions of manhood and modelled itself in new images of urban manhood (Morrell 1997:174). In so doing the youth opposed the elders and this threatened the household economy and the patriarchal authority which governed it (see also Miescher and Lindsay 2003:11).

3.2.2.1   Militant Masculinities

The connection between the military use of force as a process of initiation into manhood is well documented (see Mankayi 2010:22). In Apartheid South Africa, military service was an agent of masculine socialisation. On this grounds, Morrell (2001b) shows how military experience was adopted as part of the educational system in white schools of South Africa. For example, du Pisani (2001:165-166) points out that militarisation in the 1970s and 1980s impacted upon the lives of young white males who were made to believe that they had to fight for the survival of Western civilisation and Christianity in South Africa. This might not have been the feeling of Afrikaner youths but white youth in general. Du Pisani (2001) further notes that compulsory military service for all young physically fit white South African men was introduced and this conveyed a masculine soldier image (see also Mankayi 2010).

Sandra Swart (1998:738) cites from a contemporary *Blackwood's Magazine* (1914) noticing the nature of masculine militarism in South Africa. She states: "In South Africa a man unwilling to serve in the defence of Land and People would hardly be regarded as a man" (1998). Conscription was therefore seen as a necessary experience needful to transform young white conscripted soldiers into responsible men who could support their families and cooperate in organised civil society (see du Pisani 2001 and Mankayi 2010). As such, militarisation was a means of socialisation into becoming a man, a process of masculinisation among white South Africans. Swart (1998) elaborates that the *Kommando*[40] was a system that assigned status to men in the community and was important in the early socialisation of the young Boer. Important to mention at this point is the critical feature of the *Kommando* system where emphasis was placed on leadership and the claim to authority by an individual or individuals (see Swart 1998:740). Arguing that Boer family life was highly patriarchal (Swart 1998),[41] the paternal relations of the *Kommando* were clearly reflected in patriarchal societal relations—including uncles and nephews, fathers and sons—formed a public projection of the relations of the domestic realm where women were subordinate.

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[40] The *Kommando* (commando) system was a method of military organisation in which an army is divided into units drawing solders from a particular place and then using them in that area largely (Swart 1998:738).
[41] Age was important in the Boer construction of masculinity: leadership was by a patriarchy of old men. Hence beards were important for their dual symbolism of age and manliness (Swart 1998:747).

3.2.2.2 Struggle Masculinity

The period prior to 1994 brought with it significant activist movements, establishing the overt violent nature of the struggle against Apartheid. Langa (2012:79) shows how many black township youths left the country to join the ANC and the PAC in exile in order to train as cadres. According to Langa (2012), the involvement of these township boys in struggle politics enacted a form of "militarised masculinity." Thokozani Xaba (2001:108) indicates that "struggle masculinity" was socially constructed and referred to a collective gender identity and type of masculinity which became dominant among young, urban Africans during the 1980's liberation struggle against Apartheid. In this case, militarised masculinity which also shaped forms of struggle and aggressive masculinities depicted an active involvement in politics. Violence and protest activities were aimed at overthrowing the Apartheid regime and policing political activism in the townships (see Glaser 2000 and Langa 2012:79).[42]

The political struggles therefore created racial spaces in which masculinities were reproduced. It is apparent that a boy's involvement in the militarised struggle against Apartheid oppression afforded him a process of masculine socialisation that marked the transition from boyhood to manhood. Langa and Eagle (2008:163) have shown that cadres who were unable to endure pain were labelled as lacking in masculinity and were also accused of being cowards or 'sissy boys.' As part of the struggle masculinity, young cadres were expected to be strong, brave, tough, fearless, aggressive, and violent. Langa and Eagle (2008:155) also observe that a willingness to die while fighting for liberation was considered a clear indication of what it meant to be a man. Demonstrating the nature of militarised masculinity, Sasha Naidoo therefore contends:

> A boy was expected to be tough and by killing a member of the IFP, a boy's 'manhood' was proved to the community. Bravery, courageousness and fearlessness are traits which were associated with militarised masculinity. The ability to use a gun and defy figures of authority for example the police also formed part of this militarised masculinity (2007:38)

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[42] Struggle masculinity was characterised by opposition to Apartheid system which included Bantu Education, exploitation of workers, communities, high rents and rates, and suppression of protest and political militancy (Xaba 2001:109).

3.2.2.3 *Tsotsi* and Street Masculinity

The organised struggle against the Apartheid regime also brought with it the emergence of so-called *tsotsi* gangs in the townships. As a way of accruing power by young black men, Langa (2012:82) argues that *tsotsi* masculinity was a negatively defined masculinity, associated with anti-social behaviour. Glaser (2000:4) points out that the *tsotsi* gangs of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as the Soweto gangs of the 1960s and 1970s were expressions of young urban masculinities. During the mid-1980s, these youth were often called *com-tsotsi* because of their involvement in political and criminal activities (Glaser 2000:189 and Langa 2012:82). As Glaser (2000:5-6) and Langa (2012) observe, the masculine identity of these gangs hinged around experimenting with drugs, developing fighting skills, asserting independence, gaining street wisdom, partying, clothing styles, daring and 'success' with women, as well law-breaking activities such as house breaking and armed robbery. Masculine assertion, male power and control among the *tsotsi's* were expressed through crime, violence and even rape (Glaser 2000, Langa 2012). Important to note is that the emergence of a street masculinity which existed side-by-side with that of a struggle masculinity was unsympathetic in its attitudes, especially towards women (Xaba 2001:109).

3.2.2.4 Comrade Masculinity

From 1984 onwards, youth congress activists, known as *comrades* had a central and often detested role of policing stay-a-ways, being responsible for rendering numerous townships ungovernable (Glaser 2000:188). Xaba (2001:109) indicates that in the townships, *comrades* took it upon themselves to organise defence committees whose main duties included protecting communities from State oppression as well as 'weeding out' State informants. In most cases, comradeship was earned by young men. The spirit of comradeship (Langa and Eagle 2008:155, 162) emphasised brotherhood among combatants which facilitated an identity of togetherness among young men with a shared goal of defeating the oppressive Apartheid regime. This gave young men status and social respect in the community, (Xaba 2001:110). Xaba (2001) further notes that *comrades* were seen as warriors and were also referred to as 'young lions' and 'liberators' especially because of their impatience with the elders who seemed either to tolerate or

accommodate or even serve the interests of the white Apartheid regime.

Within a sub-culture that embraced politicised students and gang cultures, *comrades* had their own style and rituals (Glaser 2000:189). This made the group retain an ambivalent stance where "extreme comradeship," identified to involve more politically disciplined and responsible youth were eager to disassociate from the criminal activities that were associated with the *tsotsi* and street gang culture of the time (Glaser 2000:189).

The issue at stake with these forms of situational masculinities that emerged within the context of aggression during the Apartheid era is the degree to which each form of masculinity embraced a militarised identity. This established the milieu under which a normalised culture of violence is 'tolerated' in South Africa. Even today, violence and aggression is still seen as an 'ideal' identity of being a real man among some post-Apartheid South African men who continue to cultivate a disparaging culture of abuse and crime where men believe that they can get whatever they want by force and be able to get away with their anti-social and often belligerent behaviour. This, to a certain extent demonstrates the claim that portrays a crisis in masculinity that has been established in the past decade within studies of masculinity in South Africa (see Walker 2005). In South Africa, the nature of the crisis in contemporary masculinities seems to be aggravated by the political and socio-economic transition in gender and power relations embodied in constitutional changes and labour legislation at varying levels.

In relation to the perceived crisis in masculinity in South Africa, it is therefore important to take note how men have responded to social, political and economic changes that have brought shifts in gender power relations. This is discussed in depth in the next chapter while examining how the MMC seem to respond to their changing contexts in South Africa.

As part of the response on issues dealing with crisis of masculinity, scholars in the field of men and masculinity have shown an increased interest in research that seeks to engage and interrogate diverse forms of masculinities. This is evident through the vigorous emphasis that has been noted emerging in this field of research. A brief review of the literature will be presented in the section which follows.

The HIV and AIDS epidemic and violence against women and children are among the factors that brought an increased interest on issues of men and masculinities especially in sub-Saharan Africa since the turn of the new century. This interest has predominantly grown in the field of religion and theology. I here take note of Morrell's (1998:613) assertion that it was the rise of Women's Studies in Southern Africa which paradoxically resulted in new questions being asked about and renewed attention being focused on men. In this case, the intersection between religion and HIV and AIDS, is one that prompted the need to critically engage men on representation of masculinities within religious circles. In order to understand questions of masculinity in a study of this kind, the important contribution of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians (*hereafter,* the Circle) cannot be ignored or minimised.

3.3 The Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians Engage Men towards Liberating Masculinities

The Circle has been significant in opening up spaces and pioneering ways through which women begin to engage concerns on HIV and AIDS, religion and theology. The third continental Circle conference, held in Addis Ababa in 2002 marked the beginning of its systematic response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic from the perspective of religion, culture and social practice in order to save lives (see Phiri 2003:8). With scholars making a compelling case that HIV and AIDS is a gendered issue in sub-Saharan Africa (Mane and Aggleton 2001; Denis 2003 and Phiri 2003), the need to engage men to be responsible for their behaviour was deemed urgent and one which could not be ignored (van Klinken 2011b:277). Furthermore, Phiri has shown that the traditional upbringing of boys and girls runs on gender lines, marriage being at the centre of patriarchy in Africa and thus constructs the subordinate position of African women, and cultural norms and economic factors that contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV and AIDS infection (Phiri 2003:9-25). What becomes patently clear with such observations is that normalised African traditional cultures, gender role socialisations and religious beliefs informed behavioural patterns that influenced male gender identities and constructions of masculinities that proved dangerous in a HIV context. As a result, such gender inequalities and power dynamics to a great extent exposed women to be at great risk.

In seeking to systematically respond to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, the Circle made a call for action and transformation in the context of HIV and AIDS. The urgency to engage men proved unavoidable in this journey. Phiri (2009:116) points out that the Circle for the very first time invited male theologians to its 2007 pan-African conference on gender and HIV AND AIDS, thereby including a session on liberating masculinities. Van Klinken (2011b:277) asserts that this move challenged male theologians in Africa to work on a project on masculinities, gender and HIV. The first outcome of this project as mentioned by van Klinken (2011b) was *Redemptive Masculinities: Religion, Men, Gender-Based Violence and HIV,* edited by Ezra Chitando (2010).[43] These developments marked the beginning from which male theologians engaged with issues of masculinities from a religious and theological perspective. The voices of scholars in this field of research (especially Chitando, van Klinken and West) have elaborated the importance of acknowledging men's socialisation into masculinities, which eventually reinforces gender inequalities. Interrogating religious beliefs that influence masculine ideals is therefore of importance in Christian theology, not only as a response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, but as an interrogation of masculinities that emerge from within religious settings. The question that follows concerns how African male and female theologians have responded to the call in seeking to engage issues of masculinity.

3.3.1 African Men and Women Theologians Explore Redemptive Masculinities

The main focus of research in this area has been on aspects of problematic masculinities that inform negative ideas which often include dangerous and aggressive ways of being men.[44] Chitando and Chirongoma (2008:51) in this case states that: "while being a male is a biological factor, the process of expressing manhood is informed by social, cultural and religious factors." In actual fact, men with different religious values will have different ways of expressing their manhood (Chitando and Chirongoma 2008:57). Challenging the

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[43] Before the pan-African conference in 2007, the *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa* dedicated one of its issues to focus on masculinities (see 2006, vol. 12, no.1). A year later, following the pan-African conference, the same journal dedicated another issue which addressed men and HIV and AIDS (see 2008, vol. 14, no. 1).

[44] As used by Chitando and Chirongoma (2008:56), the phrase "dangerous masculinities" refers to the negative/stereotypical conceptions of manhood which emphasise exploitive and abusive aspects of manhood, including traits such as risky sexual behaviour, the abuse of drugs and alcohol and violence against women and children.

manner in which students are introduced to the various religions of the world in an apparent innocent way, Chitando and Chirongoma (2008) further question the way in which this enacts the role of religion in aiding dangerous masculinities. In stressing the role religion has on constructing masculinities, van Klinken makes a convincing case when he affirms:

> The reason why men and masculinities are addressed by scholars in religion and theology is that several critical aspects of dominant masculinities are believed to be informed by religious beliefs and practices (2011b:278).

In the light of this observation, the awareness that religious belief contributes to the construction of gender ideologies is a step towards investigating how religious belief informs representation and construction of masculine identity. Morrell (2001b:7) puts forward the challenge to gender scholars to identify what forces operate to effect changes in masculinities, when, where and how such changes occur, and what their effects will be. This challenge is picked up in this present study which investigates how faith discourses within Protestant Christianity influences construction of emerging masculinities. Analytically, this opens up a space to explore how patterns of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity and theology in particular, intersect with other socio-political, cultural and economic factors as forces that inform representations of masculinities.

Overall, it is not enough to interrogate how, for example Christian and cultural beliefs negatively socialise men and reinforce problematic representations and masculine practices. What emerges as important among most scholars is the constant need to explore the possibilities of utilising religious resources to transform men and the ideal of masculinities, an aim that is shared by this study. Central among scholars of gender and religion is a realisation that religion can be used as a tool towards transformation of masculinities (see van Klinken 2011b:283-288; Chitando and Chirongoma 2012). In their volume on *Redemptive Masculinities: Men HIV and Religion*, Chitando and Chirongoma (2012) have engaged the concept of "redemptive masculinities" as one that underlines the importance of religio-cultural resources in the emergence of liberating, "more peaceful and harmonious masculinities." They contend that such redemptive masculinities evoke a spiritual dimension that seeks to develop masculinities that promote health and wellbeing for all (2012). In like manner, but focusing more

specifically on biblical notions of masculinity, West (2010) is credited with utilising the biblical text as a resource in constructing redemptive masculinities. The important question at this stage is: to what extent does the faith discourses at the MMC hold potential for transformative change? I will explore this question further in chapters six, seven and eight.

Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to establish the socio-religious, cultural, economic and political context in which representation and constructions of masculinities are inquired within the MMC. In the chapter, I highlight the background to studies of masculinities within South(ern) Africa with an aim to review literature on men and masculinity studies in this context of study. In the chapter, I have reviewed three categories of literature to assist in establishing the increased interest in religion and masculinity studies in South(ern) Africa.

First, I have highlighted some representation of masculinity in Pre-colonial Africa and how the intersection of colonialism and Christianity impacted on shaping perceptions of masculinities. Second, I have outlined multiple representations of hegemonies of masculinity in South Africa during the Apartheid era. I have demonstrated how categories of race and class have informed and influenced constructions of masculine identities in South Africa, resulting to aggressive forms of masculinities. Third, I have reviewed literature on the noted increase and interest on men and masculinities studies in Southern Africa. This, as I have shown, establishes the justification of studying masculinities from a religious and theological perspective in post-apartheid South Africa.

This then leads me to discuss the theological scope of this study in the next chapter. I describe the tenets of evangelicalism and Evangelical Christianity as expressed through the Mighty Men Conference.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MIGHTY MEN'S CONFERENCE (MMC): AN EXPRESSION OF CHARISMATIC, EVANGELICAL AND PENTECOSTAL CHRISTINIATY

> The interpretation and control of a core symbolic system in the case of
> gender issues in the Evangelical subculture is not fixed and permanent
> but, on the contrary, is the result of an ongoing process of construction
> (production), which entails a tremendous degree of negotiation
> characterised by conflict (Ingersoll 2003:16).

4.0 Introduction

The Mighty Men's Conference (MMC) cannot be understood outside of the backdrop of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity. In keeping with the definition of evangelicalism, my objective in this chapter is to discuss how the MMC portrays expressions of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity through its theology articulated in the form of faith discourses. It is within this form of Christianity that findings on the representations and constructions of masculinities within the MMC are presented and discussed in the subsequent chapters. In order to address the objective mentioned above, I have divided the chapter in four sections. First, a detailed definition of the term Evangelical Christianity is given while discussing the tenets of evangelicalism. Second, I discuss Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostalism in South Africa as a form of Christianity portrayed by the MMC. Third, I discuss Evangelical theology illustrating the emphasis Evangelicals place on Scripture, the place and work of Jesus Christ through his death and resurrection for salvation. Fourth, I conclude the chapter by looking at the Evangelical gender patterns (culture) and the impact this has on perceptions and construction of masculinity.

4.1 Towards a Definition of Evangelicals and "Evangelicalism"

The question of defining the term 'Evangelical' and the concept 'evangelicalism' is debatable, highly contested and one that has invited considerable challenge from both

scholars and adherents alike. Alister McGgrath (1995:5) establishes from Mark Noll's words that the term 'Evangelical' "is a plastic one" where it is easy to see evangelicalism operative in the church, but it is amorphous and difficult to define. Within such noted contestations, Donald Dayton (2001) and Roger Olson (2007) writing for a western readership note that Evangelical seems to be an idea and category with no precise or agreed-on meaning to an extent they question whether the term "Evangelical" is useful at all. This challenge is not restricted to Third World scholars. Notably, Paul Freston's (2001:3) work on Evangelicals and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America indicates within the ongoing debates that defining 'Evangelical' is hotly debated in both historical and sociological literatures and hence the usefulness of the whole category is often called into question.[45] With this stated, a working definition of Evangelical and evangelicalism is still required for the purpose of this study as the scope. The question that arises is: who are Evangelicals?

4.1.1   Evangelical Christianity: A Historical Synopsis

Etymologically, 'Evangelical' simply means "of the good news" or "related to the Gospel." (Olson 2007). According to McGrath (1995:5), the modern use of the word dates to the sixteenth century when it was used to refer to Catholic writers who wanted to follow biblical beliefs and directives that they perceived were being ignored by the late medieval church. David Bebbington (1989) highlights that historians regularly apply the term 'Evangelical'[46] to the churches arising from the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century as opposed to the Roman Catholic (see also Bloesch 1983:15). Adrio König (1998:81) takes this further by indicating that the word Evangelical has both the specific concept of "*Evangel*" which relates to the Greek word *evangelion,* used for the gospel of Jesus Christ in general and also for each one of the four Gospels included in the New Testament. It is suggested that Martin Luther adopted the Greek term *euagelion,* (from *eu-*"good" and *angelion* "message") meaning "the good news," or more commonly,

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[45] Citing other leading scholars such as Hunter (1983), Freston (2001) observes that the large United States body of literature on the subject of defining 'Evangelical' has come up with varied definitions. He admits that the international focus makes definition even harder, since a United States definition can by no means be regarded as universally applicable to a phenomenon generally regarded as originating in eighteenth century Europe and whose centre of gravity is now in Africa and Latin America.

[46] Initially, 'evangelical' with a lower case was occasionally used to mean 'of the gospel,' the term 'Evangelical' with a capital letter is applied to any aspect of the movement beginning in the 1730s (Bebbington 1989).

the "gospel," dubbing his breakaway Reformation Movement the *evangelische Kirke,* or "Evangelical Church"— a name still generally applied to the Lutheran Church in German (McGrath 1995:5 and Wheaton College 2008:2).[47] Although the terms 'Evangelical' and 'fundamentalist' are often conflated (McGrath 1995), Tite Tiénou (1990:9) asserts that Evangelical has acquired the meaning of one who conforms to the essential doctrines of the Gospel and to the basic facts and truths of Christianity. For him, Evangelicals are therefore those Christians who are committed to the authority of the word of God as their 'rule of faith and practice' (Tiénou 1990). What clearly emerges from this observation is that Evangelicals have their roots from the historic Reformation (Protestant) tradition.

Historically, Olson (2007:8-14) delineates seven historical categories[48] through which Evangelical Christianity can be understood. Of these categories, James Hunter (1983:7) and Balcomb (2001:4) point out the four major religious and theological traditions which contemporary evangelicalism emerged from as: (1)the Reformed-confessional traditions, (2) the Anabaptist tradition and the Piestist movements of the 16th and 17th centuries (the Baptist tradition), and (3) the Great Awakenings in Britain and America of the 18th centuries leading into Holiness-Pentecostal tradition and movements of the 19th century and the Azusa Street revival of the 20th century. Balcomb (2001) argues that the roots of Evangelicals can be traced back to the Montanist movement of the second century. Ezekiel Mathole (2005:11) identifies the fundamentalist, Dispensationalist, Pentecostal, Charismatic, Ecumenical and Non-orthodox Conciliar Evangelicals as the main groupings of Evangelicals that currently exist.

Notably, Evangelical Christianity in Africa is wide-spread. The historical categories and groupings mentioned above have informed the religious positions of Evangelical heritage in Africa and South Africa in particular. The history of the missionary societies convincingly show that the African heritage of Christianity reached its establishment through the mission societies formed in the West, in Europe and North America (Tiénou 1990:13). With Africa as a good target for evangelisation, evangelicalism became not only

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[47] In the English-speaking world, however, the modern usage usually connotes the religious movements and denominations which sprung forth from a series of revivals that swept the North Atlantic Anglo-American world in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The key figures associated with these revivals (also considered as early leaders of Evangelicalism) included the itinerant English evangelist George Whitefield (1715-1770); the founder of the Methodism, John Wesley (1703-1791); and American philosopher and theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) (Wheaton College 2008:2).

[48] See Olson, *Pocket History of Evangelical Theology* (2007) for a detailed discussion of the seven categories.

a South African form of Christianity but a worldwide phenomenon. Bernhard Ott (2001:29) shows how it was primarily through Bible and mission societies that especially British evangelicalism reached other continents of the world in the nineteenth century.[49] This was certainly so with South Africa in that the early missionaries were Evangelicals, and as Balcomb observes:

> One only has to read the historical documentation around the emergence of the African resistance movements, the development of the African National Congress, and the launching of the Freedom Charter in 1955 to realise how profoundly the democratic ideal in South Africa has been shaped by the Christian gospel (2001:8)

The impact of the Christian religion in South Africa is therefore one that is never underestimated. Elaborating on what the use of Christian theology can accomplish, Dean Curry (1990) contends that the history of South Africa is a story which bears significant influence of religion, arguing:

> Throughout South Africa's three centuries of modern history, religion has played a major role in shaping the contours of all areas of South African life. During the formative years of the Dutch influence in the late seventeenth century, the religion of the Reformed Church was given special protection as the vehicle through which the Afrikaner identity was forged. Nearly 150 years later, the Boer *Voortrekkers* attributed their survival against the Zulu to the direct intervention of God. In the eyes of the Afrikaner, their 1838 vow at blood River established an immutable covenant between God and the chosen Boer race (1990:50).

Often, the justification of theological ideologies and positions advanced by Evangelicals on the basis of the 'gospel' or by the use of the Bible must be critically interrogated. On this note, despite the fact that South Africa has been profoundly shaped by Evangelical Christianity[50] (de Gruchy 1995 and Balcomb 2001), Clint Le Bruyns (2006:344) contends

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[49] The formation of the International Foreign Missions Association (IFMA) in 1920 and the creation of the Evangelical Foreign Missions Association (EFMA) in 1945 in the United States jointly established the Evangelical office in Nairobi (Tiénou 1990:14) to strengthen the Evangelical Movement in Africa. Tiénou (1990) note that since 1966, this has become known as the Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM)

[50] It is observed that the question on religion is no longer asked in the census According to Statistics South Africa (http://www.statssa.gove.za/census2011/fag.asp), the question on religion was low on the list of priorities as informed by the users of census data, and it therefore did not make it onto the final list of data items. As observed in my earlier research (Owino 2010) based on Bureau of Demography, Human Right and Labour (2006:1-4) the available statistical information indicates that approximately 80% of the population belonged to the Christian faith. Christian churches included the Dutch Reformed family of churches, constituting approximately 6.7 percent of the population and the Roman Catholic Church consisted approximately 7.1 percent. Protestant denominations included the Methodist (6.8 percent),

that very little theological attention has been paid to Evangelicals in South Africa. From my review, most literature available on Evangelicals focuses on their role regarding liberation in South Africa, social change and transformation, political involvements and issues of democracy.[51] In my view, presently, much scholarly attention is required in relation to Evangelical Christianity and its impact on gender construction and relations, which is still scant.

Understood as a South African form of Christianity, Balcomb (2001:5-8) suggests that there are four types of Evangelicals. The first group are those who consciously locate themselves within an historical and doctrinal Holiness tradition (movement) and deliberately separate themselves from non-Evangelicals who are informed by a dualist category regarding the identity of the church. The second group is the Pentecostal movement traced directly to the Azusa Street tradition. Balcomb (2001) further classifies the Pentecostals into three groups in what he calls the Classical, New (Neo) and Charismatic Pentecostals. The third group consists of Evangelicals commonly called the "mainline" churches, denominations that are not overtly or historically Evangelical but have Evangelicals in these denominations although not in the majority. The fourth group of Evangelicals belong to the African Independent Churches (AICs). For the purpose of this study therefore, my focus on evangelicalism is concentrated on the second and the third groups—Pentecostal-Charismatic and conservative Evangelicals (from the mainline), which covered the majority of men who attended the MMC. A description of evangelicalism therefore proves vital at this stage.

4.1.2 Defining Evangelicalism

The previous section illustrated the ambiguity relating to the definition of the term Evangelical. This can only be addressed by looking at the concept of evangelicalism as a

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Anglican (3.8 percent), Lutheran (2.5 percent), Presbyterian (1.9 percent), Baptist (1.5 percent), and Congregational (1.1 percent) churches. The remaining 48.6% comprises the largest traditional Pentecostal churches which are the Apostolic Faith Mission, the Assemblies of God, and the Full Gospel Church. A number of charismatic churches are said to have emerged in recent years. Their subsidiary churches, together with those of the Hatfield Christian Church in Pretoria, were grouped in the International Fellowship of Christian Churches. The Greek Orthodox and Seventh-day Adventist churches are also active. The African Independent Churches (AICs) are the largest group of Christian churches with more than 4,000 of these churches, a total membership of more than ten million (http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006)

[51] See Curry (1990); Balcomb (2001; 2004); Freston's(2001) and Le Bruyns (2006);

movement which unites the Evangelicals. Ingersoll (2003:12) notes that evangelicalism developed in the 1940s as an effort to reform fundamentalism.[52] Olson understands evangelicalism as:

> A loose affiliation (coalition, network, mosaic, patchwork, family) of mostly Protestant Christians of many orthodox (Trinitarian) denominations and independent churches and para-church organisations that affirms a supernatural worldview; the unsurpassable authority of the Bible for all matters of faith and religious practice; Jesus Christ as unique Lord, God, and Saviour; the fallenness of humanity and salvation provided by Jesus Christ through his suffering, death, and resurrection; the necessity of personal repentance and faith (conversion) for full salvation; the importance of a devotional life and growth in holiness and discipleship; the urgency of the gospel evangelism and social transformation; and the return of Jesus Christ to judge the world and establish the final full rule and reign of God (2007:14).

What is evident from Olson's definition above is the centrality of a Christocentric theology which understands evangelicalism as an umbrella that pulls together a community of Christians who share certain theological and historical convictions of faith within set religious commitments, values and beliefs. Olson (2007) further stresses that the genius of evangelicalism is its combination of orthodox Protestantism, conservative revivalism, and transdenominational ecumenism. To this McGrath adds:

> Evangelicalism is not a religious denomination. Rather, it is as much a theological school of thought as it is a historical movement. There are "Anglican Evangelicals," "Lutheran Evangelicals," "Presbyterian Evangelicals," "Methodist Evangelicals," "Catholic Evangelicals," and more. Obviously then, no one, overarching definition is sufficient for such a massive entity (1995:5).

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[52] It has been observed that some literature use "fundamentalism," "Evangelical," and "conservative evangelicalism" interchangeably as though they mean one and the same thing. Ingersoll (2003) observes that the current usage of the terms "fundamentalist" and "Evangelical" dates from 1920s and 1940s respectively. Fundamentalism of the 1920s was mainly characterised by their emphasis on traditional gender norms, revivalism and the separation from the world. Other characteristics included an emphasis on traditional Christian teachings (the Deity of Christ, the literal truth of miracles recorded in the Bible, the virgin birth, and so forth). Sometimes called "neo-evangelicals," the 1940s Evangelicals as argued by Ingersoll (2003) held much the same doctrinal views as the fundamentalists, but their understanding of the relationship between the church and the larger culture was different. Rejecting fundamentalist "separationism," Evangelicals seek to engage culture and transform it—to evangelise it. Stott (2003:20-24) notes that fundamentalism's rise at the beginning of the twentieth century was mainly a response to the developments of modernism and growing pluralism. It took its name from the series of pamphlets "The Fundamentals" (see also Ingersoll 2003).

It suffices therefore that evangelicalism covers a wide variety of denominations that adhere to Protestant Christianity and orthodoxy. One is bound to find Evangelical Christians in diverse Protestant traditions. As such, evangelicalism cannot be imprisoned denominationally. David Bebbington (1989:1) argues that Evangelical Christianity has found expressions in a variety of institutional forms, a wine that has been poured into many bottles. Broadly understood then, as that brand of Christianity emerging from pietist stream of Reformed Evangelical tradition (RET), Balcomb (2004:146) asserts that the emphasis given by Evangelicals to salvation through the personal encounter with the risen Christ extends this affiliation to include both Pentecostal/Charismatic movements as well as those who do not identify themselves with those movements but who believe in the need for personal salvation and Christian discipleship through adherence to Scripture.

Depending on who is writing and for what purpose they are researching, the term evangelicalism has been used differently in varying contexts by scholars. For instance, Terence Ranger (2008:5) like many other scholars adopts a much broader, generously open and inclusive understanding of evangelicalism. In his edited book: *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, Ranger (2008:5) struggles whether to regard some denominations such as those within the African Instituted Churches as Evangelical or not. He thus concludes by taking a political position for his wide definition of evangelicalism based on his intention to bring a dialogue between evangelicalism and democracy in Africa. The challenge of adopting such an open ended definition of Evangelical Christianity which lumps together a wide range of denominations and Para-organisations in Africa is the difficulty in establishing what fits within the Evangelical movement and what traditions are not affiliated with evangelicalism. On this matter Tiénou's (1990:11) observation comes handy when he contends that in Africa, evangelicalism is both wider than some take it to be and narrower than others wish it to be.

To ascertain a working definition for the purpose of this study without watering down the observations of scholars mentioned above, I adopt Bebbington's (1989) understanding of evangelicalism. This has found considerable acceptance as a working definition of evangelicalism among many scholars despite differences within the Evangelical movement (McGrath 1995; Freston 2001; Balcomb 2004 and Ranger 2008).

Apart from its tradition, Bebbington has argued that no other criterion for defining evangelicalism is satisfactory stating:

> There are the four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: *conversionism,* the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism,* the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism,* a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism,* a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism (1989:2).[53]

These four leading characteristics are accepted as the defining attributes of Evangelical religion/Christianity. As a Charismatic faith preacher/evangelist, Buchan seems to come from a strong Methodist tradition (Buchan *et al.* 2006) which display theological expressions of Evangelical Christianity and tradition. As such I refer to the MMC as an Evangelical phenomenon which fulfil every aspect of the definition of Evangelical Christianity discussed in the previous sections. Within this scope, it is evident that the MMC display expressions of Charismatic and Pentecostalism and conservative forms of evangelicalism in spirituality and theology. Despite the variety of expressions within the Evangelical movement, for the purpose of this study Evangelical Christianity is used to refer to these three varied Christian traditions which adhere to the above four mentioned characteristics. Rather than using evangelicalism based on church denominations, I have used theological traditions and belief systems to characterise what I categorise as 'Charismatic Evangelical Christianity' because evangelicalism is a theological school of thought that was observed to cut across several denominations which attended the MMC.

In this case, the word "Evangelical" is therefore not strictly employed to refer to specific denominations (for instance, Pentecostals or Charismatics or any of the mainline denominations) as used by Paul Gifford (1998:57-110; 2008:225-230),[54] but is used to describe the MMC phenomena as a Protestant Christian men's movement. This is based on the movement's emphasis on the theological beliefs outlined by Bebbington's criteria

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[53] See Bebbington (1989) for a detailed explanation of these four characteristics.
[54] Gifford problematises the term "Evangelical" and argues that it may be that it is one of those words not immediately applicable outside the West. He opts for a less theological and perhaps more organisational definition (2008:226). However, I concur with Freston who rejects the explicit use of "Evangelical" as a denominational category distinct from "mainline," as in some of Gifford's work on Africa, which tend to imprison "Evangelicalism" not only denominationally but even politically (2001:3).

of conversionism, activism, Biblicism, and cruci-centrism.[55] It is within this scope that I examine faith discourses about Charismatic Evangelical pursuit towards recreating "godly manhood" as a process towards restoring masculinities. In the section that follows, I highlight, although not in its historical detail, the tenets of Charismatic Evangelical Christianity as portrayed by the MMC.

4.2 Charismatic Evangelical Christianity in South Africa

Margaret Poloma (1982:4-5) defines Charismatics[56] as: "Christians who accept the Bible as the inspired word of God, but who also emphasise the power of the Holy Spirit in the lives of those who have accepted Jesus Christ as their saviour." Therefore, the Charismatic Evangelicaland Pentecostal Christianity[57] (an expression I associate with the MMC) is a unique form of Evangelical Christianity because it brings together Evangelical Christians from both the Pentecostal theological tradition and the expressions of Pentecostalism from other congregations and denominations into a renewal movement of Evangelical Christianity. This indicates that Charismatics are an offspring of Pentecostals. Two observations are worth noting at this point. First, theologically, the Charismatic Evangelical Christianity has its roots in Pentecostalism which according to Balcomb (2001) is divided into Classical, New, and Charismatic Pentecostals.[58] The key

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[55] The Pentecostal emphasis of the MMC is clearly seen in their published threefold vision statement which not only includes an evangelistic and social mandate, but also suggests a typical Pentecostal emphasis on the role and function of the Holy Spirit in its third ministry mandate of "equipping saints for the work of ministry—Matthew 28:20. <http://www.shalomtrust.co.za/inside-shalom/angus-buchan-biography/76-statement-of-faith/> [Accessed 11 April 2013].

[56] Very little literature is available on Charismatic Evangelicals as a grouping within Evangelicalism in South Africa. For a detailed reading on Charismatic Christianity see Poloma (1982, 2001) and Coleman (2004). It is estimated that the Pentecostal movement (including the more recent Charismatic and 'Third Wave' streams) is now said to represent one in four Christians worldwide. Scholars such as Balcomb (2001) have classified Charismatics within Pentecostals as Charismatic Pentecostals.

[57] Olson (2004:72-73) argues that the term "neo-Pentecostal is practically synonymous with Charismatic. He adds that while there is no single, unified "Charismatic theology" the main theological difference between the Charismatic movement (neo-Pentecostalism) and the classical Pentecostal movement is that the latter insists on the "initial physical evidence of speaking in tongues" for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, whereas the former generally dos not.

[58] In the New Testament, Coleman (2004) points out that the term *Pentecostal* is linked to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as described in the book of Acts when the early Christian Church in the first century were filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit, spoke in other tongues and were empowered for witness. The term is derived from the Greek, and refers to the fiftieth day after the second day of the festival of the Jewish Passover. According to most accounts, it is agreed that Pentecostalism has its beginnings in American evangelicalism, which had an outbreak of *glossolalia* in a Bible college in Topeka, Kansas, and was followed by the 'Azusa Street' revival in Los Angeles in 1906, initiated by the black evangelist William J. Seymour

theological emphasis in Pentecostalism that feeds into Charismatic forms of Evangelical Christianity as Simon Coleman (2004:20-21) observes is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit—baptism of the Holy Spirit evident in the practice of speaking in tongues—*glossalalia* (see also Noll 2000:299) and the emphasis on the "body ministry"—a term used to express the priesthood of all believers (Balcomb 2001:6). Second, the spread of Charismatic phenomena among conservative mainline congregations and other denominations (mainstream/conservative Protestantism) is evident when the people in these congregations get inspired into a Pentecostal worldview and form of Christianity characterising emphasis mentioned above.[59] Having its ancestry in American Pentecostalism, Coleman asserts:

> In a sense, Charismatics of today revive not only Acts but also the history of the early Pentecostal Church in their practices and beliefs –involving *glossolalia*, healing and prophecy, personal testimony and consciously cultivated liturgical spontaneity –even if they do not always call themselves Pentecostals (2000:20-21).

The rise of Charismatic renewal Christianity in South Africa as Glen Thompson (2004:131) argues dates back to 1960s to the mid-1970s where it was seen as an ecumenical motivation that occurred among denominations based on the experience of the Spirit-baptism and spread significantly among the white community. With the spread of this form of Christianity in South Africa, Balcomb (2001) and Noll (2000), admit that Charismatic Evangelicals either leave their congregations to form new renewal movements or join other Pentecostals, or at times stay and seek to make a contribution (renewal) to the life of their churches. As a movement with a burden towards renewal and reviving Christianity, Allan Anderson (1992:71) makes it plain that Charismatic Christianity seeks to revive elements of the gifts of *Charismata* among Evangelicals. Therefore, from the observations I gathered, the men who attend the MMC, fit the description 'Charismatic Evangelicals.' I prefer to adopt and use Charismatic Evangelical Christianity for this study since it embraces the wide range of men who associate with

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(Coleman 2004). Balcomb (2001) observes that the Classical Pentecostals can be regarded as the first sons and daughters of the Azusa Street revival emerging from the Holiness movement. They include such denominations as the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), the Full Gospel Church of God (FGC) and the Assemblies of God (AOG). The new (neo) Pentecostals are a generation removed from the Classical group and now constitute mainly the "faith" churches. It is believed that Pentecostalism spread from the West to the African continent through American missionaries and is now a form of Christianity in South Africa.

[59] Robbins (2004:121) argues that Charismatic and neo-Charismatic movements differ in several ways from Classical Pentecostalism. They often drop the requirement that one speaks in tongue to prove one's Spiritual baptism and moderate the ascetic moralism of the classical Pentecostal churches.

and attend this Men's Movement from Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal groupings. I am conscious of the emphasis given to the Holy Spirit in Charismatic and Pentecostal forms of African Christianity. Even so, I deliberately concentrate on how Christian Scriptures are used to shape the MMC's faith discourses on masculinity. I therefore highlight how Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity demonstrated by the MMC employ faith discourses that seek to enact representations and constructions of 'godly manhood.'

4.2.1   Charismatic, Evangelical Theology

Just as Evangelical expression of Christianity is diverse, I argue that Evangelical theology is likewise varied based on historical traditions. However, Evangelical theology is articulated within a unifying set of belief system and practices attributed through the four key characteristics defining evangelicalism discussed previously. König (1998:82) shows that Evangelical theology has never been monolithic but with much bigger variety including members of denomination from Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic background. For Olson (2007:18), Evangelical theology is simply, that theological scholarship done within the context of Evangelical movement for renewal of historical Protestant Christianity. Without oversimplifying this complex subject, I contend that the theology underlying Charismatic Evangelical Christianity is somehow routinised and limited to confirm the general existing religious realities within the mainstream Evangelical paradigm of interpretation, belief system and practice. As such, Pentecostals and nearly most Charismatics share essential doctrines with Evangelicals, except the strong emphasis they make regarding the infilling of the Holy Spirit and speaking in toungues.

However, with gender in mind, significant to Charismatic Evangelical Christianity is the doctrine of 'egalitarianism.' As observed by Joel Robbins (2004:125), egalitarianism operates within the assumption that all are equal when used by the Holy Spirit and "supports Evangelical efforts as it aids Evangelists to attract a following." Strange to note in this case is the universality of egalitarianism as an evangelistic tool for mission and conversion among Charismatic Evangelicals where all are encouraged to see themselves as children of God. This persuasion might be one of the causes of attraction of men to

the MMC where class, race, or ethnicity seem not to be barriers for common goals towards recreating masculinity, especially in a post-Apartheid South Africa. The question that this raises is whether such an egalitarian Charismatic doctrine has any impact on issues of gender inequality.

To engage in Evangelical theology one needs to take into account the unifying key characteristics of evangelicalism. As noted by several scholars, (see König 1998; Balcomb 2001; Stott 2003; Olson 2007 and Owino 2010) and worth noting here, the tenets of Evangelical theology find its pillars in two aspects of Christianity which are the ultimate authority of Scripture and personal salvation through faith in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is established that Evangelical theology is set within this framework. These are discussed in brief as they relate to the scope and the objective of this study.

First, is the rule that Scripture is inspired, authoritative, sufficient and inerrant (infallible) permeates Evangelical theology (Stott 2003). In affirming the authoritative nature of the Bible, Stott points to the comprehensive Evangelicals statement:

> We affirm the complete truthfulness and the full and final authority of the Old and New Testament Scriptures as the Word of God written. The appropriate response to it is humble assent and obedience (2003:72).

As part of the conclusion of leaders gathered in 1989 for a consultation on 'Evangelical Affirmation, it was written:

> Evangelicals hold the Bible to be God's Word and therefore completely true and trustworthy (and this is what we mean by the words infallible and inerrant) (2003:72).

This was very evident through my observations of participants during the process of field work with men from the MMC. Indicating how the Bible must be highly esteemed for the whole of life by men who attended the MMC (the majority of whom happen to be farmers), Buchan (2008:2) termed the Bible: "my agricultural manual." urging the 'Mighty Men' to "brush up their skills in the reading of God's word." Because every theology is biblically supported in Evangelical Christianity, the supreme authority of Scripture therefore establishes the philosophical worldviews and arguments that influence Evangelical ethical values, beliefs, decisions and practice. In the light of this, McGrath

(1995:8) thus confirms that the Bible stands above tradition, institution, personal experience, or personal feeling[60] for most Evangelicals and is utterly reliable for "matters of faith and practice." James Hunter's (1983:61) observation is informative in this case when he shows that there is an understanding of the Bible "in its plain and obvious sense" among Evangelicals and this forms a "commonsense literalism" as a method of interpretation. As such, McGrath (1995:9), has argued that for Evangelicals, "where the Bible speaks, God speaks." Important to all Evangelicals therefore is the interpreted text to which Stott (2003:73) contends: "Moreover, in seeking to discover the true interpretation of a text, the most important principle concerns the intention of its author: 'a text means what its author meant.'

This could suggest that Evangelicals have no 'theology' apart from that which 'God has said" in the Bible. As Stott (2003:44) has pointed out, this approach to Scripture presumes to liken the Bible's human authors to musical instruments or dictating machines, no longer living persons within a context but lifeless toys in the hand of the Spirit. Important to remember is that every reader of the Bible is also an interpreter of the text (Tiénou 1990:12 and West 2001:169) and in order for Scripture to serve as authoritative at all, it must be read, exegeted, and interpreted by someone (Owino 2010:46).

Important for this study therefore is the manner in which biblical injunctions inform Evangelical faith discourses to establish gender norms and ideologies, symbols, images and practices. Also, the extent to which Evangelicals use the Bible to discursively influence representations and constructions of masculinities remains pertinent for this study. For instance, the MMC call for men to 'return' to godly manhood seems traditionally motivated seeking to reinforce masculine authority, domination and patriarchal superiority based on Scriptures as divinely instituted by God.

Second, the place and the work of Jesus Christ through his death and resurrection for salvation is also central to Evangelical theology and takes central place in Buchan's faith discourse on masculinty. Placing emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross,

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[60] McGrath (1995:9, 59) connects this Evangelical position to what he terms, the "formal rule of the Reformation," often summarised by the phrase *sola Scriptura*. By this he means that only beliefs and practices that have direct biblical support can be considered as binding on Christians.

Bebbington (1989) refers to this as *crucicentrism*. He argues that to make any theme other than the cross fulcrum of a theological system was to take a step away from evangelicalism (Bebbington 1989:15). To this, Bloesch adds, arguing:

> Evangelical can therefore be said to indicate a particular thrust or emphasis within the church, namely, that which upholds the gospel of free grace as we see this in Jesus Christ. An Evangelical will consequently be Christocentric and not merely theocentric (as are the deists and a great many mystics). Yet, it is not the teachings of Jesus Christ that are considered of paramount importance but his sacrificial life and death on the cross of Calvary. The evangelical is none other than the meaning of the cross (1983:15).

Applied to questions of masculinities, faith discourses on the notion of cruci-centrism within the MMC are geared to inform representations of masculinities towards the goal of recreating "godly manhood." Some findings from my field research are discussed in detail in chapters six, seven, eight and nine of this thesis. However, what emerges at this point is that calls made for men to 'return' to 'godly manhood' are religiously and theologically motivated among other factors. In seeking to restore conservative Protestant Christianity by 'restoring masculinity,' Buchan's (2012) teachings and sermons centre around how Jesus acts as a model of masculinity, and how men are able to be transformed if only Jesus is Lord in their lives.

4.3 'Gender Culture' about Manhood and Womanhood among Evangelicals

The approach to gender thinking that permeates Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity ought to be understood within the spheres of traditional gender roles which govern male-female societal relationships. As such, Evangelical Christianity can be understood as a 'sub-cultural system' of religious moral values and institutionalised gender ideologies. The theology that underlies gender patterns among Charismatic Evangelicals therefore institutes meaning systems with particular gender emphasis for masculinity and femininity. Arguing that religious traditions are cultural systems, Ingersoll (2003:16) outlines the fact that evangelicalism has a set of symbols that act as a rubric for ordering life and providing meaning. Further, Ingersoll (2003) contends that the way in which meaning is symbolised is neither purely individual nor purely communal but it arises out of a dialectical process between individuals and their

religious sub-cultures. This pushes the definition of evangelicalism for the purpose of this study from a narrow theological understanding to a religio-socio-cultural and an institutional perspective. In this case, gender as a category becomes significantly relevant and common with ideologies and theologies in seeking to answer the question: what gender patterns (cultures)[61] encompass Charismatic Evangelical forms of Christianity? It is within this religio-cultural gender approach that faith discourses on perceptions and constructions of masculinities were explored and are to be discussed. Patterns of gender representations therefore require interrogation to ascertain what concepts inform gender ideologies. Important to note is the concept of hierarchy which has strong influence on patterns of gender perceptions within evangelicalism as a religious cultural system.

4.3.1 Hierarchy and Gender Ordering

Contemporary gender representations within Evangelical Christianities are symptomatic of hierarchical ordering (thinking) which seek to re-establish traditionalist gender patterns. Anne Primavesi (2000:121) has defined hierarchy as an organisational principle governing the ordering of being which is itself ordered on a notion of primary Being. It can be argued therefore that hierarchy has prevailed as a model of human interrelationships which goes back to ancient patterns of ordering. For example, Primavesi (2000:126) highlights the assumption in hierarchy that the 'highest' value of all is ascribed to God's being which, through a top-down causation, is taken as the source of all value. Such, I note, is evident in Judeo-Christian perceptions which centre predominantly on the position of women in the society. Naming it 'Ontology,'[62] Primavesi (2000:121) stretches the principles of hierarchy formalised in classical Christianity as the extreme effect of neo-Platonism. Ruether (1993) locates hierarchy as crucial to understanding the dynamics of domination, and that it bears the universal cultural structures rooted in earliest human social patterns which symbolise women as "closer to nature" than men. Ruether (1993:74-75) further shows that hierarchical

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[61] The term "gender culture" as borrowed from Ingersoll (2003) means the construction of theology, ideology, practices, norms, expectations and all other dimensions of gender understandings as they exist in conservative Protestantism.

[62] According to Primavesi (2000), 'Ontology' bares the understanding of 'order of Being' with a conception of things being ordered on the basis of what they are, establishing the principle on which the being themselves are ranked in relation to each other. The presupposition here is that our actions result from, or depend on, or are in some way determined by the relationship between what we are in ourselves, and what others (things or persons) are in themselves.

ordering associates femaleness as symbolising that which is lower than the male (real humanity), with men defining both male and female spheres from the male, hierarchical point of view, where women are regarded beneath men as men see themselves as dominating and controlling from above.

For example, such hierarchical gender ordering exists in the Hebrew thinking where male culture symbolises control over nature, women, children and slaves who become subjects of the patriarchal head of family, all under God (Ruether 1993:77-79). Unlike with the Hebrew thought, Ruether (1993) points out that the Greek thinking/philosophy raises human (male) consciousness to the same transcendent status as God, outside and above nature. Women are symbolised as analogous to the lower realm of matter or body, to be ruled by or shunned by transcendent mind. Ruther further insists:

> In Aristotle's politics, ruling –class Greek males are the natural exemplars of mind or reason, while women, slaves, and barbarians are the naturally servile people represented by body and passion, which must be the "head" (1993:79).

With hierarchical ordering, the chain of being is God—spirts—male—female—non-human nature—matter (Ruther 1993), and is at the same time the chain of command. As Primavesi (2000) observes, this kind of hierarchical ordering could lead to the validation of certain violent interactions between men and women and human-nature relationships. By implication, whatever is placed furthest away, in the 'lowest' states of being, is furthest from God, and so of 'lesser' value (Primavesi 2000:126). The extent to which Christianity reflects scripts of 'gender ordering' could be traced back to such hierarchical thinking. Of importance to this study is the manner in which the concept of hierarchy has informed representations of manhood thereby influencing constructions of masculinities and the relationship among men and women within my study context.

4.4 Evangelical Ideals and Gender Patterns

From the above observation, Olson (2004:311) has noted that evangelicalism has generally been a man's led expression of Christianity. The extent of women's involvement in the movement is well documented (Ingersoll 2003). However, I would argue that the contemporary gender perceptions among the majority of Evangelicals (also

portrayed in Charismatic forms of evangelicalism) replicate a traditionalist and ancient patriarchalsim understanding of gender roles. These are established to order the public and the private spheres of lives for both men and women.

It is noted that the conventional gender ideals at the centre of Evangelical Christianity focuses to two main aspects. First, is the gender pattern which emphasises the central role of male headship and leadership at home and in the church. Second, is a traditionalist pattern that women (and especially wives) should lovingly submit to the authority of the man at home and at the church (Ingersoll 2003 and Olson 2004). For instance, Susan Rose (1995:246) highlights that Evangelicals continue to define men as the natural leaders of the family, church and nation, justifying this hierarchical structuring of social relations as part of God's natural order, and point to the traditions of historical institutions for proof. As Ingersoll (2003:17) observes, this form of Evangelical gender ordering grounds these perspectives in a variety of biblical texts[63] and in some historical teachings of Christianity which they believe require the submission of women to men (where women find their callings at home caring for their families). This gender pattern is purely a traditionalist Evangelical ideal which according to Ingersoll (2003:17), "take pride on laying out a clear, concrete, unchanging blueprint for gender distinctions." The MMC adheres to such a traditionalist gender ideal and pattern in a more palatable discourse.

It is important to highlight that the history of Christian teaching is one that greatly draws from the creation narratives in Genesis to establish gender ideals. This, to a large extent influences representations of manhood and womanhood among Evangelicals. From this viewpoint, Adam's act of naming "women" ("she shall be called 'woman' for she was taken out of man," 2:23) is used to establish Adam's sovereignty over Eve and, by general extension, men's continued supremacy over woman. This is very evident in John Piper who makes a disturbing argument as one of the leading Evangelical proponents of such a view. Piper states:

> While I am not keen on hierarchy and patriarchy as terms describing the man-woman relationship in scripture, Genesis 2:18-23 … and Ephesians 5:21-33 … continue to convince me that the man-woman relationship is intrinsically nonreversible. By this I mean that, other things being equal, a

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[63] Some biblical passages which most Evangelicals will use to establish a traditionalist gender claims are Genesis 2:18-23; 1 Timothy 2:8-15; Ephesians 5, and 1 Corinthians 11.

situation in which a female boss has a male secretary, or a marriage in which the woman (as we say) wears a trousers, will put more strain on the humanity of both parties than if it were the other way round. This is the part of reality of the creation, a given fact that nothing will change (1991:45).

What Piper overlooks is that "part of reality" is already indicating changes (social, cultural, political and economic) which are evidently putting strains on rigid traditionalist mind-set regarding gender relations among Evangelicals. It is clear from such arguments that interpretations of biblical texts include gender representations and constructions. It goes without a second thought that such interpretations as Piper's not only perpetuate women's subjection to men, but also strongly inform perceptions of masculinity and femininity. This is evident in Christian historical traditions among the church's first theologians who advanced a gender hierarchical ordering where the male was perceived to be 'superior' to the female. Important to mention are observations made by Cochrane (2005:126) on patterns found in the famous Augustine's, Aquina's, Luther's and Calvin's position regarding men's supremacy over women.[64]

Cochrane (2005:127) observes that with time, feminist scholars began to reject the supposed subordination of women as 'helpers' to men claiming that men and women were all created in the image of God. According to Olson (2004:311), during the 1960s and 1970s, Evangelical women also began to question the position of women and called for full equality of women and men among Evangelicals. Within the confines of Evangelical Christianity, Evangelical feminism[65] emerged and began to reject how men used the Bible to promote the traditional sex role norm which emphasised difference between men and women. As observed by Felix (1994), Christians for Biblical Equality (CBE) represented the conservative wing of the Evangelical feminist position as a strand of Evangelical Christianity. This group maintained a strong position on biblical authority

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[64] Cochrane (2005) asserts that in the fourth century, Augustine argued that according to Genesis, a woman could possess the image of God only when joined with a man, whereas a man alone fully reflected God's image. In the Middle Ages, Aquinas taught that women existed only because of their ability to procreate. During the reformation, both Luther and Calvin affirmed the equality of male and female in their original creation but taught that women were subordinate to men, either as punishment for Eve's sin (Luther) or as part of a divinely instituted social order (Calvin).

[65] Distinguishing between "Christian feminist" from "religious feminist," Felix (1994:159-160) notes that "Christian Feminist" work from a stand point of a commitment to the Christian faith but accept the authority of Scripture in only a limited way. Within this category are those feminist identified as "Evangelical Feminists" who have a high esteem of Scripture and those who believe that the Bible teaches equality of men and women without role distinctions based on gender. There emerged two major streams of Evangelical feminisms within the American evangelicalism in the 1980s. The split of biblical feminism established the Evangelical Women's Caucus (EWC) and Christian for Biblical Equality (CBE).

and used Evangelical methods of biblical interpretation to argue for women's equality (Cochrane 2005). On the contrary, the Evangelical Women's Caucus (EWC) took a much more radical, prophetic and a nonconservative theological position by taking a less stringent position on biblical authority and applied a more liberational methodology that gave authority to the experiences of women oppression (Cochrane 2005:150).

In sum, the goal of both the EWC and CBE as Evangelical feminist movements was to fight for women's equality with men among Evangelicals (Olson 2004 and Cochran 2005). Their argument was that the traditional Evangelical view of male headship and domination over women in families and churches is seriously imperfect, both in terms of biblical interpretation and the ethics of justice. They affirmed that concerns of moderate feminists are supported by Scripture and called for equality of women with men in every aspect of life (Olson 2004:312). Such uprising of Evangelical Feminism within evangelicalism provoked a backlash from traditionalist reaction among conservative Evangelical men and in 1987, as Olson (2004) contends, the Council of Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW) was formed and they framed a manifesto of Evangelical traditionalism with regards to gender roles. This brought to existence the two main gender views dominating the Evangelical thinking. These are worth mentioning.

4.4.1   Egalitarian View

The egalitarians view of Evangelical gender ideal point to Galatians 3:28: "in Christ, there is neither male nor female." Mostly promoted by the Evangelical Feminists, the egalitarians' viewpoint is that although the genders are different biologically and perhaps sociologically, men and women are fully equal partners "in Christ" (Olson 2004313). As Olson (2004) notes, egalitarianism affirms that permanent, fixed authority of men over women is intrinsically dominating and demeaning to women. He argues that "to argue that women must submit to men's authority in family life and in churches is to place them in positions of inequality and subject them to domination and control by men" (Olson 2004:314). According to Olson (2004), egalitarianism has therefore established inequality as unjust and contrary to the liberating spirit of Christ, in which all of Christ's disciples are his friends.

4.4.2 Complementarian View

The complementarian view posits that males and females are equal in God's sight in regards to personal dignity and salvation, but they are not equal with regard to divinely assigned roles in family and churches (see Oslon 2004:312). According to this view, some leadership roles are reserved for men, since complementarians base this inequality of roles on New Testament passages such as 1 Corinthians 11:2-13. Men and women are given different roles and gifts for service and leadership in the home and church, and women are to submit graciously to the loving authority of men. As such, male authority is not unqualified. Hence, as men take the lead they are to exercise caring authority over children, wives and other women (Olson 2004). The well-known proponents of this view are John Piper and Wayne Grudem of the CBMW (Olson 2004),[66] a view mainly supported by conservative traditionalist Evangelicals. It is observed that complementarains regard egalitarian view as an unbiblical, seriously subverted to secular culture's movements and as evasive of Scripture's clear meaning and authority being dangerous to the health of evangelical families, marriages and churches, if not to the gospel itself (Olson 2004:314).

The impact of these two views was evident among men who attended the MMC. Some of the findings discussed in the subsequent chapters have clearly illustrated how both the egalitarian, complementarian and/or traditionalist views inform representations of being a "godly man" thereby influencing constructions of masculinities among Charismatic Evangelicals.

4.5 The Implications of Evangelical Gender Hierarchy on Perceptions of Masculinities

The first implication of hierarchical gender ordering is where a patriarchal theology of male supremacy over women among Evangelicals is accepted as a 'divinely' unchangeable ideal gender pattern. This certainly advances the dangers of a religious culture of hierarchical ordering towards patriarchal construction of masculinities. Representation and constructions of masculinity through such hierarchical gender thinking, would in no

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[66] Piper and Grudem have edited a massive volume promoting complementarianism entitled *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood* (1991).

doubt imply that God is perceived to function as hierarch (probably imaged in masculine understandings), whose image is then imprinted on males. Here stands the Evangelical paradox, that though equality of women and men is doctrinally stated and preached, it is not often practiced within their hierarchical model.

Second, the ontological perspective which informs gender hierarchy often leads to a devaluing of women. Primavesi (2000:130) convincingly raises a caution that this may result in the distinction made between reason and emotion whereas 'normative' male traits such as reason, are considered superior to those of women (emotions). As I have discussed in subsequent chapters, this has affected men in various ways especially in regards to ideals of masculinity where emotion is not considered to be a trait of masculinity.

How does this affect a society where perceptions of femininity and masculinity are constantly changing? First, there is a possibility for men to develop a culture of 'male entitlement.' Perceptions of masculine entitlement in itself informs constructions of masculinities to a large degree. In my judgement, faith discourses among the MMC portrays notions of masculine entitlement as will be discussed in the following chapters. The question that this raises then is what happens in cases where men feel 'entitled' but the expectations of such 'entitlements' cannot be realised (delivered) based on shifts in current gender realities in South Africa? To what extent are such masculinities safe? I am fully convinced that a sense of failure and 'not man enough' grips men when 'entitlement' fails to meet expectations. Second, a perception of masculine entitlement that men have been conditioned to deliver creates a sense of pressure and disillusionment when expectations are not fulfilled, especially in socio-cultural, economic, and political changes. The result could be dysfunctional masculinities where men lash out forms of "dysfunctionalities."

Chapter Summary

This chapter has postulated that gender ideology is a key component towards understanding Evangelical representation and constructions of masculinity. In this chapter, I have discussed in detail the historical synopsis and the tenets of evangelicalism and Evangelical Christianity. I have located the MMC as a movement that portrays

expressions of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal forms of Christianity by situating the movement in the South African religious context. In describing the general theology of Evangelical Christianity, I have established the centrality of the Bible and its interpretations among Evangelicals reflecting how such interpretations are used to promote faith discourse. Also, the place and the work of Jesus Christ through his death and resurrection for salvation is presented as central to Evangelical theology.

Because representations and constructions of masculinities reflect concerns about socio-cultural, economic and political shifts, Evangelical Christianity must be interrogated so as to critically evaluate their traditionalist and complemetarian view of gender relations. Hence, based on its institutionalised gender ideology, Charismatic Evangelical Christianity has been described as a 'sub-cultural' system which inform symbols of meaning.

As such, how Evangelicals reconcile what they believe to be ideal gender patterns within gender shifts in current South Africa is crucial. Hence, patriarchal gender interpretations among the MMC, for example, seem to suggest that Evangelical ideals of traditional gender patterns are symptomatic of hierarchical gender ordering and have been informed by ancient neo-platonic and Christian historical traditions. With emphasis to Evangelical gender patterns, I have illustrated how gender views on egalitarianism and complemetarianism are understood in Evangelical Christianity with men who attend the MMC ascribing to the latter. Finally, I concluded the chapter by looking at the implications of gender hierarchy on representation of masculinities by citing how the idea of 'masculine entitlement' may influences perceptions and constructions of masculinities.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND PROCESS

'Methodology' specifies how researchers may go about practically
studying whatever they believe can be known
(Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2008:6)

5.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and justify the research methodology and research method applied in obtaining and processing data from which the findings of this study are discussed and interpreted. Although 'methodology' and 'method' are sometimes used interchangeably in most social science literature on research, I have purposefully distinguished between the two terms in this study. Informed by Joanna Swann and John Pratt (2003:195-196), I use the term methodology to mean an approach (paradigm) to data production or analyses while the term method relating to design – a means or a way or technique of doing something.

Norman Denzin (2009:5-6) elaborates on the difference between research methodology and research method and observes that paradigms provide lenses through which to view the world. On the one hand, research methodology provides an approach to studying social science, representing the principal ways a researcher acts on his or her environment while on the other hand, methods are not theoretical tools, but rather are means of acting on the environment and making that environment meaningful. Tom Wilson (2002:201) cautions on the confusion between methodology and method stating: "Methodology is prior to method and more fundamental, it provides the philosophical groundwork of methods. To state one's methodological position is to describe one's view of the nature of reality." From a social constructionist and interactionist perspective, this chapter therefore stipulates my methodology and method in terms of how I went about researching representation and constructions of emerging masculinities within the context of the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC).

Before proceeding with the description of my research methodology and methods, it is important to first restate my central research question and critical sub-questions:

How do faith discourses within the MMC shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa, and to what extent do these constructions of masculinities either re-inscribe patriarchal oppression or contribute towards gender-social transformation?

The critical sub questions are:

1. What are the faith discourses which exist within the MMC?
2. How do the faith discourses within the MMC shape constructions of masculinity?
3. To what extent are these constructions of masculinity oppressive?
4. To what extent do these constructions of masculinity hold potential for gender social transformation?

5.1 Research Method and Design

There are various research methods which can be categorized in several ways. However, the main scientific research methods (design) in social science include quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research to mention the most commonly used (see Blaxter *et al.* 2006:60-62; Creswell 2009:20-21; Curtis and Curtis 2011:4-9). Blaxter *et al.* (2006) indicate that the term method is to be understood to relate principally to the tools of data collection or analysis. The methods applied to this study therefore consisted of a set of activities that guided towards the desired outcomes. As suggested by Creswell (2003), Blaxter *et al.* (2006) and Denzin (2009), what directs the choice of research method is the research questions, the phenomenon being investigated and the research context. Placing these three aspects into consideration, this study has applied a qualitative multimethods research design. The following section outlines the qualitative multimethods research approach and provides justification for adopting the mixing of methods for this research.

5.1.1 Qualitative "Multimethods" Research Approach

While quantitative research data is in the form of numbers and uses statistical types of data analysis (Durrheim 2008:47), qualitative methods are empirical research that describe and interpret people's lives, feelings and experiences, cultural phenomena or interactions in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008b:272). Michael Myers (1997:241) notes that the purpose of qualitative research methods is to assist researchers understand people, what they say and do, in order to explain the social and cultural phenomena within the contexts in which people live (see also Myers 2009:5).

In social science, examples of strategies associated with qualitative research methods include action research, case study research, ethnography, narratives, and grounded theory with data sources ranging from observation and participant observation (fieldwork), interviews and questionnaires, documents and texts, and the researcher's impressions and reactions (see Creswell 2003:14-17; Myers 2009:7). In this way, the data collected places emphasis on people's words and the descriptions of the researcher, based on observation and experience (Durrheim 2008:47).

There are many approaches to qualitative research methods. The choice of a specific qualitative research method is dependent on the underlying philosophical position adopted (Myers and Avison 2002:5). The three main philosophical perspectives underlying qualitative research methods as observed by Myers and Avison (2002:5) are: positivist research which generally attempts to test theory, with an aim to increase the predictive understanding of phenomena; interpretive research which attempts to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them and critical research which assumes that social reality is historically constituted and that it is produced and reproduced by people. The main task of critical research is thus seen as being one of social critique.

This study has applied a multimethods approach of qualitative research. Sharlene Hesse-Biber (2010:3) asserts that multimethods refers to the mixing of methods by combining two or more qualitative methods in a single study or using two or more quantitative methods in a single study. This study has utilised more than one qualitative method of

data sources to achieve its purpose –hence, a qualitative multimethods approach. This was made possible from an interpretive and critical research perspective within a qualitative social constructionist paradigm. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008b:277-281) notes that the social constructionist approach (sometimes referred to as 'critical hermeneutics') is a qualitative method within the interpretive tradition. Such a study focuses on the understandings and experiences of individuals or groups, how such understandings and experiences are derived (and feed into) larger discourse (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008b). Language therefore remains an important aspect in qualitative research and requires attention to a social constructionist researcher. This is because constructionism holds that the human life-world is fundamentally constituted in language (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008b:278). It is through language that ideologies, values, beliefs and ideas are structured and implemented.

It was through language that I was able to access the experiences, emotional feelings, thinking and understanding of participants to this study and their responses about their perceptions on masculinity. This entailed paying attention to how masculinity was discursively constructed through faith discourse that portrays notions of "godly manhood" as an archetype of Christian masculinities. It is from this background that the qualitative research method becomes appropriate and applicable in investigating representation and construction of emerging masculinities. With the awareness that masculinities are socially constructed, qualitative methods enabled me to explore notions of masculinity in order to describe actions that arise from the experiences of men in the process of social change while seeking to understand how these have informed constructions of masculinities.

There are several reasons why qualitative multimethods research was considered as most appropriate for this study. First, qualitative methods allowed me to explore how these Christian men establish meaning (what it means to be a 'godly man') while negotiating to construct alternative masculine self/and identity within intersections of changing realities. This aimed at what Blaxter *et al.* (2006:64) suggests that qualitative approaches should focus on in exploring in much detail as possible smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, aiming to achieve 'depth' rather than 'breadth.'

Second, because this study sought to explore and describe what Evangelical men mean by "godly manhood" in their seeking to recreate Christian masculinities, I became concerned with understanding these men's understandings from their own frames of reference, a fact suggested by Blaxter *et al.* (2006). This study therefore endeavoured to examine whether there are representations of emerging forms of masculinities in the process of these Christian men renegotiating masculine ideals in order to assert their masculine identity based on their experiences. Important, was also to take into account how various societal changes influenced various representations and constructions of masculinity within the MMC in the South African context. This alludes to what Myers (2009) has argued that the key benefits of qualitative research is that it allows a research scholar to see and understand the context within which decisions and actions take place, because the context helps to explain actions. Myers further contends:

> One of the primary motivations for doing qualitative research, as opposed to quantitative research, comes from the observation that, if there is one thing which distinguishes human beings from the natural world, it is their ability to talk. It is only by talking to people, or reading what they have written, that we can find out what they are thinking, and understand their thoughts, goes a long way towards explaining their actions (2009:6).

The context in which data was collected was therefore very important to this study. I would argue that meaning is established when one pieces together what emerges from the context in which discourses are used. As such, it's been vital through this study to identify and interrogate Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal faith discourses in order to understand how men used symbols, objects and language as strategies towards representation and to construct 'ideal' Christian manhood within the MMC as a religious context. In this case, it was important to examine how Christian men made sense of what it means to be a "godly man" while recognising their experiences as influenced by their socio-economic, religious, cultural and political contexts.

5.1.2   The Mighty Men's Conference (MMC): Why this Movement as a Case Study?

The MMC, was adopted as a case study for the purpose of examining the phenomena of emerging forms of masculinities among Charismatic Evangelical and Pentecostal men.

This was aimed at exploring how men in this movement interpreted their experiences towards understanding and making sense of their masculine identities. Because my choice of method was dictated by what I intended to explore, a "case-centric" research proved ideal. Curtis and Curtis (2011:5-7) maintains that a case-centric approach to qualitative research intends to explore and describe the beliefs of the research participants. As the name indicates, Blaxter *et al.* (2006:71) establish that case studies concentrate on special cases with the purpose of probing deeply in order to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena. A case-centric approach therefore starts with a case (Curtis and Curtis 2011); to illustrate either a problem or a good practice (Blaxter *et al.* 2006). This research identified that the MMC had called for a return to "godly manhood" as a quest towards the process of "recreating" and "restoring masculinity" in the South African context. Beginning with this case necessitated the need to interrogate faith discourses to inquire the purpose and the motives of such calls for a "return" and what kinds of masculinities were emerging in the process of this quest.

5.2 The Research Process

5.2.1   Participants

This section elaborates in detail the process of my research design, illustrating my role as the researcher with those of the male participants who took part in the research.

5.2.1.1   Defining and Choosing the Study Sample

Based on my research question, I applied a purposive and snowball sampling approach as convenient for this study. This was influenced by a specific category of men who attended the MMC as a unit of analysis. Durrheim (2008:49) notes that sampling is the selection of research participants (cases) from an entire population, with the aim of observing the selected sample as that which will be a representative of the population about which the researcher aims to draw conclusions. This also involves decisions about which people, settings, events, behaviour, and/or processes to observe.

I had prior knowledge of the men I needed to interview within the MMC, and the cases selected were therefore for theoretical reasons as to represent the phenomenon and the objectives under investigation. Blaxter *et al.* (2006:163) argues that purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling approach where the participants are hand-picked based on supposedly typical or interesting cases. The sample was chosen, first, from male participants who adhere to the tradition of Evangelical Christianity (either conservative, Charismatic or Pentecostal). This was done based on the fact that the MMC is not a homogenous Christian phenomenon. Second, the participants should have attended at least two MMC's consecutively to make my sessions with them more informative. Third, the study purposively targeted men who, while attending the MMC, also belong to a church men's group and continued to participate in such groups after the MMC decentralised to various cities of South Africa.

By using purposive sampling, it was convenient for me to gain access to three different categories of Christian traditions with three varied theological positions of conservative, Charismatic and Pentecostal forms of Evangelical Christianity, by help of their lead pastors who also attended the MMC. Purposive sampling was also adopted due to its convenience in terms of cost and time. Also, the men who became interested to participate introduced me to other potential participants who were then approached for consent. Blaxter *et al.* (2006:163) terms this method of sampling as snowball sampling, where a researcher builds up a sample through informants.

5.2.1.2   Demographics of the Research Sample

A total of 34 men were approached and unreservedly accepted to participate in this research as a representation of the MMC. This became a unit of analysis for this study. All the men who consented to participate were from Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal, except one respondent who was from Cape Town. The criterion for selection was based on a number of factors. While the majority of men who attend the MMC are white Afrikaans speaking men, it was important for me to interview men from other ethnic groups as well. Hence, I chose 8 African, 6 Indian, 4 Coloured, 8 English speaking, and 8

Afrikaans speaking South African men.[67] First, I supposed that men from these different racial groups would attest to different notions of masculinities (not only informed by their cultural traditions but also Christian beliefs and values). Second, all the men who consented to participate were from a Christian faith community which adhered either to Conservative, Charismatic or Pentecostal Evangelical ethos. Three of the participants were church leaders (pastors) who have been in ministerial leadership for over 20 years in a Pentecostal, a Charismatic and a more Conservative Evangelical church respectively. Of the remaining 31, 13 were from the Pentecostal Evangelical tradition (PET), 10 were of Conservative Evangelical tradition (CET) and 8 were from a Charismatic Evangelical tradition (ChET).

The participants ranged in age from 27 to 69, with an average age of 47 years. 27 of these men are married and lived with their families. It was assumed that a wide age range would provide varied experiences towards understanding expressions of masculinities within an Evangelical setting with 6 middle aged participants also taking part in the study. Even though educational status was not a major factor considered for one to be approached to participate, all the men had qualifications beyond matriculation, with most (except 9) with first degrees and others second degrees. All the 34 men were above the middle class social-economic status. The table below illustrates purposive sampling for this study.

Evangelical Faith Community	Gate Keepers (Key Individuals)	Mighty Men Participants	Marital Position	
			Married	Single
CET	1	10	10	3
ChET	1	8	7	2
PET	1	13	10	1

Table 1: Summary of Purposive Sample of MMC Participants.

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[67] It is not easy to distinguish between Afrikaans speaking South Africans and Afrikaans speaking English White South Africans. However, the distinction is mainly based on language as medium of communication. Prior to 1994 and following the constitution of the Republic of South Africa on the May 1961, South Africa had two official languages; English and Afrikaans. Afrikaners as a race group use Afrikaans as their primary (and sometimes main) language of communication, which remained significantly used prior to the establishment of the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910 until the declaration of the Republic in 1961. In this case, it is not difficult to find 'Coloureds' (mixed race) use Afrikaans as their primary language, particularly in the Western Cape. While English as a language medium was seldom heard prior to 1994, particularly in State institutions, the use of Afrikaans as a language was (and is) not restricted to White South Africans, for example, Afrikaners. White English-speaking South Africans also utilise the language, hence many white South Africans are bi-lingual in a strict sense (see James Leatt *et al* 1986 on *Contending Ideologies in South Africa*)

5.2.1.3 Advertising the Research and Gaining Entry to the MMC

Having attended the MMC several times, gaining access to individuals targeted to take part in this study was not difficult on the bases that most (but not all) were known to me. Further, no permission was required to attend the MMC gatherings as a Christian man. However, for research purposes, I contacted the MMC officials (of Shalom Ministries) by email asking for consent for an appointment with Buchan –the leader of the MMC, with an intention to conduct an interview session with him. Unfortunately, after a long wait, Jill –Angus Buchan's wife responded that it was not possible to have a session with Buchan on the basis that he was fully booked until 2014. Alternatively, it was also not possible to meet with any of the MMC officials, but email conversations on some aspects about the MMC were made between me and one of the officials.

In order to gain access to the men who attended the MMC, I identified three different church congregations (as samples) for the purpose of this study. Since my primary data was to be obtained through in-depth interviews with these men, I required consent from the lead pastors as "gatekeepers" in order to gain access to men in their congregations who were approached during a pilot study and had agreed to participate. I made email contacts with the three pastors introducing the study and its aims as stipulated in the official consent letter/form (see Appendix 1 attached). In response to their approval, I followed up these consents with telephone conversations requesting the pastors to allow me to attend their Church's men group meetings with the purpose of introducing the study to the men thereby explaining what participation would entail. Although the target of my study was not the men's group in these congregations, I established that from a research point of view these men's groups would provide a possible entry point to access men who had attended the MMC. In all the cases, verbal and written consents were received and arrangements were made on how to conduct the interviews with the men individually. Convenient time, venues and dates to conduct in-depth interviews with men who expressed interest in the study was arranged. No cancelations arose from the participants who showed interest to participate.

5.2.2 Data Production, Research Methods and Procedure

In this section, I discuss in detail the process of data collection and production using three methods as part of qualitative multimethods approach to the study. Taking into consideration interactionism as my methodological perspective, this study applied individual in-depth interviews and researcher participation/researcher observation as part of primary methods of data production. Other methods used for obtaining primary data for this study was by studying the MMC documentaries, published books and literatures, recorded conference DVDs, movies, documentaries, films and Buchan's weekly teaching sessions broadcasted by Family Time on ETV every Sunday at 06:30 am. This took into consideration what Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:287) have encouraged as the use of data triangulation (collecting material in as many different ways and from as many diverse sources as possible) in social constructionist qualitative research to be helpful. They argue that triangulation can help research scholars to "home in" on a better understanding of a phenomenon by approaching it from several different angles (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008a).

5.2.2.1 Individual in-depth Interviews

Curtis and Curtis (2011:29) have categorised individual in-depth interviews as case-centric approaches and a way of gathering data from one person at a time in which the framing is fluid, allowing for revision of the variables (interview topics/questions) as the study progresses. For this study, individual in-depth interviews allowed me to access and seek to understand participants' deep feelings, based on their attitudes and experience by analysing how they used symbols and language in their expressions and representations of masculinities. This was important for this study because often, as Kelly (2008) notes, interviews give us an opportunity to get to know people quite intimately so that we can really understand how they think and feel. This study, adopted a semi structured individual in-depth interviews with all the 34 men between January 2011 and July 2012. A list of key topics and subtopics on targeted themes were prepared in advance (see Appendix 2 and 3). Unlike with surveys, it is observed that in-depth interviewing as the most commonly used source of data for constructionist research wthin qualitative approach (Kelly 2008:297), allowed me to have quality of interaction with the participants.

5.2.2.2   In-depth Interviews with the Three Pastors

The three pastors interviewed were carefully selected from three Evangelical strands of Conservative, Pentecostal and Charismatic theological tradition. The selection was randomly done, based on the awareness that they had attended the MMC with some men from their congregations. The interviews were semi-structured with open-ended topics/questions fluidly framed (see Appendix 2 attached). This means that the relationship between ideas and data was very likely to change during the interview process (Curtis and Curtis 2011:29). The fluidity of these interview sessions was therefore based on the interactive nature that existed between myself and the three pastors during our interview sessions. The interview topics and questions were structured to inquire from the pastors as church leaders their understanding on specific aspects of the MMC. These included representations and construction of masculinities. It was evident from my sessions that the pastors were theologically informed as church leaders in a post-apartheid South African context. As a way of preventing biasness in the nature of data obtained from them, I remained flexible by adopting questions depending on direction their narrations took by further exploring what they meant in unclear statements or phrases. This allowed me to follow up on specific notions that emerged during the interview process, seeking to illuminate interesting issues as relates to the aims of this study. There were various contradictions in the three pastor's narratives in relation to their reflections on masculinities, and specifically, faith discourses on 'godly manhood' among the MMC. This portrayed the complexities and conflicting nature under which masculinities are understood and discussed within the Charismatic, Evangelical Christian tradition. Part of my findings is discussed in chapter six, seven and eight.

5.2.2.3   In-depth Interviews with the 'Mighty Men'

Having been in South Africa for ten years, I was fully aware of racial and class dynamics which could have been a challenge during my fieldwork. In particular, concerns emerged on how possible it was to collect data, for instance, from very conservative Afrikaner men. To overcome such a challenge I conducted pilot surveys by personally approaching some of my target groups during the MMC gatherings in 2011 and also during their

men's group gatherings. Most of the men that I approached indicated positive responses by showing interest to be part in this study.

In general, the structure of interview questionnaires for the 'Mighty Men'[68] was intended to explore their experiences of the MMC. Reflections on the interview questions were intended to illuminate descriptions on how and what influenced perceptions and constructions of emerging forms of masculinities. The interview schedule was semi-structured with open-ended questions which allowed interaction between me and the participants (see Appendix 3 attached). The structure of the questions that formed the focus of discussions was guided and informed by the aims of the study. This dictated what was included in the interview schedule. In most cases, exploration rather than probing was used to illuminate the participants' understanding of masculinity based on their personal experiences as South Africans in relation to how the teachings of the MMC and Buchan had impacted their lives.

Overall, each interview session lasted one hour to one and half hours. The sessions were flexible with no restricted order in the presentation of the questions. In order to maintain the flow of the interview sessions, a thematic approach was adopted to follow up on particular themes. This involved following up the participants' thoughts patterns that emerged on particular issues during the interview sessions before I could return to the order of the semi structured interview questionnaire. To enable meaningful conversations during the interview sessions, both the interviewer's and the participants' non-verbal prompts were vital. Because non-verbal cues and body language is a useful tool of research (see Curtis and Curtis 2011:34-39), my main role was to ask for clarification or elaboration when required (for example, "You seemed agitated when I asked you about you experience at the MMC. Can you tell me more about your experience at the MMC?"). This as Kelly (2008:299) shows, enabled me to engage the participants in an interactive conversation by encouraging them to speak rather than to be taken as a "research object" where sessions remain on a level of question and answer mode.

The individual interviews covered a wide range of concerns as relates to representation and understanding of masculinity ranging from participants' self-definition and perceptions of being an ideal man, a "mighty man," and a "godly man"; questions on

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[68] 'Mighty Men' in this case refers to the specific men who were interviewed during my fieldwork research.

power in relation to their Church's teaching and Buchan's teachings; social, political and economic themes in relation to masculinity and the MMC in South African. I also explored notions of Christ as man in relation to faith discourses on "godly manhood" which is a key issue within the MMC as a Charismatic, Evangelical movement. Some of the themes that emerged from the 34 interviews were numbered and recorded (see Table 2 on page 117) and are discussed in my analysis and interpretation of data in the subsequent chapters.

In-depth interviews proved useful for this study in that participants were able to demonstrate their experiences of the MMC. In comparison to questionnaires, it is possible to gather rich information and as Curtis and Curtis (2011:32) point out, it is feasible to follow-up on interesting points; include materials that the participants bring up which were not anticipated, while questions and themes or topics can be adopted as part of the process of subsequent interviews. However, my interview sessions revealed some very sensitive information. This, as cited by Curtis and Curtis (2011:33), has been given as one of the disadvantages of using interviews. As much as sensitive information is desirable in a research of this kind, it may create an extra burden in ensuring that participants remain comfortable during and after the interview, and have appropriate follow-up. Also, Curtis and Curtis (2011:47) have acknowledged that interview data may vary because both the interviewer and participants will react to each other, as well as external factors, differently on different days.

5.2.3 Managing the Data

All the individual in-depth interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder, and sufficient field notes were taken during the interview sessions as part of process notes to facilitate data analysis. Transcription of every session of interview was done soon after to ensure that an accurate picture of the interview was captured as recommended by Kelly (2008:302) and Curtis and Curtis (2011:41). This involved the process of translating the spoken material into written verbatim form for the purpose of extracting meaning. Kelly (2008) suggests that the meaning of what is being said in an interview can usually be interpreted only in the context of the sentences which surround it and the conversation as a whole. Also, journal notes were written to support interview notes in determining

emerging themes and insights that required attention. Curtis and Curtis (2011:41) observe that journaling allows the point of data saturation to be determined and this could facilitate adjustments of interview schedules accordingly. Analytical notes are useful in cases where good ideas about interpretation come to mind while transcribing (Kelly 2008:302). At the same time, as advised in most cases, the texts were annotated with notes on non-linguistic expressions based on Curtis and Curtis (2011:42) typology for recording cues.

5.2.4   Researcher Participation and Researcher Observation

I began attending the MMC not with intentions of conducting this study but as a participant for spiritual and personal reasons. With time, I became interested in exploring the MMC for research purposes. My attendance took more of a critical observation informed by studies in religion, gender, men and masculinity. Therefore, as an "insider," my experiences and observations supplement the in-depth interviews conducted with the men who attended the MMC. Although participant observation is not often employed by constructionist researchers (Kelly 2008), observations as a researcher added value to my research process in that it aided my critical theological reflection in this study. Kelly (2008:308) asserts that observation allows a researcher to get closer to the action, where the researcher becomes fully involved in the setting being studied. As Blaxter *et al.* (2006:178) notes, the observation method involves the researcher watching, recording and analysing events of interest. Wilkinson and Birmingham have argued:

> Observation is an extremely handy tool for researchers in that it can allow researchers to understand much more about what goes on in complex real-world situations than they can ever discover simply by asking questions of those who experience them (no matter how probing the questions may be), and by looking only at what is said about them in questionnaires (2003:117 in Blaxter *et al.* 2006:178).

My observation took the form of "selective observations" (Kelly 2008) where it involved the selection of particular events that I had specific questions and interest in. These, for example ranged from male emotional bonding, the kind of masculine symbols and language used, the socio-political, economic and religious dynamics within the group, the songs sung and the teachings given by Buchan, to how men spent their free time and so

on. It was surprising to see within this revivalist scenario of the on-going conference that some men were partying to an extent of drinking beer, which goes against conventional Evangelical practice. During the conferences, I observed and researched from a position of an attendee/participant of the events I was observing.

5.2.5   Secondary Data Collection Methods and Processes

In addition to primary data this study also used secondary data (this is existing or available data) informed by MMC official documents, book publications by Buchan and the MMC, pamphlets and online resources such as the MMC face book page and website page. Secondary method of data collection is therefore an approach that collects and analyses data sourced from the writings of other authors, often taking the form of a literature review (Curtis and Curtis 2011). Kelly (2008:316) has shown that such materials are also particularly suitable for constructionist analysis, as they have an obvious 'constructed' nature and are a means by which ideas and discourses are circulated in our societies. The secondary sources of literature review was based on analysing and interpreting other authors who have used primary sources of data by reusing or revisiting the primary research/data of other research projects (see Blaxter *et al.* 2006 and Curtis and Curtis 2011). In this case, various published and unpublished resources on men and masculinities which speak to the focus of my study were used. This included published books, journal articles, published and unpublished theses and dissertations, reports, magazines, newspaper articles, authentic academic internet resources etc.

In the following section, I discuss how data was analysed for the purpose of generating meaning for this study.

5.3. Data Analysis Method and Techniques

Data analysis is the process by which meaning is extracted from the gathered data. For this study, analysis of the 34 transcribed interviews was done. My analysis of the first 15 interview sessions informed some of the changes and areas of concentration thereafter in other 19 interview sessions. Blaxter *et al.* (2006:206) indicate that data analysis is about

the search for explanation and understanding in the course of which concepts and theories are advanced, considered and developed. This involves "the process of getting field data into shape by searching for patterns and/or underlying meanings in the data" (Curtis and Curtis 2011:43), with its aim being to transform information (data) into an answer to the original research question (Durrheim 2008:52). Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:321) have argued that in qualitative research, there is no clear point at which data collection stops and analysis begins. Rather, there is a gradual fading out of the one and a fading in of the other. For this reason, analysis is an ongoing process which may occur throughout the research, with earlier analysis informing later data collection (see Blaxter *et al.* 2006:193). The following section discusses in detail how I went about analysing my data, and the assumptions which informed my analysis. The three methods which were applied as techniques of data analysis are as discussed.

5.3.1   Analytical Thematic Induction

The first approach to data analysis utilised for this study was to identify themes that emerge from data following interviews with participants. Essentially, instead of trying to fit participants' answers into a predetermined and preconceived research frame, a thematic analysis was used to recognise, evaluate and describe patterns and themes as analysis driven by data. This concurs with Durrheim's (2008) suggestion that in qualitative research, data analysis begins by identifying themes in the data, and the relationships between these themes. As such, analytical induction is therefore a process of identifying patterns and themes in the data rather than deciding, prior to data collection or analysis what the precise variables or data categories will be (Curtis and Curtis 2011:43). For this reason, Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006:79) have shown that thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes a research data set in (rich) detail.[69]

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[69] In relation to thematic analysis, a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set. Data *corpus* refers to *all* data collected for a particular research project, while data *set* refers to all the data from the corpus that are being used for a particular analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006:81) therefore point out that thematic analysis can be a method that works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality' arguing:

> Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (2006:81).

In relation to this observation, this study applied a constructionist method of thematic analysis by acknowledging ways in which participants in this study sought meaning within the broader social contexts and how their representation of who a man is had an impact on their discourses of masculinity, thereby influencing understandings of a "godly manhood." Several steps were applicable for a thematic analysis method for this study. These are briefly discussed in what follows.

First, it was important that I familiarise and immerse myself in the data by reading and rereading. This has been encouraged especially by Braun and Clarke (2006:87) and Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:323) who insist that this must involve a thorough working with the texts (field notes and interview transcripts) by carefully reading through the texts many times, over and over. The thematic analysis applied utilised a 'latent level' approach to thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006). Unlike in a 'semantic approach' where the researcher identifies the themes by looking at the surface meanings without going beyond what the participants said, (Braun and Clarke 2006:84), the latent approach goes beyond the semantic content of the data by identifying or examining the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations and ideologies that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Second, because thematic analysis does not require a detailed theoretical and technological knowledge of approaches (Braun and Clarke 2006:81), individual data items (interviews) were reread over and notes taken to facilitate initial coding of interesting features of the data in a systematic manner across the entire data set (Braun and Clarke 2006). This enabled me to organise data into meaningful groups of themes.

Third, is the phase in which themes are searched and categorised by gathering all data relevant to each theme, and then defining and naming the themes. Braun and Clarke

(2006:89) have suggested that this could involve sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within identified themes.[70]

As observed by Braun and Clarke (2006), a researcher should eventually be able to describe the scope and content of each theme, the relationship between codes, between themes, and between different levels of themes (eg, the main overarching themes and semi-themes within them). Due to an overwhelming number of identified themes in the data, I decided for the purpose of this study to concentrate on themes which emerged common from the responses, or portrayed a sense of conflict and contradictory discourses across a range of data gathered.

The table below illustrates some themes and sub-themes which emerged dominant from the data. These have been engaged further in my analysis and discussion in subsequent chapters.

Themes	Sub-themes
Return to 'godly manhood'	• The "Mighty Men" and 'Crisis in Masculinity. ➢ Patriarchal response to feminism ➢ Renegotiating racial reconciliation or forgiveness ➢ Issues of sexuality and gender performance ➢ Response to social, economic shifts
'God's Design' for 'godly manhood'	• The "Mighty Men" and Responsible 'godly manhood' ➢ 'Godly manhood' and Masculine Headship and Leadership ➢ 'Godly manhood' and Masculine Performance (provider and protector). ➢ Divine Status, wealth and Privilege as the Essence of 'godly manhood.'
The Measure of 'godly manhood'	• "Godly manhood" and Masculine Spirituality ➢ Priest, King and Prophet ➢ "Godly manhood" and the remaking of Fatherhood (masculine emotionalism and non-violence).
"Christ the man" and "Christian manhood"	• Christ as 'model' or 'counter model' ➢ 'Godly manhood' and masculine power ➢ Alternative Ideals of "Christ-like' 'godly manhood'

Table 2: Summary of themes and sub-theme from a 'latent level' of thematic analysis.

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[70] Coding means breaking up the data in analytically relevant ways (sub-themes) to one or more of the themes (Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008:324).

5.3.2 Discourse Analysis

In order to conceptualise how masculinities are spoken about and understood among Charismatic, Evangelical Christian men, faith discourses remained central to how representations of masculinities are constructed. In other words, constructions of masculinities among Charismatic, Evangelical men needed to inquire how notions of masculinities are represented in faith discourses thereby reproducing meaning that inform constructions of 'ideal' "godly manhood." Hence, discourse analysis became a vital method in this process.

Ian Parker (1992:5) offers a good working definition of a discourse as a system of statements which constructs an object. In this case, discourses are broad patterns of talk –systems of statements –that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008a). Parker (1992) therefore argues that discourses do not simply describe the social world, but categorises it and brings the phenomena into sight, allowing us to see things that are not 'really' there and provides frameworks for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways. In other words, discourse constructs 'representations' of the world.

Merran Toerien and Kevin Durrheim (2001:36) contend that 'discourses of masculinity' consist of clusters of terms, networks of meanings or systems of statements that provide content to masculinity and which thereby 'construct an object' –in this case, men. Important to note in this observation is that different discourses offer men competing and conflicting ways of making sense of their world and of themselves (Toerien and Durreheim 2001).

The need to analyse discourses through the language and symbols applied in representing construction of masculine 'identities' from the respondent's narratives was needful from the data I gathered. This confirms Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:328) assertion that as one of the most popular approaches in social constructionist analysis, discourse analysis can be understood as the act of showing how certain discourses are deployed to achieve particular effects in specific context. In other words, discourse analysis deliberately systematises different ways of talking so we can understand them better by looking at the tensions within discourses and the way they reproduce and transform the world (Parker 1992:5). Parker (1992) further shows how language is structured to mirror power

relations and therefore language structures ideologies which in turn construct gender. Hence, my approach towards discourse analysis was to look for 'hidden themes' on how language and symbols were used in faith discourses to construct and maintain notions of 'Mighty Men' and 'godly manhood'. Given that masculinities are constructed in interaction, this study examined gendered discourse in the construction of gendered practices of masculinity through language, symbols, and objects.

In order to establish meaning from the data gathered, transcribed texts were examined to identify discourses at play in these texts. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:331) argues that by identifying what binary oppositions, recurrent terms, phrases, and metaphors present in a text, we begin to see how the text is the product of a particular discourse. This informed my discourse analysis process. In this light, first, I began by looking for how binary oppositions were used in faith discourses to portray religious/Christian understandings and representations of masculinities and femininities in the data. For example: "God created men to be strong and to lead the women who are weaker vessels." Such discourses illustrate binary oppositions and are discussed as part of my findings. Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a) suggest that often, binary oppositions are implicit in texts, as only one side of the opposition is explicitly mentioned.

Second, the need to examine recurring terms, metaphors, concepts, analogies, gender ideologies, phrases and gender images, all became evident through discourses of masculinities. Parker (1992) notes that it is important to look for recurrently used systems of terms used characterising and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena used in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions organised around specific metaphors and figures of speech. Hence, it was important to identify in various discourses a particular way that participants spoke about what constituted being a 'man' and how this concurred or conflicted with other participants by examining the content of what was said as well and how it was said. Third, emerging from the faith discourses was how human subjects and God, for example, was referred to within discourses of masculinity. As advised by Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008), it is important to consider human subjects that are spoken about in the text because a critical examination of the texts indicates that there are more subjects present (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2008). In this case, discourses from statements were grouped according to particular themes as relates to family discourse, racial discourse or socio-economic discourse, marriage discourses and so on. Some

identified discourses were analysed to match the themes and sub-themes in Table 2 above.

5.3.3 Praxeological Intersectional Analysis

Since the central tenet of intersectionality is that individual identity exists within and draws from a web of socially defined statuses, Vasti Toress *et al.* (2009:587-588) observes that intersectionality is not only a theoretical framework, but also an analytical lens which results in an improved analysis and greater understanding. Anne Denis (2008:685) notes that doing intersectional analysis is complex and not easy and that the process of intersectional analysis is an attempt to address the felt need for more complex analysis. Hence, with intersectional analysis, the central issue rests with the challenge of complex analyses and how to manage such complexities (McCall 2005:1773).

McCall (2005) and Nash (2008) distinguished a set of three main approaches of addressing intersectional complexities as anti-categorical complexity, intra-categorical complexity and inter-categorical complexity as requiring analysis (McCall 2005:1773-1774; Nash 2008:4-6 and Denis 2008:685).[71] However, Winker and Degele (2011) has delineated praxeological intersectional analyses as a multilevel technique that takes into consideration all the three levels of complex categories described by McCall (2005) and others. Stressing that social practices act as the starting point of multilevel praxeological intersectional analyses, Winker and Degele argue:

> Starting out from the social practices of a person, we are able to reconstruct identities they construct, as well as the structures and norms they draw on: which categories do social actors relate to? Which norms, principles and interpretive patterns affect them? (2011:56-57).

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[71] Anticategorial Complexity is an approach to intersectionality is seen as a process of deconstructing analytical categories such as gender and race, focusing attention on the ways in which concepts, terms and categories are constructed. Interacategorial complexity focuses on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection. It is concerned with reconstructing intersections of single dimensions on a micro level (identity construction) where case studies, ethnographic and narrative research methods are the primary focus. Intercategorial complexity makes a strategic use of categories and analyses multiple relations between socially constructed groups by orientating itself towards the relationship between categories, mainly (though not entirely) in quantitative research (McCall 2005, Nash 2008 and Winker and Degele 2011).

With this observation of beginning intersectional analysis with social practice and not to start with theoretical concepts, the data gathered from participants and observations made indicated how different identity categories (race, class, gender, age, sexuality and nationality) interplay in relation to social factors of religion, culture, economic and political changes in the themes and discourses identified for this study. Therefore, the major question that cuts across intersectional analysis was how various intersections could be identified, how they informed representations of masculinity, and how they influenced constructions of masculine identities in the process of enacting 'godly manhood.' As such, praxeological intersectional analyses provided lenses for examining and explaining how factors interwove to influence constructions of masculinities. This seeks to describe how masculinities are practiced and maintained. The analysis begins with examining the everyday life of participants in the study. This established how multiple identities converge to influence constructions of masculinities. As suggested by Winker and Degele (2011:58-63) the following eight steps were adopted and served to facilitate intersectional analysis as illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Part 1: Evaluation of Individual Interviews

Step 3
Find References to Social Structures and the four given structural categories that have been deductively identified: Class, Gender, and Race by examining how these relate to everyday social practices and power relations

Step 1
Described Identity Constructions constituting a social practice. e.g poor, rich, 'male' heterosexual, white, black employed, married etc

Step 2
Identify Symbolic Representations example make explicit all the hegemonic representations, norms, values, ideologies, religious doctrines, cultural beliefs etc that operate within the context of research

Step 4
Naming Interrelations of central categories that are important to the interviewees by identifying important subject constructions

Part 2: Analysis of all Interviews of the Research

Step 6
Analyse Structural Power Relations
Classisms, Racisms, hegemonies, Sexism, nationalism etc

Step 5
Cluster and Compare Subject Constructions
In order to start analysing to what extent these constructions are gendered, ethicised, racialised, etc (see table 1 on themes and sub-themes

Step 7
Deepen the Analysis of Named Representations
By analysing discourses, with the purpose to understand ideologies and establish meaning from values and norms

Step 8: Synopsis
Examine the intersections by looking at how identity categories are interwoven with social factors. The relationship between structural systems of power relations, symbolic representation and identity construction are analysed.

Figure 2: A model of Intersectional Multi-level Analysis (Adopted from Winker and Degele 2011)

Important to note from the diagram above, Step 1, 2, 3 and 4 constituting Part 1 of the praxeological intersectional multilevel analysis focuses on the interaction of identity constructions, symbolic representations and social structures (Winker and Degele 2011). Part 2 of the intersectional analysis deals with compiling all interviews from which all social practices were identified during the research (Winker and Degele 2011). This facilitated the identification of themes and sub-themes that will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. Also, it was important to examine contradictions and tensions identified at various intersections. For example, it was crucial to explore how socio-

cultural and economic experiences of being a man intersected with religious notions and perceptions of "godly manhood" in negotiating masculine headship and leadership. Important in this whole process of intersectional analysis is also the need to explore the place of religion (especially Christianity in this case) by interrogating its intersections with other social factors. Intersectional analysis in this case took both a deductive (theory-led) approach and an inductive (open to surprise) procedural method (Winker and Degele 2011:57). Being "open to the unexpected" enabled the study to remain contextual. Nina Lykke shows that one of the important strength of intersectional analysis:

> Is precisely that it urges the analyst to 'go with the flow' –and to take up the challenges of this flowing mode, which include letting oneself be led towards unexpected, disturbing, messy, paradoxical and perhaps conflicting perspectives and questions (2011:213).

5.4 Methodological Limitations

As much as this study takes an interdisciplinary position drawing from sociology, gender, religion, feminism and theology, some methodological limitations need to be stated. Specific parameters (delimitations) for this study were by design set in advance and these should be taken into account in case transferability of findings is to be considered. The first is, methodological limitations of this study relate to the scope of the study. The study adopted a case-centric technique by examining representation and constructions of masculinities within the MMC. With this scope in mind the sample did not take into account other voices apart from the voices of men who attended the MMC.

Second, the study design dictates certain limitations. The study was limited to a constructionist perspective. As such qualitative methods of data collection were applied. Even though the findings of this study are applicable in other religious contexts of similar Christian traditions and beliefs, this method limits its generalisation. Mary van der Riet and Kevin Durrheim (2008:91) point out that generalisability (also called 'external validity') is the extent to which it is possible to generalise from the data and context of the study to broader populations and settings. The aim of this study was not to make universal claims, but to explore how faith discourses inform representation and constructions of masculinity within the MMC as a case study. Constructionist researchers argue that research findings should be transferable. Van der Riet and Durrheim suggest:

> Transferability is achieved by producing detailed and rich descriptions of contexts. These give readers detailed accounts of the structures of meaning which develop in a specific context. These understandings can then be transferred to new contexts in other studies to provide a framework with which to reflect on arrangements of meaning and action that occur in these new contexts (2008:92).

A third limitation of this study was the challenge of gaining access to certain participants who were to be interviewed. For instance, it was exceptionally difficult to get hold of Mr. Buchan, the leader of the MMC. Having informed the officials of the movement about my research in early 2012, it was impossible to arrange for an interview session with Mr. Buchan on the basis that he was already fully booked until the end of 2013. Instead, I was directed to his latest book – *The Mighty Men Journey* (2012) as an authentic publication containing all that I needed to know and hear from Buchan regarding the MMC. As much as his voice was needed for this study, I could not make further arrangements to have him interviewed.

5.5 Ethical Considerations

The nature and the method of this study necessitated ethical approval before data could be gathered. The ethical reviews and clearance were obtained based on the University of KwaZulu Natal research ethics committee policy by the faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Development (see Appendix 5 for ethics committee approval). On this note, Blaxter *et al.* (2006:158) states that research ethics is being clear about the nature of the agreement that a researcher had entered into with their research subjects or contacts. They further highlight:

> Ethical research involves getting the informed consent of those you are going to interview, question, observe or take materials from. It involves reaching agreements about the uses of this data, and how its analysis will be reported and disseminated. And it is about keeping to such agreements when they have been reached (2006:159).

With this consideration, Douglas Wassenaar (2008:67-68) highlights four widely accepted philosophical principles which should guide whether research is ethical. These are discussed as follows.

First, to maintain the rights of individual participants, no interviews were conducted unless the interested participants consented and duly accepted to participate. Their approval to audio record and take field notes was also requested before the interview sessions began. In respecting the dignity of the participants, the purpose of this study was explained to them and it was made clear to the participants that their participation was voluntary although all were encouraged to participate. I also assured all the participants confidentiality and that their views would not be referred to overtly. Autonomy and respect for the dignity of research participants was observed. Wassenaar (2008) shows that autonomy finds expression in the requirements for voluntary informed consent by all participants and also the protection of participants' confidentiality is part of autonomy.

Second, justice towards participants during the process of this study was maintained by ensuring that I treated research participants with the same respect, trust, and confidentiality that they accorded. Participants were not treated as research objects disseminating information but as important participants whose views and perspectives would contribute to new knowledge through the findings of this study. Wassenaar (2008:68) argues that justice in general requires that people receive what is due to them, and requires that researchers treat research participants with fairness and equality during all stages of research. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms were used to refer to all the participants coded as Mighty Man #1(MM1), Mighty Man #2 (MM2), Mighty Man #3 etc (see Appendix 4) on the list of oral interview with the Mighty Men.

Third, nonmaleficence supplements the autonomy principle and entails that the researcher ensures that no harm ensues study participants as a direct or indirect outcome of the study (Wassenaar 2008:67). In keeping with this philosophical principle, this study ensured that the kind of interview questions asked, the procedures or the language used did not expose participants to situations of stress. It was also guaranteed that a true representation of the study findings be presented by acknowledging all the information used thereby avoiding dishonesty.

Fourth, beneficence as a philosophical principle intends to spell the benefits that the research will afford to the participants (Wassenaar 2008:67). It was explained to the participants that there will be no direct benefits to individuals, but their participation and

perspectives through this study would contribute to new knowledge in the form of an academic thesis. This will be made available to the general public as a resource material which will contribute to the ongoing debates on men and masculinity.

5.6 Research Reflexivity

According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2008a:563), reflexivity is the plain recognition and examination of the researcher's role in the research process, including the assumptions with which they operate their identifications and dis-identifications, and their possible influence on the research process. Two relevant challenges arose in relation to reflecting on my position as a researcher, the study context and the study. First, as a systematic theologian and a scholar in gender and religion, I became consciously aware of the definite influence I brought to this study through my views and beliefs on a wide range of issues in relation to the study subject. The constant challenge that seemed inevitable in this awareness was the need to establish ways through which my opinion does not find appearance in the study and the findings recorded in this thesis. To achieve this, I have endeavoured to remain true as much as I can by representing the voices of participants in this study. However, my experience as an Evangelical Christian and scholar highlighted for me some of the issues of concern on masculinity which required depth within this context of study.

Second, was the challenge of overcoming nationality and ethnicity barriers which had huge potential of negatively impacting on the process of data collection. I had to overcome the foreseen and unknown effects that my individual characteristics as a young black, foreign researcher would bring to conducting fieldwork among Black, Indian, Coloured, English and Afrikaans speaking white South African men in a post-apartheid era. Surprisingly, the set-back was not as was thought would be. I shared several common grounds of belief with most of the men who were approached during my pilot study before I commenced fieldwork. Unfortunately, because of this commonality the conversations during the interview sessions at times turned into another "spiritual" session thereby necessitating research skills to shift the interviewee's attention back to the question asked. Also, some participants gave long and inappropriate responses, making it difficult to connect meaningfully with the data. This necessitated the need to check

transcripts for accuracy. Therefore, a constant need from me was to keep focus to the study objectives by redirecting the participants back to the probed questions. Also, it proved difficult to establish and to extract useful data information from faith discourse during my analysis and interpretation. In general, most participants were well informed of the subject and they provided data which has been useful for this study.

It is within such observations that research reflexivity becomes vital. Kopano Ratele (2008:553) notes that reflexivity is the process by which a researcher constantly remembers to look at himself [sic] in the process of undertaking a research. During the time I spent collecting data, transcribing 34 lengthy verbal interviews gathered from the Mighty Men, I was forced to continually examine my own identification as an Evangelical, as a male researching masculinities and my religious awareness as a scholar to avoid biasness. This necessitated the need for checking transcripts for accuracy. As much as I was aware of this, Blaxter *et al.* was instructive in this case suggesting:

> There is no easy way in which the effect of the researcher on the research can be minimised. You cannot be wholly objective, and, in many ways, it is foolish to try to be so. The play of emotions between researcher, researched and the research is often something to be welcomed and celebrated. Yet there is need to be aware of your influence on your research, and to open as you can in recording and recognising these effects (2006:82-83).

Chapter Summary

My discussions in this chapter has attempted to describe in detail the study methodology and research method and design applied in obtaining and processing data from which the findings of this study has been discussed and interpreted. For this purpose, I have intentionally distinguished between research methodologies and research methods. Having revisited my central research question I have indicated that the study utilises a qualitative multimethods research design as an appropriate method. As illustrated in the chapter, multimethods research involves the mixing of methods by combining two or more qualitative methods. As such, I have defined the study sample, and given the demographics of the research sample. Individual in-depth interviews were conducted with 34 men as the primary method of data collection, alongside research observation and other secondary method of data collection. The data obtained was transcribed and

analysed using analytical thematic induction, discourse analysis and praxeological intersection analysis.

The chapter concluded by highlighting some methodological limitations, ethical considerations and the importance of reflexivity for this study.

PART TWO

FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND INTERPRETATION

*Interpretation is the process by which you put your own meaning on the
data you have collected and analysed, and compares that meaning with
those advanced by others (Blaxter et al. 2006:219)*

As indicated in chapter five, fieldwork was conducted to gather data for this study. What follows in part two of this thesis is presentations of findings and discussions of themes emerging from data analysis. During my discussions on analytical thematic induction in chapter five, I also highlighted some key issues (major themes and sub-themes) relevant to this study. These have facilitated the structuring of my findings but also inform and aid my contextual discussions and interpretation on perceptions and constructions of masculinities emanating from my analyses.

The presentation of results and findings in this second part of the thesis is done concurrently in every chapter to facilitate analysis and discussions at the same time. Significant to presentation of findings in chapter six, seven, eight and nine is how meaning is extracted from the participants' words and narrations. Discourse, thematic and intersectional analyses have aided my interpretation of faith discourses in discussing the themes addressed. I therefore begin my discussions on findings in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX

FAITH DISCOURSES WITHIN PERCEIVED CRISIS IN MASCULINITY

> The crisis of masculinity thesis can be used to divert attention from the
> power effects of men's largely still dominant position across the social
> sphere (Whitehead 2002:56)

6.0 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to explore faith discourses of the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC) within the concept of "perceived" crises in masculinity in South Africa. The most prominent faith discourse I seek to examine here is Buchan's call for the Mighty Men to "return to godly manhood" as a discourse intended to address 'crises' of masculinity. Hence, the main question that I address in this chapter is why the MMC have made a call for a "return to godly manhood." First, I examine faith discourses and participants' responses which indicate perceived 'crisis' in masculinity. This focuses on: (1) faith discourses and the "crisis" of feminism, (2) faith discourses and the "crisis" of gender performance within the MMC, (3) faith discourses and the "crisis" of sexuality and (4) faith discourses and the crisis of fatherhood. The word crisis is used in inverted commas because I put forward that the crisis is more perceived than real. Finally, I highlight in my conclusion how the MMC have responded to such perceptions of crisis in masculinity in the South African context.

6.1 'Crises' or a Perceived 'Crisis' in Masculinity

In chapter three I situated the MMC phenomena as a response towards 'crises' in masculinity within a religious South African context. The dilemma regarding the notion of a 'crisis' of men and masculinity is one that is contradictory considering the inequalities of contemporary gender relations and men defined as oppressors (Whitehead 2002:47-48). For this reason, Whitehead and Barrett's (2001) contention on this notion of 'crisis' in masculinity is whether we should be speaking of crisis perceptions instead of

'crisis of masculinity.' Whitehead and Barrett (2001:45) have therefore argued that 'crisis' as a theoretical term presupposes a coherent system of some kind, which is destroyed or restored by the outcome of the crisis. Based on the fact that masculinity is not a system in that sense but a configuration of practice within gender relations, we cannot speak of the crisis of a configuration; rather we should speak of its disruption or its transformation (Whitehead and Barrett 2001). In the same vein, Sandra Swart (2001:86) analyses perceptions of masculine gender crisis as uniquely threatening to the male ego and points out that crises in masculinity must not be understood from a singular perspective because masculinities confront continual crises arising from transforming socio-political contexts. As such this proves the argument that masculinities are fluid constructions and that dominant masculinities are constantly being challenged, reconstructed, and reinvented in different sections of society, in adaptation to changing economic, political and social circumstances (Hooper 2001). The place of religion in this social web must therefore not be neglected for a constructive interrogation. This is because perceptions of 'crises' are also informed by religious institutions and their beliefs on gender orders which often impact negatively on masculinities. Often, the response is to call men to retreat back towards traditional forms of dominant masculinities.[72] This observation is evident among the MMC who have called for a return to 'godly manhood.'

According to Whitehead and Barrett (2001), constructions of contemporary masculinities require such a study as this to map perceptions of masculinity crisis within disruption of gender order. Several factors must be taken into consideration while investigating perceptions of crisis in masculinity. Whitehead and Barrett (2001:310) for example contend that we need to look at the social dynamics in the global arena that give rise to masculinity politics, the local challenges to hegemonic forces, and the emerging forms of gender instability that threaten to disrupt dominant forms of masculinity. It is therefore important to consider disruptions that have influenced perceptions that masculinities are in crisis among the MMC. As I adopt the concept of crisis perceptions, I draw attention to three areas of disruptions within the MMC which indicate perceived crisis in masculinity. First, is advances made by feminism towards gender equality. Second, are the

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[72] Dominant belief of masculinity are defined by academic sociology as dominant model of masculinity which is the measure by which all men are judged, the cultural idealised form of masculine character that embodies male power: hegemonic masculinity (Crawford 2002). Crawford (2002) indicates that this dominant model of masculinity is associated with toughness, competitiveness, determination, self-sufficiency, aggression, the celebration of exemplars, success and subordination of women and homosexuals (Kimmel and Messer 1994 and Crawford 2002).

perceived crises in relation to gender performance in areas of male leadership and headship. Third, is the increased freedom that sexuality poses to gender instability perceived as a threat to dominant forms of masculinity within the MMC.

In order to consider some disruptions that have influenced perceptions that masculinities are in crises, participants were asked about areas where they thought that men are not "men" and/or "mighty" enough. This question sought to inquire about the extent to which masculinities are described to be in crisis among the Mighty Men. Whitehead and Barrett (2001:322) have pointed out that what were once claimed to be male [manly] virtues (heroism, independence, courage, strength, rationality, will, backbone, virility) are often now viewed as masculine vices –part of the 'crisis' of masculinity. This observation alerts one on how 'crises' could be understood in our contemporary contexts in relation to perceptions of masculinity, especially that the MMC has made a call for men to return to "godly manhood." The nature of this return is also of significance to examine.

6.1.1   The Perceived Crisis of Feminism

Faith discourses around how masculinities are configured in the MMC are to be investigated within several socio-economic and political forces within what this men's movement understand to be crisis perceptions towards gender change[73] in the South African context. Feminism is one of such a force that has given rise to immense masculinity politics. In this case, what emanates from most discourses of masculinity in crisis is a portrayal of men as unfulfilled, insecure and threatened by women's rise towards asserting their independence through gender justice and equality. It is important therefore to highlight how the Mighty Men within the MMC responded to such perceptions of crisis evident in their faith discourses. Buchan and most participants indicated a belief that men's sense of masculinity was being eroded and that men felt emasculated. For example, Buchan contends:

> We are Mighty Men of God in a time and era where everything else is
> falling apart, where nothing is substantial and where there is nothing and
> no one a young man can look up to. Young men are desperately seeking

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[73] Gender change is seen as a highly complex process and it occurs within individuals, within groups and within institutions (Morrell 2001b).

role models and mentors (2012:18).

Suggesting that men are experiencing crisis in the area of masculine authority, Buchan emphatically confirms traditionalist/masculinist positions stating:

> It is time for authority. We have to take authority. We have got the authority, his name is Jesus. You say to your children, "I am the high priest. Not mum, me! (2008, *Dying to Live,* Conference DVD, Disk #1).

Not taking into consideration what kind of "authority" Jesus gives, it seems obvious from Buchan's faith discourse that the MMC does not exist by accident. The MMC is a force against 'other forces' (ostensibly, feminism), that seems to threaten the existence of 'godly manhood,' hence Buchan further argues:

> If asked why the Mighty Men phenomenon has become such an incredible force to be reckoned with in the world, I can only say that it is because men are starting to take their rightful positions again in the home, in the business, in politics, in sport in culture (2012:99).

To argue that the MMC is a force towards restoring Christian masculinity is to affirm that feminism is eroding 'godly manhood' hence, crisis in masculinity. Underlining the use of the word "again" in Buchan's statements indicates an awareness that Christian men have lost "their rightful position" and therefore for men to be 'Mighty' they "have to take back authority." It is because of this Mighty Men should warn their children that dad is the high priest and not mum. Such faith discourses can only make sense in a context where men perceive women as the cause of the crisis, and a threat to authentic masculinity.

It can therefore be argued that the only way that Christian men have "lost their rightful position in the home," in the business, in politics and in sport is through feminist advances for gender equality between men and women, a movement that seeks to empower women as equal partners with men. Might this be a reason why Buchan (2012) asserts that "We are Mighty Men of God in a time and era where everything else is falling apart, where nothing is substantial?" This would then suggest that feminism is creating more havoc than good, leading to this era that men's masculinity is being eroded. This observation confirms Buchan's conversation with Devi Sankaree Govender in a

documentary programme—*Carte Blanche*.[74] In this interview session with Govender, Buchan strongly affirms the goals of the MMC stating:

> Man's masculinity in the world today, in this 21st Century, is being eroded and broken down. And young men – some young men – don't know what a man is supposed to be! There are no role models, no mentors to look up to. What is a man supposed to do? How is he supposed to act? My wife is my best friend, and she is feminine just like you Davi…if you don't mind me saying so. And so what we did was – I believe, not we, but the Lord –restored masculinity. They are men! you have got to stand and be counted! You have got to represent your family, your business, your company. Stop walking around like a whipped dog with his tail between his legs. That's no use to anybody (A show interview with Buchan, By Govender, 18th January 2009).

Buchan's emphasising that his wife is 'feminine' just as Devi- Sankaree Govender is, intends to show that men "should' be men and in no way should women stand to compete with men because men are to represent their family. As such Christian men must "Stop walking around like a whipped dog with his tail between his legs."

Similar concerns were likewise raised among the Promise Keepers (an Evangelical men's movement) in the United States who persistently perceived such 'crises' in masculinity. For example, Howard Hendricks (1994:50) argues that "there is a terrifying void of affirming maleness in our society." Such faith discourse affirms scholarly observations at a more general level. For example, Whitehead (2002:48) shows that feminism has contributed to the undermining of patriarchy and the male paradigm of control. Men are therefore considering that feminism somehow threatens the 'social fabric' and, not least, them as men (Whitehead 2002:7). As a result, this process seems to have aggravated a crisis of gender order and power relations with the historic collapse of the legitimacy of patriarchal power through the movement for the emancipation of women (Whitehead and Barrett 2001:45). Such perceptions towards crisis have forced most men to not only reconsider previously held beliefs about male roles and dominant masculinities but it has also inadvertently left men with a crisis of confidence (Whitehead and Barrett 2001 and Whitehead 2002).

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[74] The website (http://www.beta.mnet.co.za/carteblanche/Article.aspx?Id=3523) contains details of the entire shown with interview between Davi Sankaree Govender and Buchan.

Perceptions of masculinity being in crisis were also evident in most responses among the Mighty Men whose concerns were that men are lacking in many areas and are not living up to their expectations as men. This is often blamed on feminism. Consider how some of the Mighty Men responded unaware of their inclination to perceptions of crises in masculinity:

Extract 1:

> *I argue...we lack, we lack in many areas. We lack in areas of responsibility, we are not mighty in that...we are not the man God wants. Ah! You know...Jees men, women have become heads of families, and we are losing the might in us. Aah women have ...Aah Why? You know you go to the whole political manoeuvring of the whole situation as previous disadvantaged gender. But, but, leaving that aside, we are also losing the mighty in us. A man is meant to be the hunter, the strong person in the community. So we are not taking our place or position in that perspective and just being real and mighty that even women will look up to us and say, these are men. But, instead, they push us down because they can see we are not doing anything that is mighty and real as being a man. So, they are thinking, okay, I can do this myself, in fact I can be much better than men are, they are taking the lead* (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

Extract 2:

> *Yah, I think concerning taking their responsibility. Men, they are not really active enough. They are laid back. They send… In fact the leadership has been changed to, has been sent to females. Men are too busy with things that are not the main thing …. So yah, in that way, I am discouraged to say that men are not taking their responsibility. I have been in some churches where I see women taking leadership roles, and as a result, those men are not happy and they are not doing anything* (Mighty Man transcript #2, interview 17 January 2011).

There is no doubt that Christian men are not living up to ideals of expected 'godly manhood' in the light of the above responses. Such remarks confirm perceptions of crises in masculinity. First, according to the Mighty Man #7, men have 'lost' their place and position as real and 'mighty men' by relinquishing headship and leadership to women who "push men down" (Extract 1). Women are taking headship in the families and leadership roles in church (and in fact doing it better than men) (Extract 1 and 2) supposes weakness among Christian men who are no longer 'mighty men.' The perception of crisis is therefore evident in the fact that men are 'not real' and have lost their 'might,' and as Mighty Man #7 states: "we are not the man God wants." The thinking in this perceived crisis among the Mighty Men is clear: God intended men to lead and women to take a back seat, the opposite being 'against' the ordered nature of

things 'as was established by God.' For this reason, feminist endeavours to empower women are considered a "whole political manoeuvring of the whole situation" (Mighty Man #7) to empower the so called "previously disadvantaged gender" (referring to women). This highlights Whitehead's (2002:59) argument who shows that what the crisis of masculinity thesis does do, is reveal to us the importance of understanding men and masculinities as discursive; that is, dominant, subordinated and political ways of talking and thinking about men in multiple cultural settings. Furthermore, the views expressed highlight the essentialist understanding of gender roles – men were "created" to be leaders.

Within this Charismatic, Evangelical religious sub-cultural setting, it was evident that Christian men were made weak by feminist gains. Another respondent elaborated further by arguing:

Extract 3:

> *Men are becoming softer and softer and we are giving into the ways of the world. I think guys are not taking their stand as they should be in the household. We are succumbing to pressures of the world, and we are not doing our duty to our family. You know as Angus said, men need to take their rightful place back* (Mighty Man #1, interview 10 January 2011).

It is apparent that the above remark is representative of the idea that soft men are not the ideal of Christian understanding of godly manhood. Soft men are imaged to be weak and as such are seen as emasculated and the need for re-masculinisation: "men need to take their rightful place" was often emphasised. Our image of ideal Christian manhood is therefore shaped by concepts through which Christian masculinities are to be defined. Notice the use of, a 'real man,' a 'mighty man' or still a 'godly man' as one who is able to lead (take their stand) be responsible and discharge duties of his position (head their families), and also not succumb "into the ways of the world." Significant to take note of in Mighty Man #1 is his use of "pressure of the world." Within Charismatic, Evangelical Christianity, feminism forms part of this pressure which must be avoided at every cost.

David Clines (1995:214) cites Catharine Stimpson and posits that in order to be masculine, one is "to have a particular psychological identity, social role, cultural script, and sense of the sacred." Conversely, sociologists in the field of masculinity have warned

against psychologising hegemonic masculinity, male identity and male subjectivity while theorising gender. Whitehead (2002:308) in this case contends that to over-psychologise gives an impression that masculinity is something that individuals empirically possess. Whitehead (2002) argues therefore that this misleads us into overemphasising biology, underestimating the role of social structures that constrain how men and women act, and forgetting that our current notions of masculinity and femininity are tied to modernity and capitalism. This requires a certain "gender performance" which forms the discussion in the next section.

6.1.2 The Perceived Crisis of Gender Performance

Having been asked what it meant to be a 'mighty man' most responses alluded to men taking responsibility especially within the context of the household. Mighty Man #2 and #5 stated:

Extract 4:

> *A mighty man according to him (Angus Buchan) is one who is able to stand on behalf of his family, on what he believes. When you see men running away from their responsibilities [Ahh], I think to be a mighty man is one who can stand on what he believes (*Mighty Man #2, interview 17 January 2011).

Extract 5:

> *The background to this is Christian man. Christian oriented background. So, yah! And I would prefer to say what is a man in terms of what he should be. And that to me first of all, because my beliefs is that a man should be a spiritual leader in his home and he should be taking responsibility in light of his family. And (. .) man is, he has to be a leader. He has to be a leader in his family, and he has to be respected in his community* (Mighty Man #5, interview 7 February 2011).

For most of these Christian men interviewed, demonstration of 'might' was a form of an 'ideal' masculinity within the MMC which emphasised power, strength for what men believed and stood for, a superior position and place of men as leaders of family who are able to take responsibility. The use the title 'Mighty Men' is therefore not only a catchphrase referring to the MMC gathering in general, but in actual fact, is a constant reminder to men that they should not be 'soft' and weak. In actual fact, most responses on what it meant for men to be 'mighty' were presented within binary opposition to that which was considered not 'manly' and 'mighty' at all. Buchan links the lack of physical

strength, courage, conquest and to an extent, 'recklessness' with a sense of 'longing for masculine abilities' as of the Old Testament age stating:

> I have taken quite a lot of stick for that during the last seven or eight years, especially from many pharisaical men who have asked, "How can you call yourselves Mighty Men? Where is the humility in that?" In 1 Chronicles 11:10, God speaks about David's thirty mighty men, who are listed in the Bible. These men did amazing things. One of them killed 300 men with his spear. … The three other mighty men broke through the ranks of the enemy, ran down through the gate to the well of Bethlehem, filled a container with water and took it back to David. The men performed extraordinary feats for God. How we long for men like that. The good news is that they are among us (2012:10).

Buchan's longing for men like those of David's thirty Mighty Men who did amazing things and performed extraordinary feats for God are an indication that perceives a 'crisis' in contemporary masculinities. With the Old Testament world too far removed from our twenty first century world, Buchan forgets that the survival of the notion of conquest is dependent on the suppression of others if overly practiced. The danger in associating physical performance (strength) as a component of ideal masculinity is therefore evident when the concept of conquest and victory is misconstrued and turned to what David Clines (1995:2180) calls, "the capacity to kill other men" manifesting "itself sometimes as what we might call courage, even to the point of recklessness." This, in most cases has resulted to violence and abuse against women.

It is therefore evident that a perceived crisis among the Mighty Men relates to the inability for men to perform and fulfil certain expectations that comes with the title to 'be a man.' This was evident in the notion of men becoming responsible. Consider Mighty Man #6 who observed:

Extract 6:

> *The degree that the devil has attacked a man as a head of the community, as the head of the family, the head of the society as a whole is big. So there is an attack into men, and men are buying into it. How we look at men is often how responsible that person is. And I think what is lacking in our days is that many men have become irresponsible. This then takes away their responsibility of leadership. Because for you to be a leader you have to be responsible. So now, because many men are people who should be taking responsibility in relation to everything. So I think men have taken a step back and they have not taken their stand as real men and mighty men. The devil has been attacking the man as leadership figure, and as the head and we see what we see* (Mighty Man #6, interview 14 February 2011).

In the light of this response, a perceived crisis in masculinity among Mighty Men is portrayed through men becoming irresponsible, men who have taken a step back, "and have not taken their stand as real men and mighty men." From a Charismatic, Evangelical faith discourse, what Mighty Men #6 indicates by "the devil has been attacking the man as leadership figure, and as the head" alludes to the belief that masculinities are configure to be in crisis.

Specific to this study context, men seem to develop a feeling of masculine insecurity, a sense of failure, powerlessness and vulnerability. This could be as a result of these men failing to reconcile the hyper emotional feeling of mightiness they receive during these MMC gatherings with the realities of life associated with the need to enact their supposed masculine 'might' within social, cultural, political and economic changes that challenge traditional gender roles. This, I suggest, often attests to the belief and perceived crises in masculinity. The perceptions that are associated with the name 'Mighty Men' therefore supposes that Christian men are naturally expected to be tough, mighty, courageous, unstoppable, risk takers, being adventurous; while these are at times illusory. To my understanding, as much as such faith discourses are intended to empower Christian men, perceptions created about who a 'mighty man' is could dis-empower men who cannot live up what religion parades as markers of manhood, standards desired for ideal Christian masculinities especially among Charismatic Evangelicals.

The following section discusses perceived crises of sexuality.

6.1.3   The Perceived Crises of Sexuality

Faith discourses and participant responses within the MMC also portrayed concerns about acceptable sexualities within the South African context. Buchan's teachings highlight faith discourses of perceived crisis in masculinity in relation to sexuality among men within what he terms as 'perversions' of 'godly manhood.' These discourses seek to address 'distortions' of manhood in relation to issues of sexuality among Christian men within the MMC. First, such faith discourses addressed men on irresponsible sexuality. This, for my current study, underlines the need to take into account intersections of sexuality, gender and religion as factors which not only informed perceptions on crisis of

masculinity but also constructions of emerging forms of masculinities achetyped in perceptions of 'godly manhood.' Second, are faith discourses concerned with addressing men on issues of same-gender sexualities. These are further discussed in what follows.

6.1.3.1   Perceived Crisis of Irresponsible Sexuality

Faith discourse on the need for men to take control of their sexualities and sexual desires also took central stage in Buchan's perception of crisis in masculinity in South Africa. In a context where a man's ability to perform sexually is highly esteemed in regards to performing masculinity, Buchan's (2012) faith discourse points out that irresponsible sexuality is an indication of a crisis in masculinity. Entrenched in men failing to subdue their sexual desires, Buchan applies Charismatic/Pentecostal theology to discuss issues of marital infidelity within the understanding of Christian faith. Concerns on crisis in masculinity in relation to irresponsible sexual behaviours range from: men sleeping with their partners before marriage—termed as fornication (Buchan 2012:218); watching pornography as ungodly for a man's spiritual health (2008, *Dying to Live,* Conference DVD, Disk #6) and having affairs with other women while married to another as adultery (2008, *Dying to Live,* Conference DVD, Disk #4). For Buchan (2012), a real man is a one-woman man (2012:218). Using his own example to address men at the MMC, Buchan cautions men against promiscuity and immoral sexual behaviour as not an honourable thing stating:

> In my young days, when I was a wild man, men used to brag in the pub about how many women they are stringing along at the same time. That is being dishonest, and is to be despised. God has no time for two-timers. When courage, sincerity and fidelity come into play, it makes a woman respect her man. It makes her proud to be his girlfriend, fiancée and eventually wife (2012:215).

Notice the use of the term 'wild man' in Buchan's quotation cited above. This seems to imply uncontrolled male sexual behaviour in relation to men having difficulties in handling their sexuality. Because sexuality is about power (van Klinken 2011b), Buchan seems to show in this case a perception of crisis in masculinity where men can abuse their powers within a marriage relationship or within faith communities if they decide to abandon their sexuality to run wild. Van Klinken's (2011a) research illustrates a similar

awareness in a Zambian Pentecostal context where men are thought to have a particular problem in the area of mastering their sexuality.

Further, Buchan gives an example of what a lifestyle of sexual unfaithfulness can do to men by points to Tiger Woods, the well-known golfer stating:

> Unfortunately we look at probably one of the greatest golfers in the history of the game from the time it started at St. Andrews in Scotland. He was literary unbeatable and broke every record ever made. He got involved in immorality. Not only did it cost him his family, his wife and his beautiful children, but also costs him his career. Since then, he has not won a tournament. He is trying so hard and it's tragic. My heart bleeds for him (2012:222).

With this example, young men are encouraged to make a decision whether they are going to be 'real men' and get married, while older men are encouraged to be examples and role models and be committed to one pattern "until death do them part" (Buchan 2012). This, in itself highlights a perceived crisis in masculinity where marital commitment seems to be a 'bitter marriage pill' for some men. Sympathetically Buchan (2004:29) contends, "I grieve over mighty men of God who have been caught in adultery, or who are blatantly divorcing their wives in order to marry another woman."

Elaborating how men fail to apply self-control in their sexual behaviour, illustrates more about the perceived crisis in current masculinities. This is evident as Buchan (2012:22) strongly stresses the need for commitment to sexual control among "things which influence men and make them into noble men." Urging men to say no to sexual immorality and be men of God, Buchan further observes:

> It's sad when we see "mutton dressed up as lamb"… Old men still trying to act young and flirt with young women. Sometimes they get away with it because they might have money. We, God's Mighty Men, are expected to be men of valor, of high principles and high morals, men that women can trust and, because we are known as men of God, no lady should ever feel insecure in our presence. She should know that we will protect her with our very lives if necessary (2012:219).

The expectation of men to be 'mighty' and strong (men of valor), men of high morals, men that women can trust and feel secure with demonstrates a perceived crisis in masculinity when comes to men handling their sexuality in a responsible way. For

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Buchan, masculine strength (to be men of valor), is never realised when men become sexual predators seeking to demonstrate their sexual adventure and exploitation. The task for Mighty Men is to acquire 'safe masculinities' by not having concurrent partners. According to this understanding, masculinity is not acquired by how many women a man can have chained in one particular time in season, but is acquired by the ability for males to "man" their sexualities.

As such, control over masculine sexuality reveals true strength for godly manhood (see van Klinken 2013), where men prove their manhood through sexual self-restraint. For Buchan, this perception of crisis can also be overcome by a true definition of what masculinity must be characterised by—fidelity, sincerity and honesty if a man is to attract respect as a quality that marks godly manhood. This, I argue, is contrasted with the definition of a 'real man' allied with the 'male sexual organ' where perceptions of masculinities are understood by how far men can prove their masculinities through sexual achievements and conquest as seems acceptable in popular contemporary cultures in South Africa.

Due to conservative moralism regarding issues of sex and sexuality among Charismatic and Evangelical adherents, only three participants out of the 34 men interviewed openly commented on issues of male sexuality as an important behaviour for men to attain ideal godly manhood. However, it is important to note that 'muted discourses' evident among other participants on issue of men and sexuality do not mean that sexuality had nothing to do with perceptions of masculinity in crisis within the MMC. Overall, responses from participants strongly emphasised the notion of self-control, seeming to suggest a perceived crisis in this area among Christian men. Consider Mighty Man #15 and Mighty Men #30 who note the difficulties which come with expectations to be 'a man' in relation to sexual morality:

Extract 7:

> *Men need to know that it is okay to fail. There is great expectation, on men to perform, to lead, to provide and to be and when men fail that, they feel like they are not men, and they have to start a fresh. Especially for the guys who fail in the bigger area. On the big, let's say a lust of something or immorality and they are caught out in that. That shatters them because they have been conditioned to; "you can't. You can't fail." You know what I mean? "This is who you are." Absolute pressure to be a man. Pressure to be a husband. Pressure, big time!* (Mighty Man #15, interview 13 August 2011).

Extract 8:

> *Morality is a big issue with men. A number of men abuse their marriage vows whereby they go out to seek other ladies and they end up breaking their families and things like that. Angus' teaching will also help men to be able to steak to one wife and be able responsible for their wife. This is a good teaching if a man steaks to one wife; I mean he will be able to take care of the family. And I mean in this also HIV and AIDS thing, I mean you protect your family from this. And things like that. Once you die, your family suffers, there is no income, and the children are not provided for, things like that* (Mighty Man #30, interview 30 June 2012).

The observation that Christian men are not able to "stick to one wife" (Extract 5) is an indication that they are experiencing difficulties in living sexually responsible lives. This becomes a perceived crisis when men are not able to care for, and 'protect' their families especially in an HIV and AIDS context. Also, important to consider is the statement indicating the fear to "*fail in the bigger area. On the big; let's say a lust of something or immorality and they are caught out in that*" (Extract 4). The 'pressure' that comes with an expectation conditioning men that they cannot fail in a sexually related behaviour likewise subjects men to a feeling that they are not men enough.

The challenge regarding male sexuality and its implications on perceptions of masculinities still remains crucial. Unlike Buchan who seeks to engage ideal patterns of masculinity by calling men to return to godly manhood, scholars of religion and gender have critically questioned the influence of sexuality on perceptions and patterns of masculinity. Because religion is better placed to influence behavioural change, Lovemore Togarasei (2012:230) shows that the Christian context remains one of the most important forums for addressing social issues. It is therefore impressive that Buchan's emphasis on issues of male sexuality in such men's gatherings which attract multitudes of men should be considered a positive contribution towards reshaping ideals of masculinities within a perceived crisis among Christian men in South Africa. One would say that Buchan's teachings counter ideals of hegemonic masculinities encouraging men to withdraw from risky behaviours that call men to sexually prove their masculinities. This kind of emphasis stresses alternative versions of manhood within advances made by popular contemporary cultures where sexual irresponsibility is an accepted norm for men and is even excused. It is therefore certain as Victor Seidler (1989:22) has suggested that the language of male sexuality that we have inherited is a language of will, performance and conquest and sex can be a way men seek prove their masculinity.

Van Klinken (2011a, 2011b and 2013) addresses similar concerns and not only critiques dominant masculinities but also challenges the impact of male sexuality on patterns of masculinities around church praxis within an HIV and AIDS context from an African Christian perspective. Arguing that men's behaviour in sexual relationships has been the subject of recent scholarly investigation (van Klinken 2011b:281), I concur with van Klinken's cautions against the fault of generalisation which depicts African men as being dominant and unable to control their sexuality. However, the crucial question still remains: why does male sexuality tend to be expressed through dominance and power (van Klinken 2011b). An answer to this concern (of course not as simply stated here), is that sexuality for most men is closely linked to their perception of being a 'real man' and either threatens or strengthens their sense of masculinity. It is within this contradiction that perceived crisis in masculinity exists. One would then argue that male sexuality saturates the image of 'masculinity' to an extent that it forms part of masculine security or insecurity for some men.

I now turn to faith discourses which concern perception of crisis in masculinity and seek to address men on issues related to same-gender sexualities.

6.1.3.2 Perceived Crisis of Same-gender Sexualities

Most participants interviewed said very little regarding their position about same-gender sexualities and how this impact on their understanding about perceived crisis or construction of masculinities. The reasons for this observation could be that the interview questions did not focus much on this subject as relates to 'crises' in masculinity. However, in my interview session, Mighty Man #12 narrated how his heart was broken leading to negativity in life after he learned that his wife was involved with another woman, yet he was married to her for over seventeen years. He stated:

Extract 9:

> *You see Kenny, I was married. This is my second marriage. I was young when I got married to my first wife. I was 21 my wife was 17 at that stage and we were married for seventeen and half years. Then we got separated. The reason for this separation was not that there was somebody else involved or anything like that. In fact what happened was that my wife left me for another wife, another woman. Not another man, another woman. And I am […] I think things like that actually hurt me a lot. You are*

actually the first man whom am talking to about this, except my wife am married to now. This made me very negative in life reaching to a stage where sometimes I did not care (Mighty Man #12, interview 17 July 2011).

This extract opens a space for longer dialogue between the intersections of sexuality, gender, religion, culture and politics as relates to issues of same-sex relationships and perceptions of crisis in masculinities. Note the emphasis made on *"The reason for this separation was not that there was somebody else involved or anything like that … my wife left me for another wife, another woman. Not another man, another woman."* This shows how culturally it could have been at least 'bearable' if his wife had left him for another man not for another woman. The emphasis *"not that three was somebody else involved or anything like that…"* reinforces a strong recognition of heterosexual relations which is widely acceptable in conservative evangelicalism unlike same-sex sexualities which is considered to be sin. The act of his wife leaving him and the fact that I was the first man (male) he has ever shared this with speaks volumes in itself. I did not probe further why Mighty Man #12 was heartbroken and turned negative. However, I suppose that it might have been his gendered interpretation of this occurrence of his wife leaving him that might have led to feelings of being not a 'real man' or 'man enough,' thereby informing his attitude of 'carelessness,' a seeming perception of 'crisis' in the manner he configured his masculinity. Hence, may be the fear and pressure of social humiliation, gossip and criticisms might have held Mighty Man #12 from speaking about this incidence to other fellow men. The separation and the reason for separation also indicates that culturally and religiously, same-gender relationships are not an option among Charismatic, Evangelical Christians but remains an unacceptable sexual 'distortion' form the norm of heterosexuality.

Although Buchan's faith discourse on same-sex relations is not wide-ranging, it is clear from his minor mention in one sermon that homosexuality remains a 'perversion' of manhood, clearly understood to indicate a perceived crisis in masculinity. Hence, same-sex orientation was strongly discouraged among the MMC followers:

> My vision is to see sin called by its name. I don't hate homosexuals, man! I don't hate lesbians. I pray for them. But what they are doing cannot be tolerated. No! It's goanna die! We have got to start calling it by its name. If you do that you are going to see revival like never before. Abortion is not an option, its murder. Finished! This gospel is very simple. Very simple (2008, *Dying to Live,* Conference DVD, Disk #3).

Evident from Buchan's observation in this quote, (so it is with majority of Charismatic, Evangelical/Pentecostal Christians), same-sex relationships remains a sin necessitating 'conversion.' For example, the "act" of homosexuality is strongly condemned, as is mostly described in faith discourse from a perspective of "hate the sin love the sinner" approach. With the worldview that the MMC is an ideal community (see some stories of life and relationship in the MMC as a discussed by Vels 2012), it is obvious that homosexuality is considered a deviation from godly manhood. Although homosexuals were allowed 'inclusion' into the MMC gatherings, they might not have been openly accepted on the basis of their orientation. Prayers are therefore recommended as needful towards disorientation, a predominant solution to this 'distortion' of or perceived crisis in manhood.

In the process of seeking to maintain a masculine gender identity, Juan Manuel Falomir-Pichastor and Gabriel Mugny (2009) have shown that the very definition of masculinity involves not being homosexual, whereas this is not the case for femininity because this is based on an inner organizing principle of our cultural meaning of manhood. Hence, Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny's (2009:1233-1235) research finding postulates that homosexuality constitutes a threat specifically to our cultural understanding of masculinity (i.e., hegemonic masculinity) which often leads to sexual prejudice (which is more related to heterosexual men's positive gender self-esteem).[75] Van Klinken (2011a:144) also makes similar observation in his research and he shows how homosexuality was perceived as "threatening the status and nature of fatherhood in the 21st century."

Indicating that homosexuality is perceived as crisis in masculinity, Buchan on another account points out:

> Once while I was walking from the tent across a paddock toward the Seedsower, which we were using as part of the event, a man walked up to me, fell on his knees in the open paddock and said, "Please, Uncle Angus, pray for me. I want my life to be straightened out. I'm homosexual and I don't want to follow that route any longer." Right there in the open on a Sunday morning I was able to pray for him. I believe this man is living

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[75] From their findings, Falomir-Pichastor and Mugny (2009) have shown that hegemonic masculinity is considered as the true nature of men, and involves mainly heterosexism (i.e., an ideological system that focuses on the primacy of heterosexuality and the processes maintaining heterosexuals' social power and privilege) and opposition to femininity

straight life because of his genuine sincerity (2012:148).

Overall, without getting into some recorded debates why homosexuality is disapproved, it is crucial to note the implications of same-gender sexualities on perceptions and constructions of masculinities within African Charismatic and Evangelical Christians.[76] A gender-critical analysis of discourses on masculinity and homosexuality is still narrow and research on this area is limited, requiring further academic attention.[77] With an exception of van Klinken's[78] contribution, see for instance the lack thereof on this subject in the Special issue of Same-Sex Sexuality in Africa by *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa* (2011) and also in Chitando's and Chirongoma's (2012) recent edited volume on *Redemptive Masculinities: Men, HIV and Religion.* However, in relation to ideals of hegemonic masculinity it is certain that homosexual men in a context such as that of the MMC are perceived by heterosexual males as not able to meet the prescribed 'measure' of godly manhood and thus fail to portray the socio-religious expectations of ideal manhood. This analysis is also discussed by van Klinken (see 2011a, 2011c, and 2013) on his Zambian research findings of a similar Pentecostal context where homosexuality is understood as a counter-example and a serious distortion of what biblical manhood is supposed to be. Liz Walker (2005) in this case highlights that, the liberal versions of sexuality which mark South Africa's new democracy, have led to a number of conflicting consequences for women and men.[79] In the process, she mentions that old notions of masculinity and conceptions of manhood have been destabilized (Walker 2005). Arguing also that gay liberation politics have continued to call into question the conventional understanding of what it means to be a man, Tim Carrigan, *et al* (1985:586) have asserted

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[76] It is within this combination of responses that the MMC takes a conservative stern objection against homosexuality as a 'distortion' to manhood. Known to others as the "potato prophet" Buchan has been categorised among other faith preachers in South Africa listed as evangelical fundamentalists who strongly opposes gay rights (see Engela 2013,) <http://www.secularism.org.uk/christian-homophobes-are-spreadi.html>. In such cases, homosexual men automatically remain subordinate and as a result are seen to possess subordinate forms of masculinities.

[77] Significant to mention though at this point is that while gay writings may or may not problematize men's power or even the category of 'men' itself, Jeff Hearn (2004:50) argues that this has not been the case with much queer writing which certainly does problematize the category of men, along with other gender and sexual binaries.

[78] For further reading on existing debates on homosexuality and masculinity, see Adriaan van Klinken, 'The Homosexual as the Antithesis of "Biblical manhood"? Heteronormaivity and Masculinity Politics in Ziambia Pentecostal Sermons,' *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa,* 17/2 (2011), 126-142.

[79] Walker (2005) refers to the liberalisation of the South African constitution in relation to its position on sexuality, and points out to studies which hold that the implementation of "constitutional sexuality" is the main cause of the rise in homophobic violence which take forms of sexual assault and rape. Not alluding to such studies, Walker (2005) argues that the increased visibility of homosexuality as a result of constitutional reforms should not be looked at as the only factor compelling increased sexual violence, keeping in mind the history of sexual abuse in South Africa.

that, "consideration of homosexuality thus provides the beginnings of a dynamic conception of masculinity as a structure of social relations." Charismatic, Evangelicals such as the MMC are still a long way from accepting same-sex orientation as a structure of social relations.

6.1.4   The Perceived Crisis of Fatherhood

Not condoning why fathers have abdicated their fathering roles but seeking to understand, Buchan (2012:110) points to the crucial realisation that many men are lonely, broken, undergoing bankruptcy, others hard drinkers and all they want are people who can start believing in them again.

Before the 2008 MMC which was a significant meeting where most issues of irresponsible manhood were addressed, Buchan published a volume on *Fathers and sons* (2008).[80] This book is geared towards responding to the perceived crises of fathering in the Christian South African context. Addressing issues on what constitutes a father, Buchan (2008:31) argues, "What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world and loses his sons? I thank God for my sons, whom I have many." It is clear that Buchan's thrust is to address concerns of fatherhood in a context of perceived crisis of fathers not taking their role. He argues:

> The Lord is calling his men to take their rightful place in the home. Yes, we're talking about nothing less than the spirit of Elijah, turning the hearts of the sons to their fathers and the fathers to their sons (2008:32).

The call for "men to take their rightful place in the home" presented within understandings of "the spirit of Elijah" seek to re-establish the role of husbands and fathers in the homes. Speaking of a South Africa "living in a fatherless generation" where some young men don't know how they are supposed to act (Buchan 2008:3), the plight of lack of fathers is strongly perceived as a crisis as Buchan contends:

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[80] Written in a devotional style, *Fathers and sons* has a simple message which is not difficult to follow the trail of argumentation in relation to its subject content on fatherhood. In twenty three chapters of the book Buchan addresses among other issues, themes on: A Son, Tough Love, Abandonment, Sacrifice, The Prodigal Son, Prophet, Priest and King, Fathers and Sons, Dad's affirmation, Role models, and Appreciation.

> Our beloved South Africa has the problems of a fatherless nation. The fathers are working on the gold mines, the mothers on the local farms, and the children are being left behind in the charge of an old granny who is maybe so old that she can't even see or hear. As soon as they come of age these young warriors start to flex their muscles and, because they have no role models, cause lots of trouble (2008:4).

For Buchan, a lack of fathers leads to lack of role models which eventually result to a troubled South Africa as young men begin to flex their muscles. This is perceived as a crisis on how masculinities are configured. Buchan therefore stresses the need for 'godly fathering.' "The problem of a fatherless nation" is rightly so, a cause, and continues to be at the heart of violent and dangerous masculinities showcased in South Africa. The perceived crisis in the lack of fathers as role models is further confirmed in Buchan's faith discourse when he mentions:

> It's sad to see how many young boys are being raised by single parents, mostly of who are women [sic]. It is tragic to see a young mother trying fulfil the role of both father and mother. She cannot do it because she was not designed to. She has not been made that way by God (2012:134).

In this case, it is evident in the fact that Buchan supposes from the above statement that boys raised mostly by women are bound to grow up not knowing what it means to be a man (2012:134) and that boys "will only learn certain things from his Dad" (2008:199). While most sociologists and psychologists emphasise that mothering and fathering are traditionally achieved through the concept of 'role models' and a long process of 'socialisation' (see Cabrera *et al.* 2000 and Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 2003) for Buchan it remains essentialised on masculinities. This then leaves us with a worse perceived 'crisis' in masculinity in South Africa (especially that levels of paternal absence in South Africa families are particularly high in comparison to estimates for many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa—see Posel and Devey 2006:38).[81]

Working with Morrell *et al* (2012) latest statistics of 10% increase in every 7 years on the proportion of children with absent (living) fathers, one would then estimate that by 2016 the proportion of children with absent fathers (living) would have jumped to 66% while

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[81] See statistics that capture the current crisis in masculinities in relation to fatherhood (Posel and Devey 2006 and Morrell 2012). Morrell *et al.* (2012:14) argues that in South Africa, fathers often have little or no role in the upbringing of their children. Morrell notes that in 1993, some 36% of children had absent (living) fathers and 57% had fathers who were present. By 2002, the proportion of children with absent (living) fathers had jumped to 46%, while the proportion of present fathers dropped to 39%.

the proportion of present fathers by 2016 would have dropped to 3%. This is devastating. Might such a context result to intense perceptions of crises in masculinity? Or distorted perceptions of manhood among young men growing up without fathers? Accordingly, Posel and Devey (2006) have listed a considerable body of international literature that has investigated the contribution that fathers make (or lack thereof) to their children's development.[82] Unfortunately, none of these studies have shown the connection or the implications that absent fathers (or uninvolved fathers) have on young boys' construction of masculine identity of self as they grow.

Haywood and Mac an Ghaill's assertion on fatherhood is therefore important for my conclusion:

> Fatherhood is seen as part of a sociology of masculinity, highlighting the need to understand the concepts of men and family life as a gendered interrelationship, through which diverse meanings of both paternal masculinities and manhood itself are mutually constructed and maintained (2003:44).

This therefore assists us to understand Buchan's call for 'godly fatherhood.' The MMC is therefore responding to perceived crisis of fatherhood by seeking to recreate Christian 'godly manhood.'

6.2 The Mighty Men's Conference Responds to Crises of Masculinity

The call to "return to godly manhood" as a response to "crisis" of masculinity among the Mighty Men in the South Africa context can be understood as a strategy for reinforcing traditional ideals of masculinities among the Mighty Men. Faith discourses which inform notions of "re-establishing the order back into the kingdom when it comes to men" and that men need "to take their rightful place back" (Buchan 2012), supposes "crises" of masculine displacement ostensibly by women necessitating the quest for a "return to godly manhood." Morrell (2001b:31) has noted that there has been no single or clear response to gender conditions in the new South Africa, but a diversity of responses; the

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[82] See for example Frank Mott (1990), Elizabeth Cooksey *et al.* (1996) Kathlenn Harris (1998), and Constance Nyamukapa *et al.* (2003). All these studies specifically highlight only the economic and psychological, poor education, poor health care and nutritional implications for children growing up without their fathers.

MMC can be categorised as a reactionary (or defensive) response to perceived "crises" of masculinity.[83] A reactionary response is an extreme anti-feminist perspective (Whitehead and Barrett 2001) or conservative perspective (Whitehead 2002) which draws on both biological and moral standpoints to argue that traditional gender roles should not be changed. As an antifeminist response, they oppose feminist agendas, and men have attempted to turn back changes in order to reassert their power; believing that men and masculinity are indivisible, and natural and that functional synergy is created through evolutionary process and society's innate need for structure and order (Morrell 2001b and Whitehead 2002). Whitehead and Barrett (2001:43) remind us that: "A gender order where men dominate women cannot avoid constituting men as an interest concerned with defence, and women as an interest group concerned with change." It is towards concerns with change that most men's movement have responded defensively towards feminist advances on gender injustice and a quest for equality. Hence, within a perceived "crisis" of masculinity, the MMC can be understood as a reactive or defensive response towards feminist advances, gender changes and socioeconomic shifts in a post-apartheid South Africa. Buchan's faith discourse and responses from the Mighty Men portray the MMC to be a movement towards a backlash against women and the impact that feminism have had in society towards alternative perceptions of being an ideal man.[84] As such, Buchan's faith discourses are geared towards masculinism,[85] an ideology that men use to justify and legitimate male position of power (Hayhwood and Mac an Ghail 2003:10).

Chapter Summary

The central question which this chapter addressed is why Buchan and the MMC have made a call for a "return to godly manhood." To answer this question I have explored

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[83] Messer (1992), Connell (1995), Kimmel (1995), Whitehead and Barrett (2001), Whitehead (2001 and 2002) and Morrell (2001b, 2012) indicate that men have in the past responded to "crisis" of masculinity in various ways. The responses have ranged from extremely anti-feminist men's movement, through to more accommodating mythopoetic movements and to a pro-feminist (responsive or progressive) response (see Whitehead 2001 and Morrell 2001b).   .

[84] Backlash is a determination to fight even the smallest gains which women have been able to achieve, in order to preserve male superiority (Whitehead and Barrett 2001:314).

[85] Masculinism is term which implies a privileging of masculinity and is used to depict male privilege and power in the gender order (Hooper 2001:41). It is an ideology of patriarchy stresses the natural and inherent superior positions of males serving to justify the oppression and subjugation of female (Hayhwood and Mac an Ghail 2003:10).

how Buchan and the MMC seek to address 'crises' of masculinity. My objective therefore has been to explore faith discourses of the MMC within the concept of perceived crises in masculinity in South Africa. Because the "crisis" in masculinity is more perceived than real, I have explored disruptions that have influenced perceptions that masculinities are in crisis among the MMC. I have concluded that the MMC is a reactionary (defensive) response to feminist advances, gender changes and socioeconomic shifts in South Africa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FAITH DISCOURSES ON MASCULINITY WITHIN A SOCIO-POLITICAL POST-APARTHEID CONTEXT

> The post-apartheid constitution has created the spaces for moral and
> cultural alternatives in the midst of—rather than displacing—the taboos
> of old, as well as provoking new sources of anger and discomfort
> (Walker 2005:229).

7.0 Introduction

My objective in this chapter is to examine faith discourses on masculinity within a socio-political post-apartheid context as portrayed by Buchan and the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC). The main question that I explore in the chapter is how Buchan and his MMC have responded to social, economic and political changes in the post-apartheid South African context. I therefore explore how faith discourses shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa. First, I discuss the post-apartheid context in which Buchan's faith discourses seek to call for a return to 'godly manhood.' Second, I explore the impact of faith discourse on notions of Christian forgiveness and racial reconciliation on perceptions of 'godly manhood' within the MMC. Third, I interrogate the extent to which faith discourses affirm or seek to transform authoritarian patriarchal masculinities within changing gender roles in a post-apartheid context.

7.1 The Socio-Political Post-Apartheid Context

Morrell *et al* (2012:17) argue that: "After the democratic elections in 1994, the nation was borne on a tide of reconciliation and an explicit commitment to human rights and, more generally, to an agenda of redressing the inequalities generated by colonialism and apartheid." The critical question that arises in this case is the effects of such explicit commitment to human rights and an agenda that sought to address gender and racial inequalities which held together the colonial systems of apartheid. Further and more

important especially for this study is the need to examine the impact that this socio-political agenda spelt for perceptions and constructions of masculinities within this 'new space' of democracy. As noted in my previous chapter, MMC is situated in responding to the 'perceived crises' of masculinity in this post-apartheid context. This thus brings to central focus religion as an important factor within the web of intersections that interact towards exploring how Christian men are responding to socio-political and economic changes in the process of renegotiating 'ideals' of masculinity.

While for Morrell *et al* (2012:17) "a rigidly hierarchical social order, and glorified militarism" established the Afrikaner colonial history; in which Du Pisani (2001) argues that the leadership of the Afrikanerdom was maintained by a combination of religion, politics and cultural ideology; the new post-apartheid era began to advocate for a non-patriarchal, non-authoritarian and less traditional forms of masculinities. However, it is within the coming of a new democratic South Africa that unexpected "new" sources of anger and discomforts have been provoked especially among men, even more, among Christian men. In this regard, Walker (2005:227-228) and Langa (2012:84) have pointed out a wide range of concerns that needed attention in establishing a new democratically-governed South Africa citing several crucial issues of priority in the list of this new democratic nation. Among the constitutional and legislative changes that required legislative amendments were laws and enactments aimed at reducing inequalities that previously separated women and men; the need to shift from a male-dominated patriarchal society to a new social order marked by the principle of equality for all; the establishment of State institutions such as the Gender Commission (GC) and Women Empowerment Unit in parliament (WEU); special efforts in identifying the need for educating female children; the constitutional mandate to protect, promote and monitor gender equality; protecting the rights of women and children against rape and marital rape,[86] and the government's overarching commitment to create employment opportunities for women. Therefore, it seems that contemporary masculinities are being aggravated by the social-political and economic transitions in gender, race and power relations (see Walker 2005).

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[86] Some of these include the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 (Act No. 116 of 1998) and the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Act 32 of 2007 all aimed at reducing the high level of domestic and sexual abuse.

It is within this context that Buchan's faith discourses in relation to recreating Christian masculinities within the MMC must be examined. I therefore explore how such discourses shape constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa.

7.2 'Conflicting' Faith Discourses on Post-apartheid Masculinities

There was a sense among some of the Mighty Men at the MMC that their masculine identity in a post-apartheid South Africa was not relevant anymore and had reached a stage of tension-ridden conflict. In this case, conflicting faith discourses inform conflicting perceptions of masculinities. Conflicting forms of masculinities portray expressions of contradictory understandings of what being a man amounts to in a given context. The conflict in masculinity is not always easy to identify, and often has no one defined predetermined concept. Instead, as I have mentioned in my other work (Owino 2012:74) "it's depiction remains flexible as one examines a wide range of perceptions," in this case, faith discourses. Take for example, Mighty Man #8 who painfully narrates his story of conscription to serve in the South African Defence Force (SADF).

Extract 1:

> *The SADF was like a rite of passage. …It defined you as a man or not. Some of us were forced to join the SADF. In order not to look as though I was not a man enough, I had to do it to please my father and show to be a man. I will never do this to my son, I will never allow my son to go through such a brutal horror, I will never allow my son to go to such a school (*Mighty Man #8, Interview 10 April 2011).

In the light of such a remark, the statement "*I will never do this to my son*" (Mighty Man #8, Extract 1) illustrates a feeling of inadequacy with militarism as a 'rite of passage' which shaped the definition of 'aspirational' Afrikaner masculinity whether men volunteered or were forced to take conscription. As such, although militarisation was seen as a means of socialisation into Afrikaner masculinity in an apartheid era, it is 'no longer adequate' for 'sons' in a post-apartheid era. If conscription and militarism was perceived as a means of masculinisation during the apartheid era, (to some), it is now understood as brutal, and a school of horror in a post-apartheid South Africa. This is a perfect example that masculinity is a social construct.

Although a culture of militarism cuts across all racial groups in South Africa because of its apartheid history, the coming of democracy in 1994 ushered a euphoric longing for an alternative non-militant masculinity that was to be ideal and more relevant for this new context. Morrell *et al* (2012) for example points out how President Mandela, although a member of the elite represented a "new" form of masculinity and advocated the very opposite of behaviour and attitude associated with the apartheid's white male politicians.[87] It is within such a quest for new forms of masculinities in post-apartheid democratic South Africa that Buchan's faith discourses within the MMC portray notions of conflict in relation to notions of racial reconciliation and Christian forgiveness. It is within the scope of religiously defined discourses of masculinities aimed at recreating/remaking godly manhood that conflicted perceptions of masculinities emerge. Therefore, intersections of race, politics and religion become important factors that require interrogation in this process of the MMC renegotiating to recreate Christian masculinities in post-apartheid context.

In the light of the intersections of religion, race and polities, I now turn to a detailed illustration of some conflicts in perceptions of masculinity within the MMC.

7.2.1 Conflicting Perceptions of Masculinities in Faith Discourses on Forgiveness

The intersection between the role of religion in establishing a racialised divided South Africa cannot be ignored while investigating perceptions and constructions of masculinities in the post-apartheid South African context. This provides a framework through which my inquiries about faith discourses on forgiveness within the MMC are interrogated. Historically, if race has meaning in relation to idealised hegemonic perceptions of masculinities, then the Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa acted as a means through which certain hegemonic tendencies were established while other forms of masculinities remained subordinated. Take for instance Mighty Man #17 who said:

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[87] Unterhalt (2000 in Morrell *et al* 2012) shows how President Mandela after his installation as President returned to his traditional home village and advocated for a new, more egalitarian masculinity where he urged men in a post-apartheid South Africa to do cooking and look after children.

Extract 2:

> *You see, I will tell you, MMC, if we put, let's put it down to 100, 000 men. Out of that 100, 000, I will tell you 80, 000 are probably Afrikaans speaking. You know what, the white Afrikaners believed; 'I am going to tell you something that is quite amazing.' White Afrikaners believed we were chosen by God. If you will go and read the story of Blood River, 'I don't know if you have ever read that?' You see king Shaka came with all his men to fight a sea of Afrikaner, these Boers. Now when the Boers went and made that circle with their things, before they went they asked God, and they said to God, "God, if you help us win this battle today, we will build a church. We will build a church for you." That was their promise to God. So, when the Zulus came they were, these Boers were outnumbered. May be 100 to 1. When they came, they were in the camp and they won the battle. When the Boers won the battle over king Shaka, because king Shaka had come with spears and when the Boers came with guns. They did not know what these things were. They just saw their men falling. Ahahahaha!! Then they see blood; 'what are these white people throwing at us.' Thousands of them died. So, when they won that battle, so they said; "we will build a church for you." Then they built a church. So, as Afrikaners we walked around with that thing. God, God had given us the victory. So we are the chosen people who can build this nation. But they had to come to a realisation; from the Mighty Men we have to come and ask for forgiveness, God have this…* (Mighty Man #17, interview 20 November 2011).

Extract 3:

> *So, as you are going on and as the country has come to the point where, where you got Mandela saying; "okay, you know what, it's now, it is over. And all of a sudden, all of a sudden, you had Afrikaners who hesitate. The English adapted very quickly to the change. But you had Afrikaners that came to the point and said, 'you know what, this is a lot of rubbish, we, we, somehow have to find forgiveness. We do have to find forgiveness to God for what we have done all these years. Not only to us but to our children, and we stood that. We have to find this forgiveness, and this Mighty Men Conference came up, they said, you know what, men, let's go. Let's come to gather and see, let us ask God for forgiveness, we cannot continue this way'* (Mighty Man #22, interview 10 March 2012).

It can be argued that the intersection between the role of religion and the current socio-political reality in post-1994 democracy has availed a space for 'born again' men to seek forgiveness at the MMC (Owino 2012). However, this space filled with the need for Afrikaans-speaking white males pursuing forgiveness raises some important questions. For what does the respondent seek forgiveness? Why is forgiveness sought from God only in post-1994? Yet "God had given them the victory" in killing thousands of *Shaka Zulu's* men? I vividly remember Mighty Man #17 clarifying his position on the need for forgiveness stating: "*We realise our hands as Afrikaners are full of blood*" (Mighty Man #17, interview by Kennedy, 20 June 2012, in Pietermaritzburg). From such assertions, Mighty Men seem to use the MMC religious space as a platform to acquire forgiveness from

their past as a requisite towards becoming a mighty man for God.

To an extent, this informs archetypes of godly manhood for the MMC. Important to note is that ideologies of the Mighty Men's need for forgiveness intersect and contradict notions and faith discourses of racial reconciliation. I present some responses on perceptions of masculinities that portrayed ideas of racial reconciliation.

7.2.2 Conflicting Perceptions of Masculinities in Faith Discourses on Racial Reconciliation

Mighty Man #22 demonstrates the need for racial reconciliation and peace as a major reason why men attended the MMC stating:

Extract 4:

> *This is how it was put into the mind of Afrikaner speaking South Africans. We were brain washed as young South African men that we must fight. That we were fighting apartheid and that's why these men come together and they are saying, you know what guys, okay, we need peace from this. And that is the spirit of Afrikaner men standing together is still there. But now, it is me. Not them. Coming together that we need to ask for forgiveness. We have to cry together. We have to […] A lot has happened. A lot, a lot of things have happened up to where we still are. We still not there yet, but a lot has happened and while […] especially the white people how they treated the black people, and the way they did things. They have to find forgiveness, and how do you find forgiveness. I can come to you and say, 'Kenn, forgive me. You know what, just forgive me.' And you will say, 'I forgive you man. Don't worry, it wasn't your fault* (Mighty Man #22, interview 10 March 2012).

The need for forgiveness is not only demonstrated with "hands full of blood" but also in recognition that peace is necessary because: "*A lot has happened, A lot of things have happened*" (Mighty Man #22, interview by Kennedy, 10 March 2012, in Pietermaritzburg) especially with how the white people treated the black people. Having to find forgiveness (discussed in 7.2.1) and the need to make peace (7.2.2) establishes several dilemmas: First, a dilemma exists between the 'new form' of disillusioned White Afrikaner masculinity achetyped in 'godly manhood' and the widely held idea of Afrikaners being the 'chosen race' of God[88] (see Owino 2012). Second, Mighty Man's #22 understanding

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[88] The supposed covenant the Voortrekkers made with God at Bloedrivier (Blood River) on 16 December 1838, led to the establishment of the Afrikaner masculine nation where Afrikaner men believed God gave

provokes a false notion of the racial superiority of the so-called white race. These two elements appear to be also present in Buchan's apparent reference to his listeners' disillusionment towards the political processes that led to the collapse of the Apartheid regime beginning in February 1990 when he states:

> Some of you are seated here tonight and I know that. And you are disillusioned with the church. 'Angus,' you say, 'I put my trust in a man, and he let me down.' Well, that's where you made your mistake. You should have put your trust in Jesus. He will never let you down. You say, "I am going to New Zealand; I am going to England; I am going to America." Your stress will go with you. Your depression will go with you. Your sin will go with you. "What do we do Angus?" You confess it man. The devil will not let you go until you tell him to push off (2008, *Dying to Live*, Conference DVD, Disk #1)

The belief in such a perception of remaking Christian masculinities is constructed on conflicting ideals. Such religious and politically-laden remarks are in fact presented in the form of faith discourses that portray images of men who not only feel disillusioned by the turning wheel of history (Owino 2012:76), but who feel abandoned not only by the church but also by God.[89] Could it be that White Afrikaner men interpret their loss of racial control and political domination as their failure to keep to their 'God-given mandate and responsibility,' assigned to them as chosen, spiritual and community leaders of the South African nation? Could it be the reason why Afrikaner men require forgiveness and peace from God? It is clear that with the end of the apartheid regime, and the establishment of a new democratic South Africa in 1994, the 'theocratic' nation established with Afrikanerdom crumbled to its demise (Owino 2012).

What is evident in faith discourses pertaining to forgiveness and racial reconciliation is the existing tension in the conflicting forms of hegemonic masculinities present among post-apartheid Afrikaner men within the MMC (Owino 2012). For example, in the past, one had to display conflict, bloodshed, and aggressive authoritarianism in order to be a

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them the mandate to lead and build South Africa (see interview with Mighty Man #17 and #22, Pietermaritzburg, Field Notes, 20, November 2011, and 20 June 2012).

[89] Buchan appears here to reference the whites-only referendum held on 17 March 1992 where 68.6% voted in favour of continuing the negotiation process. Of these, an estimated majority of 62% were white Afrikaans speaking compared to some 79% of the white English speaking population. See, "President F.W. de Klerk announces Whites-only referendum results," South African History Online, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/president-fw-de-klerk-announces-whites-only-referendum-results/> [Accessed 16 April 2013].

'mighty man' during Afrikaner nationalism,[90] while a new post-apartheid context calls for an alternative 'mighty man' demonstrated by Nelson Mandela (Extract 3) whose masculinity portrays Christian forgiveness and racial reconciliation.

In what follows, I now explore in detail faith discourses on patriarchal authoritarian masculinity in a post-apartheid context in relation to gender social-political and economic shifts which have caused changes in gender stability.

7.3 Faith Discourses on Post-apartheid Authoritarian Patriarchal Masculinities

With the implementation of the liberalisation of the South African Constitution, research has shown that there are shifts in gender power relations in post-apartheid South Africa (see Morrell 2001b; Walker 2005; Langa 2012; Morrell *et al.* 2012). For instance, Walker (2005) argues that the transition to democracy has precipitated a 'crisis' of masculinity where orthodox notions of masculinity are being challenged and new versions of masculinity are emerging in their place. In the light of this observation, Candice Reardon and Kaymarlin Govender (2011:78) argue that, "The transition to democracy, the coming into power of a new black leadership in government, affirmative action policies that promote economic position of societal groups other than the white male, gender equality and the increasingly liberalised version of sexuality embedded within South African constitution are challenging the hegemonic position of white masculinities in South Africa" (see also Morrell 2001b).

Important for this study is to interrogate how Buchan and the MMC seek to respond to shifts in gender roles in post-apartheid South Africa. Analyses of my findings indicate that patterns of ideal godly manhood are lived/practiced apart without taking into consideration the realities of a post-apartheid changing context which requires awareness of social-political and economic changes. Contemporary changes have therefore brought new challenges. South African men within all racial groups are now being forced to

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[90] Du Pisani (2001) presents the ideal of Afrikaner hegemonic masculinity as constructed and expressed through the ideals of Afrikaner intellectualism known as Christian-Nationalism, with men as influential nationalists. Taking an unyielding Protestant view, du Pisani (2001:) further argues that the puritan basis of Afrikaner masculine ideals stemmed from the strong influence of religion in Afrikaner society; where patriarchy was justified in all spheres of society in terms of biblical texts while symbols of masculinity and femininity were manipulated to uphold patriarchy.

embrace new ways of being men where women (especially Black women) are empowered economically. Nhlanhla Mkhize (2006:194) reflects on the loss of jobs for men and an increase in the number of women doing traditionally-male jobs as a central problem to masculinity. Research indicates that the impact from the culture of gender equality, especially in instances where female and male partners do not hold equal job opportunities is enormous in today's South Africa (see Narayan 2000; Hunter 2005a, 2005b). It is argued that men are the most affected in such situations, with feelings of being in 'trouble' as their lives are characterised by instability and uncertainty 'over social role and identity, sexuality, work and personal relationships' (see Hunter 2005b:226). Such perceptions emerge from women's economic growth in the labour market. Overall, responses from participants of this study suggested that most Christian men felt that post-apartheid South Africa was more favourable to women than men.

In order to inquire about perceptions of masculinity in relation to socio-political and economic changes in post-apartheid context, participants were asked two questions:

(1) What do you dread most in your life as a man in the current and future South Africa?

(2) Are there ways in which the new South Africa has made you powerful or powerless as a man?

Although most men varied in their responses to these two questions, overall, the post-apartheid government was blamed for disempowering men while empowering women. Consider some of the responses which reveal uncertainty and vulnerability:

Extract 5:

> *Women are being empowered over men. It is easier for women to get a better job. It's fine because they are being empowered. There is nothing so difficult for a man than a woman providing more than you are. Now you come home and a woman is earning 50, 000 and you are earning 10, 000. How do you feel as a man in that case? It is very difficult. Sometimes it doesn't take a woman to tell you; "I am earning more than you" because you can see it and you are ridiculed by your own fears. You are going to be a man who will suffer in silence. It will eat you on your own. It takes your fears, it takes your insecurity just eat you from within. That can kill a man and make a man feel inferior. This is what the new South Africa has brought* (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

Mighty Man #33 suggests in his response that it is Christianity that has taught him to subordinate women observing:

Extract 6:

> *Because even in the family context, more especially in our context in South Africa, whereby women are being given equality with men. And that also may affect me as a man. In saying now in my household I need to give my wife a platform of which as a Christian man I am not supposed to give. Yes, yes, more especially in South Africa, ladies are working and are doing marvellous jobs, men are doing the lesser popular jobs. Then you find that now a man, he is trying to switch on the authority of the household to his wife and then now, they are forced into some instances to listen to their wives because she is the one doing the popular work. So, it is giving us a real challenge as South African men, and we need to be very conservative in following God's law because that is the only way we can maintain the ordinances we have received from God* (Mighty Man #33, interview 21 July 2012).

Mighty Man #21 displays a sense of disempowerment stating:

Extract 7:

> *The new South Africa has really disempowered me. It really disempowered men in a sense that now; it is not clear to some of our men which are their role to play in the community, they are to play in their families, they are even to play in the churches. So, really, it is a confusing situation. But it cannot be confusing to those who do intensive search of the word of God. But if people really are not doing the intensive study of the word of God, really a person may find himself practicing the things that are very detrimental to himself and even his family* (Mighty Man #21, interview 28 January 2012).

Mighty Man #30 suggested that equality was a negative indoctrination arguing:

Extract 8:

> *In South Africa, this issue of women equality to men is the one which is really indoctrinating people in a very negative manner more especially men. Because they are trying to keep up with the equality then now it is leading them to let go their authority, by moving to the female, and at other times women find that the authority has also moved to children, because also this affects the whole family* (Mighty Man #30, interview 30 June 2012).

Evident in these four responses is the intersection of religion, politics, gender, economics and culture. These web of factors seem to have forced men into a crossroad of disempowerment, insecurity, fear of feminisation, feelings of vulnerability and being inferior to women as they suffer in silence struggling to keep what Christianity has handed down for generations, and the church has faithfully taught and at times, culture

as custodian strongly guarded – that male must remain superior. This situation proves to be extremely difficult in a changing social-political and economic context. It is clear from these extracts that economic empowerment of women as an outworking of gender equality has had two effects on masculinity.

First, gender equality has destabilised cultural and conventional expectations of gender roles. Because of economic empowerment, the Mighty Men felt that their authority within the household was threatened by economically empowered women (see Extract 6 and 8). Hunter (2005b:227) in this case has shown that gender transformation often brought about the collapse of traditional men's work and challenged male dominance in the forms of rationality with which masculinity has been identified. He then concludes with the observation that men's traditional dominant role, guaranteed through patriarchy, has significantly changed or has in some way been unseated (Hunter 2005). Therefore, economic empowerment of women in changing South Africa has a strong influence on perceptions and constructions of masculinities in a post-apartheid context.

This observation is clearly confirmed by Mighty Man #33 who argues that the only solution to their challenge in post-apartheid context is that Christian men must remain conservative in following God's law, "*Because that is the only way we can maintain the ordinances we have received from God*" (Mighty Man #33, interview by Kennedy, 21 July 2012, in Pietermaritzburg). According to Mighty Man #21, "*doing the intense study of the word of God*" will enable men not to practice "*the things that are very detrimental to himself and even his family*" (Mighty Man #21, interview by Kennedy, 28 January 2012, in Pietermaritzburg). What is termed as detrimental in this context refers to gender equality, supposing that the Bible is authoritative in advocating inequality of men and women. It is certain from such faith discourses that religion has negatively impacted on constructions of gender identity, and more so, perceptions of masculinity. The agenda for Christian men within the MMC is therefore to remain as conservatively as they can (see Extract 6), patriarchal and authoritarian in this changing post-apartheid context.

Second, gender equality has destabilised traditional gender roles where men were expected to work and support women and children, or where men were expected to have better earnings than women (see Extract 5). Notice the use of ladies "*doing marvellous jobs*" and the men "*are doing the lesser popular jobs*" as observed by Mighty Man #33 in extract 6.

This polarity and centrality of productive work enables one to see the social and cultural tendency to use paid labour to define manhood and at other times, ideals of masculinity. This concern portrays the need to examine unemployment as a masculinity issue. In his observation, Buchan states:

> Honor is a great thing in a man's life. It is a honourable thing for a man to be able to walk down the street with his head held high, shoulders back and chest out because he is able to clothe and feed his wife and children. Poverty breaks down the dignity of a man. That is why unemployment is so degrading" (2012:213).

From Buchan's faith discourse, unemployment is not only degrading and shameful as Buchan supposes, but to a large extent, makes men feel emasculated. What this supposes is that unemployment threatens the masculine identity of men (see also Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 2003).[91] This establishes a correlation that men's sense of masculinity remains secure within the roles of provider/breadwinner.

Therefore, Buchan's teaching that men have to be leaders in the home and society encounters several challenges typified in the responses of some Mighty Men interviewed (see Mighty Man #30, extract 8)—indicating tensions of enacting religious teachings in a changing social-economic context. Langa (2012) rightly argues in such a case that the current social and economic conditions in South Africa make it difficult for many men to achieve 'complete' masculinity as evidenced in securing jobs, marrying, fathering children or establishing their own households. The question arising from this observation is whether the enactment of the post-Apartheid National Constitution and related labour legislation has made gender relations any better in South Africa?

The findings of this study confirm Hunter's (2005b:230) suggestion that there is "a clear recognition of the need for men to change" but they portray a reluctance to part with

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[91] The concept of work as gendered comes with the idea supporting the industrialisation tendency which looked at a man's identity through lenses of a worker. Historically, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) have shown that for a man to become a man one was to become a worker. In this case, industrialisation resonated with the Christian doctrine of family wage earned by the man to support the home. Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) argue that this position produced a reordering of the gendered landscape of work and one effect of this reordering was the result of placing work within the bread winner/homemaker dichotomy. This perception of manhood still strongly holds on men's sense of masculinity to this present day. This perception of ideal manhood is strongly reinforced by the assumption of a gendered understating of work where men are to occupy the top and better positions of the economic ladder in productive work while women straggle behind. This ideology, as Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) suggest, resonates with the gender conservatism ideologies found among Charismatic Evangelicals who require men to lead and remain the primary breadwinners.

male power. This is often portrayed in circumstances where men have no productive work to enable them to effectively exercise power and authority which come with provider, breadwinner roles. This can happen when men subscribe to deep-rooted religious belief in gender conservatism. Haywood and Mac an Ghaill's (2003:21-22) observation is therefore helpful in this case when they cogently argue that 'men' and 'work' are not be understood as static or fixed, but are to be recognized as a gendered interrelationship through which diverse meanings of manhood are established and sustained "as part of a constant negotiation at a number of political, economic and social and cultural levels."

Because masculinity is always liable to internal contradictions (Connell 1995), the cultural expectations from men, especially among those in black communities created situations of masculine anxieties which needed men to adopt other forms of masculinities mediated through alternative discourses in post-apartheid context. One such alternative is as discussed below.

7.3.1   The 'Esau Man' and 'Bedroom Boys': Allegories of Manhood

The fact that masculinities can change according to context enables men to renegotiate their sense of being men. In this case, some men narrated how they tried to mediate the position of headship over the function of leadership in order to create a sense that they were still in control and authoritative. Despite their economic positions, to retain headship enabled some men to feel they still had the power even though they could not perform other responsibilities which is often associated with males as leaders. One such alternative discourse was portrayed through the notion of the "Esau man" or the "bedroom boy," concept used to depict a form of 'survival masculinities' as were referred to by Mighty Man #7 in his response. 'Bedroom boy' is a masculine identification which characterises men who see no value in being considered a 'real man' especially in a post-apartheid context yet they cannot demonstrate headship and leadership because of their inability to provide due to unemployment. In such cases, intergenerational sexual relationships were considered an option between younger men and older working class women in exchange for the woman's material possessions (often for cash, clothing, a car and leisure). They therefore cohabitate with a successful, wealthy and willing woman

offering sexual favours in exchange for financial gains as a standard means of earning an average lifestyle which they could not earn anyway, even though they opt to acquire paid labour in a post-apartheid South Africa. What we see emerging in this case are men disguising social cultural definitions of 'ideal' masculinity on the basis of their economic disempowerment in return for financial support from wealthy South African women in exchange of their sexuality ('manhood') as bedroom boys, as observed by Mighty Man # 7. This way of wanting to feel manly seems based on a man's sexual performance which enables such men to exercise a sense of masculine control and power while the woman (because of her position to succeed in the labour market), works to earn money. This form of masculinity was referred to by one young man who attended the MMC figuratively as the 'Esau man' depicting the imagery of Esau 'selling his birth right to Jacob' because of hunger and in need for a 'cup of soup.'[92] A gendered analysis of this illustration in this context portray Esau men as those men who find it much more profitable (in a context of unemployment), to easily/cheaply give away ('sell') their sexuality, —which is considered by others as a masculine 'right' (birth right).

Chapter Summary

My purpose in this chapter has been to present and discuss faith discourses among the MMC which portray how Buchan and his Mighty Men are responding to social-political challenges as relates to issues of masculinity within the post-apartheid South African context. Overall, the main issue that emerged from faith discourse and participant responses indicate how challenging it is to be a man in a post-apartheid South Africa. My analyses have shown two critical issues. First, the fusion of faith discourses on notions of forgiveness and racial reconciliation are characterised by contradictory perceptions of masculinities, especially among white Afrikaner South African men. Second, the social, economic shifts in a democratic and liberalised South African constitution has ushered gender role changes resulting in gender equality and empowerment of women. This, as argued in the chapter, has destabilised traditional and conservative patriarchal and authoritarian forms of masculinities. Although Mighty Men acknowledge changes that are evident in a post-apartheid South Africa, Buchan's faith discourse and the MMC encourage them to remain 'mighty' by embracing conservative and traditional ways of being men as a call towards a return to 'godly manhood.'

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[92] See Genesis chapter 27

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAITH DISCOURSES ON RESPONSIBLE, GODLY MANHOOD,

The purpose of these gatherings has always been to see the men of South
Africa impacted, so that they may be the leaders that God made them to
be (Buchan 2012:55).

8.0 Introduction

Buchan's faith discourses and some responses from the Mighty Men interviewed made emphasis on men "taking responsibility." My objective in this chapter therefore is to examine faith discourses intended to encourage men at the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC) to be responsible men as an important characteristic of 'godly manhood.' In exploring what the MMC understands by 'responsible manhood,' the main question that I seek to address in this chapter is: in what ways does Buchan's faith discourses encourage men at the MMC to make sense of their masculine self in relation to taking responsibility? To answer this question, I have divided this chapter into two sections: First, I examine how faith discourses on responsible manhood impact on notions of divine order and God's design for men. Second, I explore ways in which faith discourses influence Mighty Men to perform representations of ideal 'godly manhood' portrayed through headship and provider masculinities, responsible spiritual leadership, and masculine emotionalism.

8.1 Divine Order through Binary Opposition

Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity (CEPC), as asserted before, can be described as a religious 'sub-culture' with a set of religious rules and beliefs that govern the life of its adherents. Evangelicalism subscribes to an essentialist position which emphasises a belief in gender role stratification and practice as 'normal' for male and female. Hence, it is clear that, Evangelical Christianity adheres to religious traditions

which promote a sub-cultural system.[93] At a more general level, Oduyoye (2001:27) insists that Christianity as a global culture offers a way of life, and evolves in relation to existing ways of life (cultures). A gendered analysis of the MMC in this case reveals how Evangelical beliefs have been used to reinforce gender perceptions for femininity and masculinity thereby influencing constructions of gendered identity.

Important to consider at this point is the intersection of religious beliefs and cultural patterns. This intersection of religion, culture and gender 'norms' should be considered as preparatory agents of socialisation into masculinities at given periods in varied contexts. Tuyizere (2007:4) for instance shows how culture is the custodian of religious beliefs right from the beginning of human history and its role is to implement these beliefs. For Tuyizere (2007), religion has been the engine for abuse, gender violence and inequality. Similar observations are alluded to by most African Women theologians working in the field of gender and religion (See Phiri 2001, 2002, Nadar 2005, 2009, Moyo 2005). Moreover, not only has the impact of the role of religion been evident on women, but notable also is a growing concern for how religious beliefs and practices impact on men. Van Klinken (2013:6) for example shows how religion in Africa is much complex, as a force used to maintain the status quo of hegemonic conceptions of masculinity and a factor that upholds and support male supremacy in gender relations.

It is not surprising therefore to see how Christian traditions and teachings parade a history of how men have used religion to justify ideologies of 'ideal' manhood. Francis Raday (2003:669) for instance singles out the ethos of traditionalist cultures and the monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity or Islam, affirming why these remain defenders of patriarchal values and practices where the story of gender is that of the "systematic domination of women by men, of women's exclusion from public power and of their subjugation to patriarchal power within the family." The question relevant to this study is how religious beliefs in Christianity portray ideals of masculinity in relation to responsible godly manhood.

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[93] Masculinity-femininity is presented as one of the cultural measurement in Geert Hofstede's (2001) empirical approach to four cultural dimensions. This is important for this study in that it indicates how gender differentiation within evangelicalism as a 'cultural system' propagates gender roles. As a 'religio-cultural' system, evangelicalism attaches specific characteristics of assertiveness, toughness, etc. towards understanding masculinity. With this understanding, evangelicalism can be described as a "masculine culture" where gender roles do not overlap. Femininity is rated low where women are to be submissive, modest, tender and be concerned more with domesticity.

8.1.1   'God's Design' for Responsible Manhood

The central emphasis undergirding male-female relations in most Charismatic Evangelical settings is established within extreme hierarchical gender positioning which is arrived at by faith discourses which seek to justify an assumed "divine order" of things. Men draw from religious teachings and sacred texts as sources of theological authority to construct masculine identities. Significant therefore in the whole discourse about masculinity is the emphasis given to a theology of "God's design," a belief that God instituted gender hierarchy with men over women. Such thinking on a 'divine order' is strongly featured within the MMC. Although Buchan and most Mighty Men consented to gender equality, my findings for this study indicates that they inconsistently subscribed to a belief in male superiority, male dominance and authority over women who are supposed to be 'inferior' and should remain submissive to men as 'God intended." Such beliefs were reiterated and supported by Scripture, according to the men interviewed.

Analyses of faith discourses employed to instruct men on their responsibilities focussed predominantly on what Buchan (2012:143) termed as "God's expectation for men." Buchan for example argues for God's order stating:

> It's not a case of saying the man is superior to the woman – never! On the contrary. But there is an order that is established in the Bible. And the Lord Jesus, said, 'Husbands, love your wives.' Now if a husband loves his wife, his wife will gladly submit to him (Buchan interview by Devi Sankaree Govender, 18th January 2009, Cate Blanche show)

From Buchan's argument, it is clear that he believes that God has instituted an order in the Bible. Most of the participants used biblical texts as well to substantiate their assertions of what is expected of them and women. Many pointed to the creation narratives as a starting point towards a quest of recreating godly manhood as archetype of Christian masculinity. This can be observed for example from Mighty Man #4:

Extract 1:

> *What we learned from Mighty Men is that God wants to re-establish the order back into the kingdom when it comes to men. Now God's order stars with the men. He speaks of the head of the house, which is the man and from the head of the house the anointing will flow down and from the head the bible describes it, the anointing came from Aron's beard, and it covers his whole body and it went and dripped on the floor. And everything around men when it comes to God's anointing, when the anointing*

drops off, it will go on your woman, it will go on your children, it will go on your household, it will go on your finances, it will go on your wellbeing, if the anointing comes from the head. That is how God operates (Mighty Man #4, interview 31 January 2011).

Extract 2:

So, in our group, that is where we start, from the book of Genesis because we believe there is a principle there. And we do believe there is a problem today where men are not taking leadership in the home. And that these focus down into society where, where I think that many secular leaders are saying; you know that there is a lack of leadership in the whole world. And we believe that there is a lack of men who are functioning as leaders, as proper God ordained leaders. So, that is our first point (Mighty Man #28, interview 16 June 2012).

Extract 3:

You see, one doesn't want to develop a secular argument but we do believe in the, […] in God so the whole thing is based on our belief in God. So, if we believe in God and that He [sic] ordained things, then, then, then we believe that He [sic] ordained man to be a leader and woman a helper. So, I believe, because I believe in God, and that God has put things in order, therefore I believe that in the heart of strong women, they desire male leadership and one may sound Chauvinistic in all of that, and may sound like a secular argument. But if we believe in God, that is the way we believe, that He […] has made it like that. Just like he made children to submit to their parents, and to have a natural inclination to lean on their parents and it's a natural thing for women to submit to men (Mighty Man #24, interview 21 April 2012).

Critical scholarship on men and masculinity within general Evangelical Christianity remains minimal. However, most self-help literature on gender and family discourses place strong emphasis on God's design when it comes to male, female relations. Given the CEPC emphasis on God's design for men, most literature seeks to portray ideals of Christian manhood by using language such as: God's purpose for men; manhood and womanhood defined according to the Bible; Biblical foundations for manhood and womanhood; biblical masculinity; the key to becoming a Godly man,[94] to mention but few. It is by such emphases that the approach towards understanding practices and patterns of godly manhood has majorly underlined the roles of male headship and leadership as signifiers of masculinity.

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[94] Much emphasis in this area among Evangelicals has been established through the position of The CBMW. Although much has been published, their main texts are: *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (1991) and *Biblical Foundations for Manhood and Womanhood* (2002), with Wayne Grudem and John Piper as leading authors. Also, see Understanding the Purpose and the Power of Men (2001) by Myles Munroe.

John Hoffmann and John Bartkwoski (2008:1245) suggest that social scientists interested in religion regularly use views about the Bible in models designed to predict a variety of outcomes, including social attitudes, political behaviours and consumer choices. In like manner I have used faith discourse among Buchan's MMC to analyse how Buchan and the participants used views about the Bible to theologically back their opinions regarding responsible manhood. My analyses enable us to arrive at two observations. First, is that God's order start with the man. Second, representations of God as masculine inform ideals of responsible godly manhood. These are briefly discussed in the next section.

8.1.1.1 "God's Order" Starts with the Male

Important to point out from extracts 1, 2 and 3 above is a strong emphasis that God's order starts with the male (see Extract 1). The description that emerges from the three extracts highlights a strong belief that God has ordained a particular order and pattern which establishes a particular design. According to this understanding, Evangelicals believe that "God's proper ordained pattern" portrays male authority as God's model. The emphasis made by Mighty Man #24 that "*if we believe in God and that He [sic] ordained things, then, then, we believe that that He ordained man…*" (Mighty Man #24, interview by Kennedy, 21 April 2012, in Pietermaritzburg) is a theological position that strongly supports Calvinism—'that is how God made things.' Hence, God putting things into this order supposes that male leadership in every sphere is 'God's design' and that is what God instructs if chaos are to be avoided (see Extract 3).

What is crucial here is how the 'God-language' emanates from a patriarchal reading and appropriation of the biblical texts which is then used to inform symbols of manhood. Mighty Man #4 posits that they learned from the MMC that "*God wants to re-establish the order back into the kingdom when it comes to men*" (Mighty Man #4, interview by Kennedy, 31 January 2011 in Pietermaritzburg). This statement not only highlights tendencies of crisis in masculinity among Evangelicals but seems to suggest that men have 'lost' God's order, this being "*the causes of the breakdown in the family units*" (Mighty Man #28, interview by Kennedy, 16 June 2012, in Pietermaritzburg). The participant's understanding portrays a theological anthropology which centres on God's order starting with the man, historically

informed by an interpretation of the creation narratives.[95] An examination of perceptions of responsible manhood based on God's order beginning with the male sums up an androcentric framework that Christian theology has adopted in understanding male and female seen throughout in the history of Christianity. The second creation narrative in Genesis 2:21-23[96] has therefore been used to establish a distorted teaching of male supremacy on the basis that male was created first and woman (taken from the rib of the male) was created second, hence inferior. These are worthy of interrogation.

The way in which interpretations of the Genesis narratives have informed perceptions and constructions of 'ideal' responsible manhood at the MMC is critical. The concepts of 'order' and 'design' are thereby applied symbolically leading to misinterpretation of the text and is used to build representations of masculinities. Interpretation of creation narratives in this case leads to several ideologies which could inform constructs of dominating and oppressive forms of patriarchal masculinities. The link between God's order beginning with the male therefore establishes religious symbolism which influences a theological thinking and belief that God values the male sex more than the female. Sidney Berman's (2012:204) research finding shows that Christian men established an ideology that the woman is like the man's child in the eyes of God. This concurs with Van Klinken's (2013:13) observation that such sexual difference is interpreted and functions as a principle of social and symbolic ordering in religious discourses, practices and communities.

The belief that the male came first colludes with cultural views that according to God's plan, "the man is older than the woman, and the woman should recognise the man's position" (see Berman 2012:205). This patriarchal ideology of male eldership is also evident in extract 3 where the participants equated women with children arguing, "*Just like he made children to submit to their parents, and to have a natural inclination to lean on their parents and it's a natural thing for women to submit to men*" (Mighty Man #24, interview by

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[95] The two creational narratives are recorded in Genesis 1:26-28 and Genesis 2:21-25. Tuyizere (2007) has shown how the Yahwist writers show God making Adam out of the dust of the earth while Genesis 2:21 shows God making Eve out of Adam's rib. These verses, she argues, have been a source of confusion and result from a misinterpretation of the original writer's idea of equality (Yahwist) of man and woman, leading to unwarranted conclusion that the woman was formed from the man; she was not created, but made from the rib of a man.

[96] But for Adam there was not found a helper fit for him. **21** So the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and while he slept took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh. **22** And the rib that the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man. **23** Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man."

Kennedy, 21 April 2012, in Pietermaritzburg). As long as Scripture is interpreted and used to construct womanhood equated with inferior child likeness, religious constructions of ideal masculinities will be such that men dominate women, whose only purpose is to obey masculine authority and command.

8.1.1.2 A Masculine God 'Ideal' for Mighty Men's Masculinities

Buchan's faith discourse does not present a systematic developed theology on God. However, as a Charismatic fundamentalist (see Buchan 2012:215) it is clear that Buchan's theology strongly portrays an understanding of God as masculine. In one of his devotions—*Who is this Man*? Buchan writes:

> That is the description that I received through a newsletter from the Bible Society. When I first read it, it brought me to tears because we keep forgetting that God is not just a mystical spiritual being. He is also a person. He has fingerprints, personality, and a character. He is not a Scotsman, nor a Zulu, He is a Jew (29 January 2007:52-53).

This summarises Buchan's theology of God who is a Jew and "this God is calling His men back to Himself [sic] from every denomination" (Buchan 2012:160). Further Buchan's (2012:164) description of the Trinity is emphatically masculine to achieve his purpose of speaking to men at the MMC. Buchan states: "That is what good company does. It brings out the best in the men because they are meeting with the best company, our Father, His son, and the Holy Spirit." For Buchan and the MMC, the economy of the Trinity (as a company of the Father as male, and that of the Son also as male), guarantees the best company to effect change towards responsible goodly manhood. With this, Buchan can conclude, "Jesus used twelve men to change the world. Boys, there are enough men in this tent to change this nation. God is looking for Mighty Men. He is looking for valiant soldiers; he is looking for warriors" (2008, Conference DVD—*Dying to Live*, Disk #1). Not only does the masculine language speak for itself, but important to take note of is the nature of relationship used to describe God and Buchan's followers at the MMC. It is crystal clear that a male God (who happens to be a Jew) is the 'man' calling Mighty Men back to God self. The opposite seems true to Buchan—if this God was feminine, she [sic] would not have used twelve men.

It is undeniable that theological concepts used to illustrate ideal manhood within the MMC are informed by faith discourses rooted in masculine understanding of God. Informed by an anthropological frame of analysis, I observed that all the 34 Mighty Men interviewed held to a Christian belief in a male God.[97] Based on the understanding that God can only be perceived as a male, and this God has ordained a masculine order, it is difficult not to conclude that men will seek to understand their masculine self and responsibility through the mirrors that image them as bearers of God's image. Hence, faith discourses on notions of God's maleness inform the masculine identities and perceptions of godly manhood. Such representations of masculine God portray visions of a masculine Christianity where images of God are created as a great patriarch (see Ebere 2011:480) describing God as with a "patriarchal family and ancestry."

Important to point out is that how men imagine God as male has much to do with how they eventually image women, but also inform how they perceive and represent their masculine identities. Since God is imagined in masculine terms, God's functions are reduced to male power roles (Owino 2010:43), where men construct a self-image as those who have power in place of a male God. We therefore see that patriarchal tendencies create God in men's image, resulting in patriarchally coded perceptions of Christian manhood through the conception of *imago Dei* exclusively as with the male. To become a mighty man therefore demonstrates a status of masculine prestige as one associated with the Almighty source of power. The danger of such a God language is that it gives the male the place of God. Ideal godly manhood therefore functions in place of God, representing God. The maleness of God then supposes men to be 'lords' over women (Owino 2010:44), and when the image of God is normed on male identity the prominence of male as godlike is affirmed (Lambert and Kurpius 2004:56). In a similar way, Mary Daly (1985:17, 19) argues that, "If God is male, then male is God. The divine patriarch castrates women as long as he is allowed to live in the human imagination."

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[97] Generally, in Christian History, God has been described in masculine gender pronouns and metaphors. The masculinity of God has been reputable especially through the interpretation of the metaphors and analogies used in the Christian Scriptures. Rajaratnam (1999:5) for example argues that at the dawn of religion, God was understood as a woman, but not so with the Hebrew God. The Hebrew God's gender from the very beginning as documented in the Hebrew Bible was always male/masculine. Judy Tobler (2000:6) asserts that the conceptualization of God as masculine—but disembodied and transcendent—found at the core of Jewish and Christian traditions is rooted in a long history of dualism that is articulated in religious myth and doctrine and western philosophy and psychology. Jann Clanton (1990:16) therefore concludes that down through the centuries biblical interpreters have taken the masculine language of God out of context of the whole biblical revelation. She adds that they over-emphasized the masculine God of the Bible that few lay people have any knowledge of a God beyond the male gender.

These arguments are in line with those of Ruether (1993:53) who also contends that since God is presumed to be male, then a woman relates to man as he relates to God.

God's "order" and "design" therefore forms the basis through which responsible manhood are patterned at the MMC. I now discuss how the Mighty Men understood their responsibilities as godly men in relation to Buchan and the MMC theology on God's order and design.

8.2 Performing the 'Ideal' Responsible Godly Manhood Among the Mighty Men

Buchan's faith discourses show his theology of ideal masculinity that seeks to recreate Christian masculinities imaged through responsible godly manhood. This is clear when he argues:

> There are so many men who are battling with inferiority complexes that have sometimes been transferred to them by their fathers. They've had negative words spoken about them and have felt totally inadequate. The Lord is restoring man's masculinity when men start to hear what God can do through nobodies (2012:166).

Buchan's assertion strikes at the heart of masculinity as performative (Butler 1990). Godly manhood can only be responsibly performed if men are free from inferiority complexes, and free from negative words spoken about them causing inadequacy (and insecurity). In other words, performing godly manhood will require men's masculinity to be restored from weakness to strength, and as Buchan (2012:204) states elsewhere, "require strong men who will take their role, responsibility and have a right standing in their home and community." Buchan's faith discourses contesting masculine inferiority, insecurity and inadequacies within the MMC target masculine weakness towards a quest for masculine strength and toughness essential for godly men to perform their masculinities. Representations and perceptions of responsible manhood within the MMC can therefore be understood from how the Mighty Men seek to perform their acquired and recreated Christian masculinities.

The question of performing masculinity is one discussed widely by sociologists in the field of masculinity studies. Because gender is not only socially constructed but

collectively reproduced, masculinity in this perspective is to be understood in relational terms, hence require performance. Masculine performativity is best understood within gender performance. Using the concept of 'performance,' Butler (1990:43-44) contends that gender ideologies are created through feminine and masculine performances. What this suggests is that gender roles can only be determined as far as they can be performed either by male or female. This concurs with Whitehead and Barrett (2001:20) who argue that performance constitutes 'a working to achieve a sense of 'belonging' in the social world." Hence, for most men, this desire to belong creates both gender and individual's sense of self which depicts masculine performance as central in achieving entry to, and being accepted within, any particular 'community' of men (Whitehead and Barrett 2001). This confirms findings of this study in that performing godly manhood made sense only in relation to how men performed (acted) specific roles ascribed to the male gender within this Protestant Christian context.

In this second section of the chapter I highlight how the Mighty Men sought to perform patterns of responsible godly manhood. Nine varied ways were identified while only six are presented in the subsequent discussions. This will include: responsible headship and provider masculinity, responsible spiritual leadership portrayed in concepts of prophet, priest and king and responsible godly manhood and masculine emotionalism.

8.2.1   Godly Manhood Portrayed in Headship and Provider Roles

Faith discourses on responsible manhood apply the concept of headship to emphasis the masculine roles of the male as provider, leader, protector and decision maker. In one way or the other, men's understanding of these four roles portrayed a strong influence on their self-understating thereby informing perceptions, representations and constructions of responsible godly manhood for the MMC. This is illustrated in the diagram below:
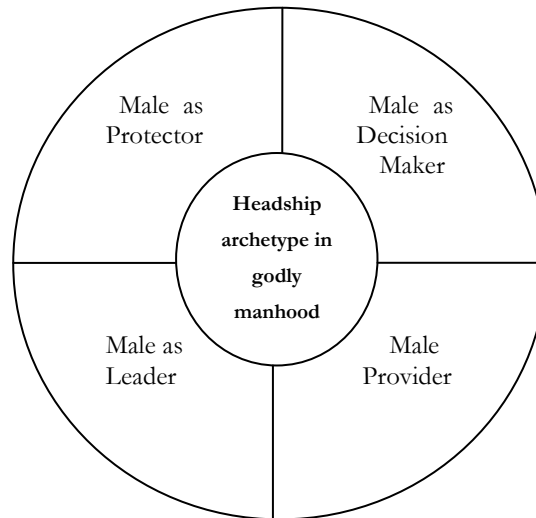
Figure 3
The centrality of headship in performing male roles of
Leading, providing, protecting and decision making among the Mighty Men
(Kennedy Owino 2014)

To a large extent, Buchan's godly manhood is patterned around the theology of headship.[98] Masculinity is a structure of practices that provide processes for constructing identity (see Whitehead and Barrett 2001:18), therefore men's masculinity has to be performed through the role of headship envisioned in the male as a leader, provider, protector and decision maker within the household and in the public sphere. Therefore, the idea of recreating Christian masculinity by calling men to return to responsible godly manhood seeks to establish the headship position of authority that the male as husband and father have in the home. Central in aiding the Might Men's masculine identity, Buchan uses the bible as a major resource which informs ideal manhood for his MMC. The bible is understood as a "blueprint for any successful family" (Buchan 2004:170), Buchan applies a Charismatic literalist approach of 1 Corinthians 11:3 and points out that "the man is the head of the home" (Buchan 2012:187). Buchan further observes:

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[98] The concept of male headship within Protestant Christianity is based on biblical texts such as 1 Corinthians 11:3, 8-9; "But I want you to understand that the head of every man is Christ, the head of a woman is her husband, and the head of Christ is God….For man was not made from woman, but woman from man. Neither was man created for woman, but woman for man" (see *Revised Standard version* of the Bible (second edition 1971). Ephesians 4:22-23; "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands" (see *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible (second edition 1971). 1 Timothy 2:11-14; "Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor" (see *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible (second edition 1971).

God raised each man up and gave him the genes to be the head of his house, not over his house, but of his house...Men were created by God to watch over their wives and children. They were given the broad shoulders to carry the load and lead. A woman has a very special role at the heart of the home. Behind every great man is a woman...The devil is hell-bent on breaking down man's masculinity. He wants men to be unsure of who they are and what they're supposed to do (2012:180, 187).

Buchan's statement demonstrates an essentialist understanding of gender roles for men and women, a position which most Charismatic, Evangelical Christians ascribe to. Notice his use of "A woman has a very special role at the heart of the home. Behind every great man is a woman." Further, the understanding is that headship is genetically given by God. It is clear that the concept of male headship establishes masculine status of divine authority where men are mandated by God to "watch over" their wives and children; given broad shoulders to carry the load (in other words, be providers) and to lead. However, this sense of who a man ought to be seems not to exist anymore and the 'divine mandate' according to Buchan, must be reinstated to ensure that men are sure of whom they are. This confirms Whitehead and Barrett's (2001) argument that masculinity is something that one 'does' rather than something that one 'has.'

Buchan's theology of headship is therefore supported by a literal reading of the Bible which is envisioned to promote, reaffirm and defend gender traditionalism. Most of the participants interviewed also subscribed to notions of gender traditionalism where headship was a central marker of becoming a responsible and a mighty man. For most, the recurring notion was that godly manhood must take responsibility where male headship, provider role and leadership in decisions making were associated with 'ideal' Christian masculinity. Mighty Man #13 stated:

Extract 4:

When men neglect their responsibility, I don't think they are mighty and I don't think they are men enough. Even at home, if they don't take initiative and responsibility as the head of the home, they are not mighty. You can have various instances where it is the other way round; decisions are not made, or the whole running of the home and the atmosphere in the home is not, (and I do not want to use the word control), but is not managed by the man. God gave man that authority in every sphere. I would not like the roles reversed even in the home situation. I wouldn't like a situation that the wife is dominating than the man. I don't think that women should be at the top. I don't have this idea of a woman dominated world. I for one it will never work because it is not in line with biblical principles (Mighty Man #13, interview 24 July 2011).

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The observation made by Mighty Man #13 that God gave man the authority in every sphere stating: "*in line with biblical principles,*" is used here to reinstate headship. It is clear from this respondent's statement that the atmosphere at home must be 'masculine' on the basis that the male is dominating because men were given 'divine authority.' In a similar manner, Mighty Man #7 argued that they were not mighty enough, yet a man is meant to be the hunter, a strong figure in the community, stating: "*Women have become heads of families, and we are losing the might in us. So we are not taking our place or position in that perspective*" (Mighty Man #7, interview by Kennedy, 21 February 2011, in Pietermaritzburg). In such a case, manhood is perceived not only as a status to be earned but also an identity to be demonstrated.

In most cases, male headship was linked to male control and domination over women, prevalent in cultural and Christian perceptions in marriage contexts. Van Klinken (2013:44) further argues that the view that headship of men is deemed as God-ordained consigns all authority, power and control to men, "a major symbol empowering men and disempowering women." Also, it suffices that the concept of male headship functions to justify domestic violence against women (van Klinken 2013) and as Hinga (2008:92) argues, "The insistence that obedience and wholehearted submission towards the man is an unmistakable mark of godliness, leads many faithful women to endure violent and dangerous relationships for fear of disobeying a direct command of God."

Closely linked to faith discourses on male headship are discourses on men as responsible providers. Men were challenged to do something if they are not able to provide, protect, and make decisions as household leaders (heads). Failure in these areas was interpreted as signs of weakness and "irresponsible manhood" and in these cases such men felt they were not 'Mighty Men.' My findings illustrate masculinities which characterised godly manhood with ambivalent patterns of frustration where the male role as bread winner was a matter of life and death. Consider Mighty Man #7and Mighty Men #27:

Extract 5:

> *Kennedy, God made men to be answers, providers. When you are a man and you cannot provide, you are frustrated. It is frustrating. It confuses you. You can hang yourself. There is nothing that kills a man like not providing. In anyway, may be, in terms of emotional support, financial support, protection. It messes a man up. It does something to a man which few people can understand* (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

Extract 6:

> *Where I find it difficult being a man is when I am not able to provide. You know, you just know that. I couldn't. Am gonna sleep hungry because I cannot just do anything and you just feel helplessness in such situations and you really don't feel like a man. Ah, Kennedy, you know, you cannot be a man when you cannot command respect and not for you, but for other people. You just feel "well, am a kid." It belittles you because you see situations where if you were a man, you could just sort out things* (Mighty Man #27, interview 9 June 2012).

We are not only confronted with vulnerability masculinities among the Mighty Men on the one hand, but also, being a man is associated with 'commanding respect' from other people, especially in social, cultural, and economic contexts on the other hand. It is believed that a man must stay masculine. The male provider role conveys notions of masculine status, achievement and authority.

The role of the Mighty Men as breadwinners therefore stood as a symbol of ideal godly manhood which called men to take back headship and leadership. For example, citing Ephesians 4:22-23, Buchan builds a theology of submission for women stating:

> The Bible says, "Husbands love your wives," and "wives submit to your husbands." Some women are the major bread winners in the home because of circumstances beyond their control, and they have a real problem submitting to their husbands. But unless wives obey the biblical principle, their marriage will soon be in trouble because they are going against the word of God…. In the same manner, it is very hard for a husband to love his wife when she insists on wearing the trousers and refusing to submit. Jesus said husbands are to love their wives. It is very hard for a woman to submit to a man who is not pulling his weight—one who is not a provider, a protector of his family and who is not heading up his house—especially if he is not the spiritual head of his family (2004:169-170).

Although it was not Jesus who said that husbands should love their wives (see also Nadar 2009), the analogy "It is very hard for a woman to submit to a man who is not pulling his weight" highlights gender tension between the provider role and the submission role within this Evangelical context. Buchan's argument supposes that every woman who is significantly contributing economically to the family 'disobeys' the biblical principle and "are going against the word of God." Notice the masculine language associated with wives to be subject and not to "insist on wearing trousers and refusing to submit" (Buchan 2004:169-170). The analogy of wearing trousers (gender performance) used in this context means a situation where women are seen as domineering over the male by

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taking over the family economy as breadwinners, a role that is perceived as 'masculine.' Because the provider role is understood as per formative, women are considered as 'stepping out of their prescribed religious and cultural gender roles' which degrades a man's sense of masculinity, especially in most Charismatic, Evangelical spheres.

A question which arises is: what happens when a woman is the only partner to have a job? In South Africa for example, with high rates of unemployment, women (and especially black women) stand higher chances to access paid employment in the labour market. Compared to majority of South African men, women will eventually become economically empowered.[99] This introduces a sense of economic freedom (independence) as women acquire education and rise to the top of the job market. Such shifts bring about changes in traditional gender roles thereby break traditional ideologies of males as primary providers. Socio-economic empowerment among women therefore causes them to step out of their 'prescribed' cultural and religious gender prescriptions which then challenges and threatens male supremacy and domination syndromes. Should the role of providing therefore remain the responsibility only for men in order that males may feel secure in their sense of masculinity? Piper (1991) in this case contends that the reversal of the basic roles will be contrary to the original intention of God, and contrary to the way God made male and female with ordained roles. Piper states:

> Evidently God had in mind from the beginning that the man would take special responsibility for sustaining the family through bread-winning labour, while the wife would take special responsibility for sustaining the family through childbearing and nurturing labour (1991:42-43)

Piper (1991) contends that the reversal of the basic roles will be contrary to the original intention of God, and contrary to the way God made male and female with ordained roles. Buchan (2012:213) argues that the dignity and honour of the man is undermined especially because a man is not able to clothe and feed his wife and children. To ensure

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[99] According to Morrell *et al* (2012), the new South Africa constitution, recognized as one of the most liberal in the world, was adopted in 1996 and enshrined the principle of equality for all people in the country thereby foregrounding women's rights. With the quest of equality for all people, the South African government introduced affirmative action and employment equity act as specific policies/concepts adopted within the South African employment equity act, section 2(b) legislated in 1988. Based on Legislation in Section 15, of the Employment Equity Act, Jacobus Wessels (2005:125-126) maintains that affirmative action legally aims at the enhancement of the 'designated groups' although the designated groups are defined as *blacks, women* and *disabled* as historically disadvantaged persons. This was introduced by the South African government as a measure to effectively address and overcome the legacy of inequality, injustices, discrimination and underrepresentation in the work force of designated employers as created by the colonial and apartheid eras (see also Tladi 2001).

that the male has control over the family economy, Buchan (2012) discloses that they started restoring manly dignity among Mighty Men (as bread winners) for the reason that "women will be the feminine part of the home, as they are meant to be, and life will be much more pleasant" (2012:214). It can be argued that this is just a means for men to begin asserting their corrosive power seeking to push women back to 'their roles' through religious means. Sadly, men in such insecure positions are often inclined towards violence and abuse, especially when the wife does not 'submit.' The problem is not that women are not submitting, but a sense of lost, incapable, and insecure masculine identities. Hence, the ability to provide becomes a significant symbol of headship which informs notions of responsible masculinities in the process of men seeking to attain and retain status of a godly man.

Buchan's literal reading of the bible establishes a sexist interpretation of work as instituted by God and assumes women should not get involved with productive roles (paid work) but should only be concerned with reproductive roles (care of children, cooking, and other domestic chores).[100] Such an understanding not only contradicts a theology of work but also influences a patriarchal attitude towards women's involvement in productive roles/work. Marie (2012) from her recent research with Christian women in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, shows how Christian teachings should challenge perceptions of gender roles in relation to theologies of work. She argues by and large that women should view work positively causing them to profess within the public domain that work is a blessing from God (Marie 2012:160). Buchan's literal application of the Bible in seeking to negotiate perceptions of masculinities within tensions of gender roles and productive work of bread-winning is therefore challenged.

8.2.2   Godly Manhood Portrayed in 'Responsible' Leadership Roles

Leadership and Headship are at times used interchangeably in Evangelical Christianity especially within the context of the household. Although Buchan's faith discourses and responses from the Mighty Men interviewed illustrate that leadership roles not only referred to the roles of the male as decision maker and protector, they also emphasised more on the male spiritual role of leadership. Consider Buchan who observes:

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[100] See Rowanne Marie (2012) on theologies of work and worker's theology.

It is time for the masculine parts of male to come back again. The devil is breaking down manhood. A man is supposed to be a man. He was born to be a man. He is supposed to take the lead in his home. He is supposed to put bread on his table, he is supposed to defend his wife and he is supposed to discipline his kids. That is a man. Amen! (2008, *Dying to Live,* Conference DVD, Disk #1).

Buchan further equates male leadership towards women as to that rendered to children, especially teenagers:

A woman needs to be led (not like you lead a bull with a ring through the nose). Please don't misunderstand me, but a woman needs to be directed, as do children, especially teenagers. In that they find security because they know where they're going, they know what the game plan is and they know what the future holds for them. Some of the most unhappy women I've met and had to counsel are women whose husbands refuse to take up the leadership in the home and refuse to make decisions (2012:203).

Buchan's remarks suggest that women are not always certain of their direction and the future, therefore require male leadership. At a more general level, a Protestant ideal for masculine leadership is in most cases rooted in creation Genesis 2:20, 23, and is imaged around the role God assigns Adam after creation.[101] The act of Adam naming everything including Eve, establishes for most Evangelicals the male mandate for leadership. Because Adam was the lord of the Garden serving to represent God who is over all (Phillips 2010:8), I contend then that Adam in this case portrays an exalted level of masculinity which has premised the social prominence of males. Consider, for example Mighty Man #23 who insisted:

Extract 7:

We would say, you know the initial home moral or the model of the home is a husband. God ordained pattern of husband or the father being the leader, the wife being the helper. Under that, we are not saying that leadership of the man must in any way enter to the realm of abuse, or even a kind of authoritarianism. We use the example that within the Trinity […] which we believe there is equality between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit where the Father is considered the leader of the Trinity and the Holy Spirit the helper. We believe that, that the male leadership role is not so much positional as it is functional (Mighty Man #23, interview 24 March 2012).

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[101] **20** The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for the man there was not found a helper fit for him. **23** Then the man said, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man."

The dangers foreseen in such a Trinitarian hierarchal interpretation are enormous. Hegemonies of men ruling over other men (because God has ordained leadership as imaged within the trinity), and also subordination of women (which is and is often the case) become norm. In contexts where theologies disallow equal values to all people, and provide rationale for countless other injustices (Davis 2011:505), the above theological positions necessitate Gordon Kaufman's (1996:97) observation when he states, "in theology a question mark must be placed behind everything that is said."

Because masculinity is what any given society accepts as features associated with the male gender and expressions of maleness, implying those practices and ways of being masculine (Whitehead 2002), Buchan and his MMC emphasised the spiritual roles of leadership within the household where the male is the priest, prophet and king, central in defining ideal godly manhood. Buchan's resolve for spiritual leadership as a signifier of responsibility and returning to godly manhood can be illustrated in the figure below:
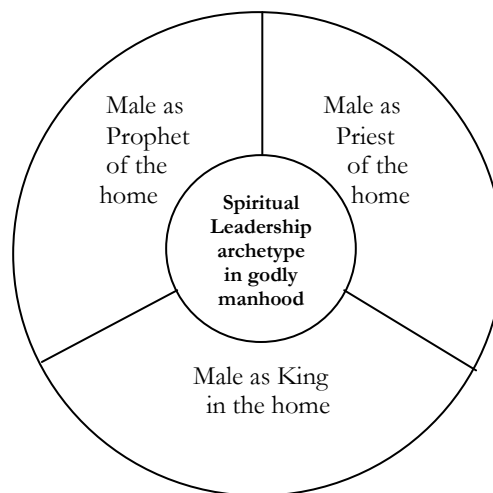
Figure 4
The centrality of Spiritual leadership for Responsible 'godly manhood' in male
Role of Prophet, Priest and King among the Mighty Men
(Kennedy Owino 2014)

The extent to which faith discourses on these three roles of prophet priest and king informs notions of responsible male leadership and perceptions of masculinities is crucial. Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) show that the search for diverse meanings mutually construct and seek to maintain both paternal masculinities and manhood. The religious scripts that prescribe meaning to the male as prophet, priest, and king that emanate from Buchan's faith discourses are therefore geared towards recreated

perceptions of Christian masculinities. This is evident in Buchan's assertions when he continually states:

> We are called as men to be the prophet, priest and kings in our own homes. If we want our homes to run in an orderly manner, that's exactly what we've got to be (2008:164)

Further, arguing that the MMC was actually designed for women although it is ministering to men, Buchan (2012:165) posits that, "I keep stressing to the ladies that this Mighty Men concept was initiated and born through a heart that we have for the family so that men can be prophet, priest and king." Buchan resolutely contends:

> Every person has a responsibility. One of the main positives to come out of this whole MMC phenomenon is that men are taking back their rightful position in the home as prophet, priest and king, which makes it so much easier for their wives and children (2012:180).

Important to take note of is the intersections of gender and religious teachings and practices. One observes how faith discourses construct notions of masculine power and authority. Consider the phrase "we are called as men" and "rightful position" in the home (Buchan 2012) which suggests that the function of these roles are a calling from God for men and women 'unlawfully' could perform the functions of such roles. 'Calling' within this theological context infers an authoritative summoning to a position of duty. In this case, if men are called to be prophets, priests and kings, then it follows that a woman is to adhere to a man's calling. This language not only symbolises authority but also introduces notions of power. For example, to be a prophet, priest and a king men must be able to act in place of God whose power and authority is ultimately exercised by the father of the home. Note also the use of "If we want our homes to run in an orderly manner" (Buchan 2008) necessitates the requisite of power and authority. Notions of prophet, priest and king are therefore masculine symbols which aid meaning towards perceptions of masculinity. Masculine symbols deriving from prophet, priest and king were therefore applied as the ideal measure for responsible spiritual leadership that all Mighty Men are to aspire for. These are briefly discussed in what follows.

8.2.2.1 The Prophetic Role of Godly Manhood

Stating what the male's prophetic role is all about, Buchan observes:

> It is one who gives guidance, foretells the future, comes into a church, and if he's a man of God, like Samuel the prophet, he will be able to sense the temperature and the mood of the congregation and be able to give them godly counsel and direction. We are to be the prophets in our house (2012:164).

Even though Buchan does not give sufficient reasons why he assigns these roles specifically to men, he negates that women cannot take such roles. He argues, "You don't hear of Abraham's wife going up to seek direction from the Lord, of Moses sending his wife up to Mt Sinai to find direction from God, or Elijah sending his wife up to Mt Carmel to call down fire from heaven. No. It has to be in the correct order" (Buchan 2012:164). The "correct order" referred to here implies that it is the man who is qualified to take the role of a prophet because he is male. Note the consistent use of the term "direction," "guidance" and "decision" linked to the male's prophetic role. All the Mighty Men interviewed understood the role of a prophet as one who listens from God and God speaks to him "as the man of the house" in order that he may makes decisions and direction. Mighty Men #4 stated:

Extract 8:
> *God used prophets as messengers and also to strengthen people and to make people aware of things. So, if you are a prophet in your household, God uses you as a messenger to warn people and to encourage people. When you are a prophet in your house you stand up and say "Thus says the Lord"* (Mighty Man #4, interview 31 January 2011).

The prophetic role of responsible godly manhood is therefore associated with the masculine symbol of hearing from God and speaking in place of God ("thus says the Lord") in terms of giving warnings and direction. The formative power dynamics which is established then makes it difficult for the wife and other family members to question the prophet of the house because God has said it. Buchan (2008:165) reinforces this position stating, "We men need to be prophets in the home. If God is telling you to move to another country, to another job, to maybe sell your farm, then he will speak to you. He will not speak to your wife, for her to come and tell you: '"God's told us to move."' I don't witness with that at all because it is not scriptural."

One therefore deduces how Buchan uses scripture to establish male essentialist traits as a measure of godly manhood. Such includes the ability to hear God, apply logical thinking, and the ability to weigh consequences which seems not 'evident' in femininities (according to Buchan); because women seem to apply emotionalism as compared to reason often associated with masculine personas.

8.2.2.2 The Priestly Role of Godly Manhood

Responses from most Mighty Men interviewed indicated that men related to the role of priest easily unlike with the roles of being a prophet and king as prescribed by Buchan. Mighty Man #7 said:

Extract 9:

> *A priest is that person who stands in the gap. Standing in the gap for your family. Be the man who will usher in your family in the presences of God. It is being a man who connects with God first and thereby feeding your family on what you have received from God* (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

It is evident that the priestly role as relates to spiritual leadership requires the male to act as the 'priest' of the household. This involves reading the bible with the family, leading the wife and the children to church, praying with the family and teaching the family to have 'quiet time.' What comes across is that because being a man is associated with the provider role of material and physical needs, the man is also expected to provide and lead spiritually. Buchan stresses that it is not the wife's job or responsibility to read the Bible stories to the children at night before they go to bed stating:

> I'm so excited at the moment about the fact that there are so many men who are taking up the mantle of priest in their homes. I have received letters from wives who have been absolutely elated, saying: "it's so wonderful that my husband is now taking up headship as high priest in the home." They will find that little Johnny, as well as his brother and sisters are all reading the bible now too. Why? Because Dad reads his Bible at night when they say grace before food, Dad says it (2008:167).

With the priestly role Buchan (2008:168) contends that the man determines what goes into the house and what goes out of it. However, Mighty Man #34 declares that men

have been reluctant to take up a lead role in spiritual matters and often delegate it to their wives. He states:

Extract 10:

> *I think there is a stereotype in our culture where men seem to think that their God given responsibility is to "make the bacon" so to speak. I think Christian men need to take an interest in his children's education in school; I think a Christian man needs to take time to teach his Children to pray and read the bible. A Christian man needs to read his Bible and pray so that his children to see; and to be a model to them. I think a Christian man needs to take a big responsibility in his home in all spheres* (Mighty Man #34, interview 28 Jully2012).

The question that arises in this case is how masculine notions such as male priesthood in the home promote positive changes towards transformation of masculinities. Is the promotion of such ideals appropriate in a men's movement where understating of 'priesthood of all believers'[102] should be an alternative impressed on men in a context where MMC seeks to recreate Christian masculinities? Such questions and more are discussed in depth in my next chapter. From a gender-critical perspective, one must therefore take note of the MMC's disposition towards reinforcing of patriarchal power ideals as Buchan seeks to establish spiritual leadership. This is so because it establishes gender hierarchical structures which are not transformative at all but promotes "soft patriarchies" (to be discussed later) where men are not considerate to women as equal spiritual partners, but are expected to remain passive followers.

8.2.2.3 The Kingly Role of Godly Manhood

It was evident in Buchan's faith discourses and participants interviewed that the role of the male as king in the home focused on how the man governs his household. Mighty Man #34 emphatically stated:

Extract 11:

> *I am not too sure I understand clearly what Angus has been leading to. I think he really needs to be asked. But I do think what he is calling for is that a man to take a lead role. So, as king he has to be ruler of his home. I would imagine as priest he is to be the one who does the spiritual component (the go between to God). I am not too sure what I would understand as a prophet component of man. I can*

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[102] See discussions in chapter 9

> *certainly see the picture of Jesus as king. But I am not too sure how that calls me to be a king. I think he is a king I am called to be his servant* (Mighty Man #34, interview 28 Jully2012).

For Buchan, it was not so clear what the role of the man as king in the household entailed, but his faith discourse implies that becoming a king involved being a provider. He states:

> The next office is that of the king. The "king," to put it crudely, means that he is the one who will put the bread on the table. He supplies. He brings the money home. It's very hard for a woman to respect you, sir, if you cannot hold down a job.… You are obliged, as the father of the house to supply the needs, not the wants, of your family. You will find that when you bring the money home, you've worked hard, you wife will respect you and love you even more for that (2008:170).

In a very rhetorical manner, Mighty Man #4 paints a picture of what most men associated the kingly role of male with; to govern, rule and to manage. He states:

Extract 12:

> *A prophet, a priest and a king all have a purpose in life. If you add it together it is to rule and to manage. A king must have a kingdom. When God sees you as a king in your household, he gave you your wife and children as your kingdom and he expects you to rule and to manage your kingdom. And so, a king rules through rules and regulations. It is the yes and the nos. And when it comes to the word of God it is also about rules and regulations. If you stay in your boundaries God will expand your kingdom. If you step out of your boundaries and you do things you are not supposed to do, God penalises you* (Mighty Man #4, interview 31 January 2011).

Two things emerge here. First, the running of the household (the male kingdom) requires the male to rule, manage and govern in place of God. Notice the use of the language where the household is referred to as "*your kingdom.*" This seems to establish a sense of masculine territorial ownership where the wife and children are part of a man's possession among other properties. With masculine possessiveness a man might feel justified to use aggression to rule "his kingdom" within misconceived literal applications that men need to protect his territory. Perceptions of godly manhood in relation to territorial protection could result in constructs of violent masculinities which turn oppressive, leading to patriarchal and conquest control. According to Buchan (2008:169), this role does not require "cowards, a man-pleaser." It is certain therefore that symbols of masculinity are associated with God who is strong and not weak, and it is therefore

required of men to be strong, bold and brave to be kings in homes. Second, the 'kingdom' must be run according to God's commandments (word). The Bible in this case provides the men with rules (laws) and regulations on how they must rule govern and manage. In some cases, no one must question the king, because he (the male) governs according to God's command. This has been abused at certain times within the context of the household.

8.2.2.4 A Critique of the Male Roles of Prophet, Priest and King

The manner in which faith discourses seek to apply these three concepts of prophet, priest and king affirms male power which contributes to gender privileges which men enjoy in patriarchal religious settings. The major concern here is how Buchan and the MMC seek to apply the Christological titles of prophet, priest and king to inform their quest for recreating masculinities visioned in patterns of godly manhood. Chris Bruno (2010) makes plain a typology of a triplex munex Christi (or the threefold office of Christ) as a general pattern of Christological assertion developed towards the description of Christ. He validates clearly that this took prominence with the introduction of modern systematic theology through the influence of John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian religion[103] (see also Mikolaski 1961 and Breshears 1994).

The question that arises is whether the application of this threefold office of Christ is transformative to Mighty Men's perceptions of masculinity or not? Evident in the use of these three Christological offices is the appeal to tendencies towards promoting religious male power. Informed by Whitehead and Barrett (2002), Nadar (2009:555) points out how Buchan and his MMC seek to use discursive power in order to restore and maintain relational power.[104] As observed, these both ways of maintaining masculine power often

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[103] According to Brono (2010) triplex munex Christi has its origin in the 4th century first by Eusebius of Caesarea who did not provide a theological framework for salvation and Christology but argued that "prophet, priest and king" are typological foreshadowings of Christ. What these means is that as men filled the roles of prophet, priest and king throughout history, they symbolised or reflected Christ. Bruno (2010) argues that Thomas Aquinas followed this typological language and pointed that these offices can be found in humanity where one is a lawgiver, another is a priest and another is a king, but all concurring with Christ as the founder of all grace. Although various church fathers followed this tradition, Bruno (2010) has shown that Calvin's interpretation of the triplex munex Christi remains dominant as discussed in his Book II of his Institute of Religion <http://restorationproject.net/resources/writings/triplex-munex-christi/>.

[104] 'Discourses of power' refer to the everyday language which maintains binary oppositions such as men are strong, women are weak, or that men are rational and women are emotional. 'Power as relational' and

turn destructive in that the language used are intended to appeal to a 'higher authority' for legitimation (see Nadar 2009). In this way, faith discourses on these three notions of godly manhood resist non-transformative constructions of masculinities. Bruno (2010) for example shows how in the early stages of biblical history the three Christological offices were amalgamated in the role of the patriarch expected in the family. He notes that each patriarch was in effect prophet, priest and king to his own household, but under God.

Joerg Rieger for instance (2007) cautions that the titles of prophet, priest and king can either provide resistance in some cases, yet they might also need to be resisted and reframed within certain struggles at other times (see chapter 9 of this thesis for detailed discussions). He further states that "the title connected to the three offices of Christ have often fostered empire and colonial attitudes" in the effects of history (see Rieger 2007:197), so they could (and have) fostered gender injustice and inequalities within household settings resulting from images and constructions of dangerous forms of hierarchal masculinities. Hierarchal forms of masculinities are not transformative unless they are geared to develop mutuality between femininity and masculinity; male and female in religious contexts.

What seems key for Buchan and the MMC can best be described within the concepts of what Chitando (2007:122) terms as "benevolent dictators" where Pentecostalism seeks to nurture soft masculinities while "women are encouraged to embrace the patriarchal love." Nadar (2009:554) applies what Mary Stewart Van Leeuwen (1997) terms as 'soft patriarchy' and points out the form of "palatable patriarchy" where "men taking responsibility" seems "innocent enough" and "is hardly an unpalatable idea." Van Klinken (2013:171) in a similar case applies the ideology of 'soft patriarchy' and shows clearly through his research in a similar Pentecostal context shows various Christian discourses that "seek to change men and to transform masculinities do so within a context of patriarchy, upholding patriarchal concepts but redefining them in terms of responsibility, protection and love."

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positional is maintained by the belief systems that promote hierarchical ideologies making it obligatory for men (as opposed to women) to be the heads of homes, leaders of organisations or even directors of companies.

8.2.3 Godly Manhood Portrayed in Masculine Emotionalism

Part of encouraging men to be responsible was evident in how Buchan's faith discourse encouraged men to get in touch with their emotions. I personally observed while at the MMC gathering that men openly shed tears. Hence, displays of masculine emotionalism took a central feature of most MMC gatherings. As Buchan admits:

> During the first Mighty Men Conference, we did more crying than speaking. Men were allowed to be men and were able to take off their masks, ask real questions and speak about real things (Buchan 2012:21).

Many participants during this study confirmed that masculine emotionalism was a common occurrence in most of their MMC gatherings. The explanation made by Mighty Men #6 and Mighty Man #17 of this phenomenon is important in this respect:

Extract 13:

> *Men are hard guys to get through. You know. The thing about the Mighty Men [...] these men have been going to church because they have been brought up in church. But their hearts are hard. But you see big men who weep because Jesus gets hold of them. You can be strong in your home, you can be strong in your farm, you can be strong in the rugby field, but in Jesus' hand, you putty* (Mighty Man #6, interview 18 December 2011).

Extract 14:

> *One of the things that I experienced at the Mighty Men Conference is that I saw thousands of men cry. Angus had just said, 'take the next person to you and hold hands. Not even realising it, as I looked to the side of me, here are men just weeping, weeping, they were just crying. And I thought to myself, wau, this is awesome. And when I looked to the right hand side, and I saw these other men crying, they were just crying. No one realising, we were all crying. And then I thought to myself, God, these are men* (Mighty Man #17, interview 20 November 2011).

The expression: "*I thought to myself, God, these are men*" (Mighty Men #17) highlight observations that go against the dominant socialisation of a masculine identity that requires holding back the tears as promoted by most cultures, except during times of extreme grief, and especially when women and children are not present. Further, another participant pointed out:

Extract 15:

80% of the 80, 000 men gathered at the Mighty Men would be Afrikaners, coming and saying: 'you know what, we wanna experience crying out. We are tired of crying inside." In Afrikaans Culture we were told "nobody must see you cry." It was extremely 'men never cry.' Men cry only inside. You do not cry outside. You cry inside. Okay. And you never show weakness. And you will see that with a lot of Afrikaans. They will never show weakness. You always show aggression, you always show strength from yourself, and you never show weakness and that is to cry. If you are found crying, your father would slap you. And if you cried, you are hit harder until you stop crying. So men would cry inside not outside. So that was our main view of being a man (Mighty Man #22, interview 10 March 2012).

Similarly, within Zulu culture, to cry publicly is a sign of weakness and femininity. This was borne out by the response of Mighty Men #4 who had also attended a MMC gathering:

Extract 16:

While speaking about my culture, I grew up under a Zulu culture. Kennedy, that has been dysfunctional and fragmented for many years. You see you grew up being told that, […] when you are growing up as a young boy you were sent out to look after cows. You came back, you are taught how a young boy lives. You're taught how you gonna grow from being a boy to being a man. You are taught that if you wonna become a man you have to face other men, fight, be, be, strong, a man doesn't cry, you shouldn't cry if you are a man. There are so many things that you were told, that in Zulu land it used to happen like that (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

The overriding contention made for ideal manhood here is particularly noteworthy: A real man is characterised by strength, while emotionalism is an indication of weakness equated with femininity. However, a question arises especially within the context of the MMC: Could there be any link between Afrikaner men and masculine emotionalism in this post-apartheid context? In seeking to explore further, a respondent observed:

Extract 17:

We are tired of trying to be the strong one, trying to fight everything with fists and guns. We are tired of it. We want to come and say, God, forgive us, And when the guy got on to stage, an Afrikaner got onto the stage, and said; he said "men, we cry from the outside. Release it. Just release it. All those years of tears, should have been shed. Release it." And that is when men just wept, and I mean wept (Mighty Man #22, interview 10 March 2012).

Although faith discourses within the MMC are clear-cut about most matters relating to responsible manhood, it is clear that when it comes to emotionalism—this facade of

strength and might is broken down within the discourse. Buchan (2012:181) instead encourages masculine emotionalism since he argues: "South African Germans in particular are very proud and conservative in general. ... like many people of British ancestry with that Victorian type of attitude: stiff upper lip, cowboys don't cry stuff (which I've realised is a lot of rubbish)."

Phillips (2010) in his book: *The Masculine Mandate: God's Calling to men* on popular Biblical Manhood argues against men being told to get in touch with their "feminine side" as a cultural foolishness which has resulted in many men misperceiving what it means to be a godly man, a loving husband and a godly father. From a psychological perspective Jeroen Jansz (2000) illustrates how men tend to cover up most of their feelings through what he calls "restrictive emotionality." Jansz (2000:166) establishes four focal attributes of contemporary masculinity: (i) autonomy, (ii) achievement, (iii) aggression, and (iv) stoicism. In particular, stoicism leads men to internalise feelings of pain, grief and vulnerability. Because the 'language of emotions' can be part of the 'discourse of belonging,' Darius Galasiński (2004:152) argues that this language could assist one to see how men construct themselves as men. Hence, Mighty Men expressing open emotionalism by crying as an act of responsible godly manhood seems to promote an alternative 'new man' within a religious-cultural socialisation that counters dominant ideologies of traditional and popular contemporary masculinities that men never cry. These new men are in touch with their feelings and are able to relate to issues they are facing in a real world. For example, masculine emotionalism seems to nurture attributes of masculine compassion which in the long run would disregard masculine aggression and promote nonviolent perceptions of masculinities. For instance, in a HIV and gender based violence era, Chitando (2012:249) observes how redemptive and liberating masculinities must be nurtured as men must be able to cry if women, children and other men are to thrive in an environment that is littered with pain and death. Condemning gender traditionalism, Gary Oliver (1993:19) in his Book: *Real Men have Feelings Too* argues for a more sensitive masculinity, and suggests the benefits of men expressing emotions as a way in which men can learn how to be human, how to feel, how to love, how to be better husbands, fathers and friends. However, the extent to which masculine emotionalism remains transformative is a highly contested issue among scholars. Seidler warns against underestimating the difficulties of men changing themselves and argues:

> Sometimes the men's movement has tended to concentrate on a change of manner in which we have wanted to identify with the softer qualities of warmth, emotionality, caring and kindness, but we need to be aware of the depth of the legacy of our socialisation and the ways this continue to influence our experiences and relationships (1996:64).

Part of this depth seems to apply to male tendencies to control and dominate which religious traditions and cultural beliefs continue to affirm in the socialisation of Christian men.

Chapter Summary

The objective of this chapter was to discuss in detail faith discourses on responsible godly manhood thereby demonstrating how these faith discourses inform perceptions regarding responsible manhood. I have established how faith discourses and participant responses adhere to notions of divine order and God's "design" for men and women which are scripturally substantiated to reinstate a theology of male superiority and inferiority of women. As observed, the creational texts in the book of Genesis are used to root responsible godly manhood within gender hierarchical ideals which seek to reinforce gender traditionalism through patriarchal authority, power and control. I have argued that such interpretations do not inform masculinities which are transformative.

I have shown how the central discourse of "godly manhood" is performed through particular roles: "headship and provider roles", "spiritual leadership" encompassing prophet, priest and king, and lastly, and "masculine emotionalism." The latter gender performance of masculine emotionalism shows up the ambivalence within the whole discourse of "godly manhood" and remains a subject for further research. In the next chapter, I look at how these gender roles measured up against what many in the MMC would consider the ultimate role model for masculinity – namely Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER NINE

'CHRIST THE MAN' AND 'CHRISTIAN MANHOOD': RECONFIGURING AND TRANSFORMING MASCULINITIES

> The greatest example of all is none other than our blessed Lord Jesus
> Christ. There was nothing feminine or weak about him
> (Buchan 2012:164).

9.0 Introduction

In chapter one I pointed out that studies on men and masculinities have demonstrated how religion generally promotes patriarchal and oppressive masculinities, but few have engaged with how these masculinities can be transformed. Nadar (2009) concludes her exploratory study on Angus Buchan by calling for a deconstruction and reconstruction of masculinity through promoting positive role models. She challenges Buchan's Mighty Men ideals of masculinity by portraying Jesus as a positive role model stating:

> … Feminists have often been accused of having problems with the maleness of Jesus. To this we have said: "the problem is not that Jesus was a man, the problem is that more men are not like Jesus!" Inherent in this statement is another alternative, holding up male role models who actually value women (like Jesus), as opposed to those who don't, (like the Apostle Paul). Of course, this does not mean that one should retreat to a 'Jesus to the rescue' kind of theology, but I think both the maleness (in terms of sex) and the masculinity (in terms of gender) of Jesus, may provide us with some sense of what a positive model of masculinity might look like (2009:561).

At the culmination of this thesis, this chapter picks up this challenge of understanding what kind of "role model" of masculinity Jesus may present to men. It builds on those studies (such as those on redemptive masculinities as theorised by Chitando, West, van Klinken and others) which have begun to engage with how patriarchal masculinities can be engaged with and counteracted. Nadar's quest towards transforming masculinities where 'more men should be like Jesus,' seems comparable with the 'Jesus as an example' Christ-like manhood promoted by Buchan and the MMC. However she tempers this with caution against a 'Jesus to the rescue theology.' Hence Nadar's proposal serves as a

catalyst for an intellectual task in deconstructing patriarchal perceptions of masculinities and constructions of masculinism in church and popular men's movements; while being aware at the same time that Buchan's faith discourses in the MMC and other similar movements often aim at reasserting male control and supremacy justified on the perceived maleness of Christ. Nadar's suggestion is therefore a stimulus for scholarly quest, crucial to be engaged in on-going discussions about analysing religious discourses on masculinity as promoted in faith communities.

The main question which this chapter seeks to engage is: How can Jesus Christ, who is considered central to Charismatic, Evangelical/Pentecostal theology, be a resource for transforming masculinities? This question is answered in three sections in this chapter. The first section deals with the various debates surrounding the maleness and humanness of Jesus within feminist Christology discussions. The second section shows the ways in which Jesus is appealed to as a role model within the faith discourses of the Mighty men. However, the appeals are highly ambivalent vacillating between the humble and servant Christ to the powerful and "non-effeminate" man. Finally, by way of conclusion, models of "alternative" Christologies for transformed masculinities are presented. This is done within the framework of "redemptive masculinities" as conceptualised by Chitando, Van Klinken, West and others. As already asserted the question of "Jesus as resource" demands a Christological framing, but this framing is contested and it is first necessary to sketch these contestations, paying particular attention to the various feminist views on the subject.

9.1 Can a Male Christ Save?

Daniel Migliore (2004:164) and Alister McGrath (2011:266) define Christology as the doctrine (that area of Christian theology) which traditionally deals with the person of Jesus Christ (see Lohse 1985). For Richard Plantinga *et al.* (2010), clarifying the question– "who is this *person* of Jesus Christ?"[105] remains central to a Christological quest. Migliore (2004:164) points to the Nicene Creed which speaks of the Son of God as being "of one substance" with the Father, and the classical Formula of Chalcedon which declares that

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[105] Plantinga *et al* (2010:229) highlights that 'Christ' should not be understood as the last name of Jesus. Christ is really a title since *Christos* is the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew "Messiah" –the anointed one. "Jesus Christ" – or better, Jesus the Christ – is the confession that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah.

"Jesus Christ is 'fully divine and fully human,' two 'natures' united in one 'person,' 'without confusion or change, division or separation.' Insofar as there is no doubt among the first Christian witnesses that Jesus of Nazareth, was a male human being (McGrath 2011:266), orthodox Christianity holds that Jesus as a Jewish male must have been both true God and true man.[106] The Chalcedonian definition of the person of Jesus Christ is however seen as providing the touchstone for the subsequent orthodox traditions, which has been carried on in Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and in Protestant tradition (sees Plantinga et al 2010). Plantinga (2010:241) suggests that Luther and Calvin's Christology, "subsequent Protestant orthodoxy and more recent conservative evangelicalism also endorse Chalcedon" and are all united in their agreement with the "two-natures" teaching of Chalcedon concerning Christ's person.

While Jesus is known to have been revealed as male, the intention in this chapter is not an attempt to piece together a portrait of Jesus from the gospel interpretations of the historical Christ as formative towards a particular model of masculinity. This is particularly so because Christology is seemingly polarised between the human Jesus and the divine Christ. Rather, the chapter seeks to engage, and if possible add to the existing body of scholarship on Jesus Christ as a paradigm for reflecting alternative masculinities, and draw some leading characteristics (images) attributed to Jesus' praxis and teaching as counter-models for transforming masculinities.

Jesus in this case is understood as a different Jewish man who presents alternatives (counter) models to normative androcentric, sexism and misogynist beliefs. This is portrayed in the Gospels which demonstrates how Christ is seen to advocate (and image) an alternative male person within the intersections of political, ritualistic, and religious patriarchal socio-cultural context. However, with this kind of work, critical feminist theology has warned against scientific reconstructions of kyriocentric frameworks which reinterpret the historical maleness of Jesus in non-redemptive and non-liberative models (see Fiorenza 1994). Baker-Fletcher (1996:277) cautions that, "As long as men's studies has not taken seriously feminist/womanist/mujerista critiques of male sexism and systemic global patriarchy, it can easily fall prey to the powerful co-opting energies of

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[106] There are on-going feminist debates on concerns regarding the exclusive masculine gender of God and the Trinity (see Ruether, 1993, Rakoczy 2004, and Cochrane 2005). Rakoczy (2004:101) differs with such feminists contending that "the persons of the Trinity are distinguished in terms of relationship, not on the basis of gender."

normative traditionalist ideals of masculinity."

Western feminism has made considerable contributions to feminist Christologies.[107] As a radical feminist, Daly (1985:71-73) rejects the uniqueness of incarnation and contends that Jesus has no relevance for women, concluding that Christianity is irredeemably patriarchal. According to Daly (1985), salvation is a myth serving to exalt the violence of "a unique male saviour." Micah Carter (2010) contends that radical feminists place little value on Jesus, since he was a man who reflected the patriarchal structures that permeated his culture. In this case, according to radical feminists, Jesus offers nothing that is useful towards transforming masculinities.

On the other hand, Ruether (1993) as a liberation feminist asks whether Jesus (a male saviour) in his maleness can help or save women. This inquiry takes place within the awareness of "patriachalisation of Christology" where Ruether (1993:126) mentions "Christ has to be incarnated in a male, so only the male represents Christ." Critiquing all male dominated Christologies, Ruether (1993) argues that inquiry must start with deconstructing traditional masculine imagery so that a re-encounter with the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels is made possible where social and religious hierarchies are revised and turned upside down. For Ruether (1993:137), it is therefore not the gender or sex (maleness) of Jesus that matters, but his liberating praxis and teachings which announce a "new humanity through a lifestyle that discards hierarchical caste privilege" and voices out on behalf of the oppressed and dehumanised. In Ruether's category of liberational feminism we also find most traditional biblical feminists (i.e. Evangelical feminists) who do not find a male saviour harder to accept. Cochrane (2005:116) states, "It is not Jesus' maleness that saves."

What we begin to see in relation to feminist Christologies is that the meaning of the maleness of Jesus Christ is evaluated in varied ways among feminist theologians. The issue seems to be not on the maleness or the masculinity of Jesus, but how we can

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[107] For example some main texts include, Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (1985); Maryanne Stevens (ed) *Reconstructing the Christ Symbol: Essays in Feminist Christology* (1993); Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Jesus Maria's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christologies*(1994); Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Consider Jesus: Waves of Renewal in Christology*(1990); Johnson, *She Who is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (1992); Johnson, Redeeming the Name of Christ, in *The Essentials of Theology in Feminist Perspective* (1993), and Johnson, *Jesus-Sophia: Ramifications of Contemporary Theology* (1997); Elizabeth Johnson and Susan Rakoczy, *Who do you say that I am? : Introducing contemporary Christology*(1997); Rosemary Ruether, *To Change the World: Christology and Cultural Criticism* (1981); Ruether, *Sexism and God-Talk: Towards a Feminist Theology*(1993)

implement the transformative praxis and teachings (ideologies) from the human Christ who happens to be a male Jesus. This does not mean that discarding the embodiment of Jesus revealed as a male person, but his humanness portrayed in his praxis and teachings is in fact what makes his alternate ideologies as a Jewish male counter-models against male hegemonies for the purpose of transforming patriarchal masculinities.

Bohache (2008:120) points out that the church needs to become clearer about whether Jesus became 'human' or 'man.' This idea is reinforced even more when David Clines (2003:181 in Bohache 2008) asserts that "being a man has never been the same as being a human being." Bohache (2008) concludes stressing that Jesus became human, thus allowing for the possibility of all types of 'human becoming.'

As seems to emerge, the maleness of Christ is not the main problem for all Christian feminist theologians. This is especially so with African Women theologians. The concerns of African Women's Christologies are in line with those of traditional feminist Christology based on the bible and experience (See Kanyoro 2002, Bohache 2008). Emerging from the premise that theology must start with the experiences of the oppressed women, African Women in the Circle of Concerned African Women theologians reflect on Christ from the perspective of their experiences of oppression from African men in relation to issues of culture and religion (see Nasimiyu-Wasike 1989, Hinga 1992, Oduyoye 2001, Rakoczy 2004, Mombo and Joziasse 2010).

Anne Nasimiyu-Wasike (1989) at the very early stages of African Women theologies presents a women's Christology which focuses on African women's holistic experiences, with a quest for a Christ who takes the weakness, oppression and injustice of all. Nasimiyu-Wasike (1989:131) develops five Christological models which emerge for African women: eschatological, anthropological, liberation, cosmological and healing. Nasimiyu-Wasike (1989:131) sees in a suffering Christ one "who took the conditions of African women and the conditions of the whole humanity" who are then called to participate in "the restoration of harmony, equality, and inclusiveness in all human relationships in the family, society and church."

From a postcolonial approach, Teresia Hinga's (1992) African feminist Christology mainly highlights the ambivalent Christ of the missionary enterprise and its implications

for women. Illustrating that this Christ was a conquering Christ, Hinga (1992:187) portrays a Jesus who to some of the missionaries "was the warrior King, in whose name the banner (the cross) new territories, both physical and spiritual, and would be fought for, annexed and subjugated." Hinga (1992:191) therefore speaks of an alternative Jesus who "stands out in the Scripture as a critique of the status quo, particularly when it engenders social injustices and marginalisation of some in society."

The question which Oduyoye (2001) brings to Christology relates to making the story of Jesus the context in which African women can read their lives. Contending that the Western missionary enterprise presented Christologies which had nothing special to say to women, Oduyoye (2001:55) advocates for a victorious Christ; a Christ whom African women worship, honour and depend on; a Christ who liberates from sexism, injustices and racism (Oduyoye 2001:59). For Oduyoye (2001), the victorious Christ for African women is imaged as a liberator, transformer of oppressive African cultures, a suffering Christ who is a companion and brings hopes.

Having sketched the ways in which Western and African feminists have engaged with Christ within feminist theology, attention is now given to the ways in which Buchan and the Mighty Men perceive Christ as role model within their faith discourses. The importance attributed to Christ as role model is the reason why this exercise of interrogating Christology for its contribution to transformative masculinities is so important.

9.2 Buchan and the Mighty Men Talk About 'Christ-like' Masculinities

Buchan's *The Mighty Men Journey* (2012) presents several discourses on 'Christ-like' masculinity for men. The underlying principle of these discourses is that men are to imitate Jesus as an example and as an authentic role model of manhood for Christian men. Using Publius Lentulus report to his emperor Tiberius (a document found in the archives in Rome and written nearly two thousand years ago) [108], Buchan (2012:142)

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[108] The report which Buchan (2012) uses reads: "There has been in Palestine a man who is still living and whose power is extraordinary. He has the title given Him of the Great Prophet; His disciples call Him the Son of God. He raises the dead and heals all sorts of diseases. He is a tall, well-proportioned man, and there is an air of severity in His countenance which at once attracts the love and reverence of those who

draws a masculine image of the man Jesus was as "an example of absolute role model any man should choose to follow." Arguing that this is what has been lacking in the church for so long, Buchan (2012:142) contends that, "this example is not restricted to age, race, creed or class." 'Buchan quoting Pubulus states:

> In his reproofs, He is terrible, but His exhortations and instructions, amiable and courteous. There is something wonderfully charming in His face with a mixture of gravity. He is never seen to laugh, but has been observed to weep. He is very straight in stature, His hands large and spreading, His arms are very beautiful. He talks little, but with great quality and is the most handsome man in the whole wold (2012:141-142).

It is clear that Buchan not only focuses on the personal attributes of Jesus but on his physical appearance. (This subject remains a topic for future research). The research participants focused on the personal attributes which are worthy of emulation. Mighty Man #28 in stated:

Extract 1:

> *Jesus Christ is a real model, is a real model for men. He found Judaism, being the religion that he was supposed to belong, but for instance Jesus chose to go the other way because his values were not the same values with teachers of the law, with the scribes and everybody else in Israel's system or society. He went in opposition with them* (Mighty Man #33, interview 21 July 2012).

Inherent in the above statement is the recognition of Jesus' protest against religious systems and cultural structures of his day. Jesus challenges the dominant beliefs and ideologies of his time which eventually makes him popular and 'unpopular' at the same time. This shows that men recognise and acknowledge Jesus' alternative position against what was accepted as normative in his context. For most Mighty Men interviewed, Jesus' forms of protest was modelled in his type of sacrificial, servanthood life, love to the cross, and his alternative example to protect, respect and have compassion for women who were treated as subordinate to men. For example, Mighty Man #24 similarly contends:

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see Him. His hair is the colour of new wine from the roots to the ears, and thence to the shoulders it is curled and falls down to the lowest part of them. Upon the forehead it parts after the manner of Nazarenes. His forehead is flat and fair, His face is without blemish or defect, and adorned with a graceful expression.

Extract 2:

> *Jesus is the epitome of masculinity and so men who would connect with him will reconnect with masculinity in its true form. For me, we need to reconnect men to be real followers of Jesus and help men to rediscover the raw, the raw Jesus. 'R-a-w, the raw, the real, the raw Jesus.' The naked Christ. 'These terminologies might be offensive to some, but" […] because on the cross he was put naked. The man, Christ; that man of men, the one who spoke words that was so radical within the short space of his life. So much so that the religious leaders and the academics of that time wanted to kill him; so much so that big protest matchers were round up against him and for real men to see who that is. For me, that would restore true masculinity. But I think we have been served with another kind of Jesus* (Mighty Man #24, interview 21 April 2012).

The 'naked' Jesus – is the Jesus to emulate – the one on the cross who relinquishes privilege and supremacy as an example for other men in restoration of 'true masculinity.' This kind of model was also echoed by other participants who noted Jesus' sacrificial life as exemplarily for them.

Extract 3:

> *Jesus is a model in many ways. He is a model in many ways. One which strikes me most is his sacrificial life. Being God he came down to be like man. That shows me how sacrificial and loving he was. This makes me ask myself, most especially looking at my family as a married man; 'Do I love enough to take myself as nothing and put the interest of my family first, and then my interest can come after that?' so really, as a Christian man, I look at the sacrificial life of Jesus as an example. But for me, this sacrificial life can at times be very difficult; when I think of Jesus going to the cross, it challenges men* (Mighty Man #28, interview 16 June 2012).

Extract 4:

> *I think Jesus is the right example for us to aspire to. He is a perfect example and we mustn't feel ourselves to anything that we going to become perfect like Christ, but nevertheless, that is the yard stick. I think what we are to look at in Christ is a pattern of a man who is a perfect man, the man who God wants us to be. It's a kind of like what Adam should have been in a sense that here is a man who is compassionate and gracious; here is a man who is gentle yet firm, that man who is forgiving and kind; here is a man who is firm about sin yet not condemning; here is a man who restores, who sees broken humanity and takes pity on people and shows mercy. I think those are the kind of characteristics that Christ lived out. I think Christ's relationship with women would have been unbelievable in a sense that he related perfectly. There was no sense of self interest. I mean he was completely 'others centred' in his approach in dealing with other people. I think those are the things we ought to aspire to and imitate. We need more of Christ like in us* (Mighty Man #34, interview 28 July 2012)

From extracts 1, 3 and 4, what is understood as 'models' of masculinity can in fact be considered as counter-models of "ideal masculinities" and in fact runs almost completely

contrary to the version of "mighty" as presented by Buchan. In the words of Mighty Men #28 and #34, we are presented with a Jesus who freely accepts to sacrifice self, a Jesus who demonstrates an alternative Adam (a second Adam we may argue); and a Jesus who's dealing with women is different from other men around him. The pattern of Christ as a perfect man is hereby compared to the likeness of what Adam should have been without sin. Jesus as a reflection of what Adam could have been is therefore presented as an image of ideal godly manhood where compassion, grace, gentleness, kindness, restoration, forgiveness and mercy are virtues of recreated Christian masculinity. What is also striking to note is that twenty seven out of thirty four men interviewed mentioned Jesus' appropriate dealings, comfort and respect for women. Almost all of these men particularly drew attention to the story of the woman caught in the act of adultery where the Law of Moses required her to be stoned (see John 8:1-11), and the story of an encounter between the Samaritan woman and Jesus in John 4. Mighty Man #7 for example pointed out:

Extract 5:

> *Jesus would talk to women that even Peter would not talk to. The Samaritan woman thought 'here comes another proposal,' but Jesus showed a different kind of a man. Look at Mary and Martha. The relationship we see there. Man! It's not amazing that Mary saw so much in Jesus that she was the last one at the cross and the first one at the tomb. Jesus shows what it means to truly love, respect and protect women without self-ambition in doing that* (Mighty Man #7, interview 21 February 2011).

According to these Mighty Men, Jesus presents a 'deviant' relationship with women and is seen as revolutionary and empowering as compared to that of his hetero-patriarchal context. Buchan suggests that young men are looking for the kind of man Jesus was. For example, he points to the need for older men to be responsible as Jesus was in order to be examples to young men stating:

> When the disciples were caught in a terrible storm on the Sea of Galilee and were in danger of drowning, the Lord Jesus Christ stood up, stretched out his hand, calmed the waves and stilled the storm. They looked at him and said, "Who is this man that even the waves and the wind obey Him?" That is what young men are looking for in these last days (2012:140).

By pointing to the phrase: "who is this man?" while indicating that Jesus 'stood up' at a time of danger, Buchan seems to equate older men with the man Jesus who stood up as a

man and demonstrated responsibility when it was needed. In this case, Jesus is portrayed as a responsible man. As part of this responsibility, Buchan (2012:138) further observes that Jesus led from the front, and so Paul could say, "Imitate me as I imitate Him." Buchan seems to suppose that older men must lead from the front as Jesus did, so that young men can imitate them. Christian men are therefore called to a place of complete commitment as Buchan (2012:91) points out that, "everything Jesus Christ, our greatest example, did in His life was, passionate. He never did anything half-heartedly."

On the account that such discourses are offered within the scope that men are in need for mentors in life, Buchan therefore presents Jesus as a role model of responsible manhood and contends:

> Our role model and ultimate mentor is the strongest man who ever lived. His name is Jesus Christ. He was discerning. I believe He was athletically built, a carpenter by trade. I should imagine He had strong rugged hands and yet He was as gentle as they come (2012:136).

With this picture for his Mighty Men, Buchan paints an image of a strong, masculine Jesus whom he suggests had "nothing soft or effeminate about him" (2012:164), yet at the same time indicates the 'gentle' aspect of Jesus' maleness which must be imitated by men. Jesus was not only gentle but was also emotional. "It's okay for men to cry, Jesus wept often. In John 11:35 the Bible says, 'Jesus wept.' Jesus was used to weeping. Men are realising that the Son of God is just like us… So it's okay for men to cry, it's okay for men to be passionate about everything they do" (Buchan 2012:94-95). Adding that young men need someone who was like Jesus that they can imitate and see as a role model, Buchan adds:

> You never read of Jesus ever having an affair, of Him taking advantage of widows or orphans. You never saw Him flexing His muscles, pushing people around and yet there was a time when He'd had enough of His Father's house being made into a business centre and He single handedly cleared out the temple, a massive building, with a whip. I don't think he was effeminate or weak. When he spoke people listened, he said to Peter, "Get behind me, Satan!" (Matt. 6:23); because Peter tried to tell him what to do (2013:138).

Buchan (2012:102) asserts: "The more we emulate the Lord Jesus Christ, the more we take authority in His name, the more power we receive from on high." This kind of Jesus

is like an "elastic man" who stretches from one extreme of humility to the other extreme of whipping. Consider further Buchan's representation of Jesus:

> When we start to read his CV, we see that He never molested a child, never took advantage of a defenceless widow, never stole money, never told lies, and was never caught up by power. He was the opposite. He was found with the down and outs, with the prostitutes and money changers. He always led by example. On the night of His betrayal He was washing His disciples' dirty, smelly feet, knowing that three of them would deny Him. When young men realise that Jesus is their ultimate role model in life, their lives change (2012:102)

In terms of analysis, Buchan presents Christian men with an example of Jesus who models and requires them to be strong as he was, not soft and feminine. Because Jesus was a man of discernment (see Buchan 2012:136), Buchan seems to suppose that men should be decisive and discerning when to apply a "whip" and 'clear their temples if need be.'

From the foregoing representations it is clear that there is a deep ambivalence emanating from the Mighty Men regarding the kind of role model which Jesus represents to them. On the one hand, they portray an ideal man both in terms of physical and moral attributes, and yet on the other hand they seem to point to his revolutionary and counter-normative forms of masculinity as well. This is a tension which is not easily resolved, but below, as a way of conclusion to this thesis, I present models that may be helpful in this task towards reconstructing masculinities.

9.3 Reconfiguring and Transforming Religiously Constructed Masculinities

Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2010:63-64) observes that two Christological issues are important to Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity. First, the participants in Pentecostalism are keen to testify of their new life in Jesus Christ (conversion or 'getting born again') as sincere Christians who believe in God alone through Jesus Christ. Second, the emphasis on the empowering effects of the gospel of Jesus Christ which is considered as transformative, calling for a new life constituting a "rupture from a sinful past." However, the critique that Asamoah-Gyadu (2010:65) raises as evident especially with Christologies of Pentecostalism is in respect to its weak theology of suffering and

"to some extent, its neglect on the lessons from the cross of Christ." From the notions of the "mighty" Jesus portrayed by the MMC, it is clear that "the suffering and vulnerable Christ" is ambivalent within the movement.

Although Charles Nyamiti (1991) argues that Christology is a subject most developed in the study of African Christian theology, it is important to note that most of these Christological models advanced by African (male) theologians have not taken into account gendered implications. Liberative as they may seem in their varied contexts, some of these African Christologies are seen as highly metaphoric and patriarchal and they do not readily speak alternatively especially to men.[109] While theologians and religious studies scholars may be keen to "subvert" the use of Jesus as role model in the quest for transformative masculinities, Schneider (1999:xxv) cautions that very limited data is available as full representation of the pre-Easter Jesus and by no means is "the whole story" for our authentic quest for a historical Jesus.[110] Migliore (2004:164) further contends claiming, "a biography of Jesus is impossible, given the nature of the Gospels as documents of faith and proclamation."

For such reasons, Van Klinken and Smit too (2013:1, 7) suggest that such an attempt is complex and sometimes complicated in that the masculinities of Jesus Christ are ambiguous and unstable for the (re)construction of Christian masculinities within "multiple changing masculinities that are found today in the local contexts and of an increasingly diverse global Christianity."

Notwithstanding the above cautionary remarks, the belief that an 'authentic form of masculinity' for men is to be equated with images of masculinities demonstrated by the life of Jesus Christ is a major idea central in Christian and religious contexts, but most

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[109] For example, see some of the Christological models reconstructed to advance African Christologies by African theologians such as Kwame Bediako, *Biblical Christologies in the Context of African Traditional Religions* (1983), Charle Nyamiti (1989), *Christ as our Ancestor*; Robert Schreiter (1992), *Faces of Jesus in Africa*; Jesse Mugambi's and Laurenti Magesa' (1989) edited book, *Jesus in African Christianity* and Volker Küster (1999), *The Many Faces of Jesus Christ*.

[110] Schneider (1999) has proposed a discontinuation of the use of the term "the historical Jesus" because the quest for a historical Jesus is not a person at all, much less the pre-Ester Jesus "as he really was," but a literal representation of some aspects of the pre-Easter Jesus. Schneider observes that even with the earliest "versions" of the historical Jesus found in the New Testament, the problem occurs with the representation of the real Jesus because the authors "never intended, or claimed, to present the historical Jesus to their readers" (1999:xxvi). She mentions that the authors told their Jesus-story, which included the historical material but that material was so submerged with theological interpretation, faith claims about Jesus, and lived experiences of the post Easter Jesus in the Christian community that extracting the "historical Jesus" from their account is actually not possible (1999).

significantly within Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity. This, for instance, is clearly portrayed in my case study of Buchan and the MMC. The MMC demonstrates how Buchan through his various teachings and narrations in books presents to his followers the 'Jesus example of manhood' as alternative and a 'Christ-like' ideal masculinity for godly manhood (2008, 2012 and several conference DVD). This type of transformative quest is not only present in faith groups (and communities) such as Buchan's case in South Africa, but seems also a common trend among other Christian men's movements globally as demonstrated through various theological (and religious) discourses on masculinity (see Promise Keepers and Men Power in the US). Scott (2004:14) of the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (an Evangelical movement) contends that: "Jesus, the God-Man, is portrayed in the Scriptures as the only perfect man (1 Pet 2:21-22). This being so, he is the perfect picture of what one should strive for to be as a man. Christ is the pristine example of masculinity in every way." Mark Pryce (1994:244) observes that writers who take a plainly Christian perspective have set about representing Jesus as a model of man arguing: "for in Jesus we may 'glimpse the ultimate archetype of what a man can be, the deepest expression what living a human life means.'"

In seeking alternative Christian masculinities, John Eldredge's (2010) book *Wild at Heart,* (ranked top as New York Times bestselling Christian books for Evangelical Christian men) presents a 'theology of transforming masculinity.' Eldredge (2010:205) presents a model of biblical manhood and among other issues portrays a Jesus who is "fierce and wild and romantic to the core." On the account of such a picture of Jesus, Eldredge (2010) argues that it is a dangerous thing to be a man because a man's strength makes him indebted to take risks, as God (Christ) did take risks. Van Klinken (2011a, 2013) in his study of a Pentecostal Church in Zambia also shows how Jesus is strongly portrayed as the embodiment of 'biblical manhood,' and an example for husbands and fathers. Hence within the discourses on masculinity from this group of African Pentecostal Christians, Jesus is presented as one who restores biblical manhood in relation to life and marriage.

This is the central reason why finding models of redemptive masculinities within Christological discourses is so important to this study. The question is: what kind of change is being advocated by the Evangelical movement? Does such a quest yield gender justice and gender equality? Are men's perceptions of what it means to be 'Christ-like

man' attained? And what epitomises this manhood? Are alternative conceptions of life-giving masculinities created and enacted? Important to take note of in relation to this study with the MMC is the inconsistent manner in which the realisation that men can change is often portrayed. Aided by an essentialist belief which defines men as created with an inherent 'divinely given' mandate to rule, to lead, to be head and to dominate has resulted in perceptions of calling men to 'change' back to conventional and traditional ideals of manhood. The alternatives advocated are therefore not always transformative since such groups drift back to masculinism.

Unlike the faith discourses of Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity, scholarly discourse understands transformation of masculinities differently. For scholars of religion and gender, the quest towards transforming masculinities takes a much more critical approach. Reconfiguring alternative masculinities calls for a deconstruction of patriarchal, oppressive, aggressive and predominant representations of masculinty which is eventually aimed towards a reconstruction of more harmonious and life edifying masculinities. Of top priority in the current debates among African theologians is the role of religion in shaping a positive masculine attitude (see Chitando and Chirongoma 2012); developing and promoting "alternative ideals of 'redemptive' and 'liberating' masculinities" (van Klinken 2013:179). Chitando (2006:114) further acknowledges the realisation among faith communities that men can change as significant to the process of transforming masculinities because this portrays an optimistic agreement with gender activist and scholars that "masculinities are not frozen; they can be transformed" because gender is socially constructed. West (2012:183) points out that masculinity as a part of patriarchy "is an almost invisible thread woven through our African cultures and so addressing it and thereby rendering it visible is itself a significant feature" towards redemptive masculinities.

While the work on "transformative masculinities" remains critical, it nevertheless embraces Jesus as this alternative form of masculinity. Unlike Buchan who asserts that Jesus was not "feminine" or "weak" – theologians and religious studies scholars point out that it is in his vulnerability and his subsequent social activism that Jesus becomes an example for men. For example, Chitando (2007:122) argues in a context of HIV stating: "Liberating masculinities in the HIV era must be characterised by an unwavering commitment to social transformation" and draws attention to the compassion of Jesus

(Chitando 2012:264). Chitando (2012:265) pushes the Christological model further to note, "As a man, Jesus does not become a prisoner to social norms and values" but breaks free." He strongly argues that, "Like Jesus, they (*men*) must take up practical steps to restore life, health and well-being (Chitando 2012:265). In the same manner, Chitando and Chirongoma (2008) in articulating the role of religious studies further gives a challenge for scholars of religion to examine how the various religions found in Africa provide alternative models of being man. In this case they argue that, "The earliest people associated with world religions like Siddarta Gautama (the Buddha) in Buddhism, Jesus in Christianity and Mohammad in Islam were revolutionary in their approach to gender issues" (Chitando and Chirongoma 2008:66).

Bearing in mind that the quest for a transformative Jesus is necessary – it is important at this point to sketch what kind of masculinities are portrayed by Jesus. Below I shall outline the four characteristics of the masculinities portrayed by Jesus as an example of what kind of masculinities are helpful in the task of deconstructing and reconstructing masculinities. These are: relational masculinity; kenotic masculinity; redemptive and liberational masculinity; and masculinities of partnership and equity.

9.3.1   Relational Masculinity

Based on Fiorenza's (1994:62) conclusion that feminist Christologies "must elaborate the multiplicity of Christological images and arguments found in Christian Scriptures to make them available as theological resources for constructing Christian identity formations in the struggle for liberation;" I posit that, methodologically, feminist Christologies offer us some insights as alternative Christological discourses to deconstruct traditional patriarchal masculinities. The fact that Jesus was a male provides us with the basis for counter-engaging inhuman forms of manhood. This should go beyond seeing Jesus only as a model for Christian men but Jesus Christ as a counter-model against dominant forms of masculinities.

The representation of Jesus Christ's masculinity as relational rather than individualistic (i.e. independent/self-centred) is imaged through his speech and sayings that advocate for right relation, connectedness and mutuality. In contexts where dominant ideals of

traditional masculinity emphasise men to become competitive and independent, Jesus portrays counter-models of masculine sacrifice of self and own desires in order to meet the needs of the other. For example, amazement at which Jesus' 'gracious words' are noticed by his hearers in Luke 4:18-22 climax with their expression, "Isn't this Joseph's son?" This displays much not only regarding Jesus' public speech but of his intentional and relational involvement to live for others as 'Joseph's son.' Jesus' proclamation (of the Isaiah scroll) is itself relational:

> **18**The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, **19**to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (RSV, Luke 4:18-19).

Jesus' relational image is clearly portrayed by Matthew, when he mentions: "And great crowds followed him from Galilee and the Decapolis and Jerusalem and Judea and from beyond the Jordan" (Matthew 4:25). First, Jesus not only performs his masculine identity through use of powerful speech which attracts huge gatherings but he fulfils his speech by providing the people with what he promises through actions of love and compassion. This, gains him a great reputation as a public male. Second, as a relational male, Jesus demonstrates ideals of compassionate masculinity which challenges self-focus and uncaring masculine attitudes by healing the sick and ministering to those in severe suffering and pain (Matthew 4:23-24). Third, Jesus demonstrates an 'insufficiency' of masculine self when he proclaims, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." This presents Jesus not as an 'extraordinary male identity' but as one who is empowered by God for acts of love, compassion and a man in service for life.

It is as though Jesus shows that the reason why men should exist is not for self-preservation but to love and care for others who are less fortunate and weak in the society. Mutuality and relational forms of masculinities must challenge men to display masculinities which are in search for 'life.' Masculinities in purpose for life portray emancipation for all (and to all) humankind with no exclusions. I would argue by suggesting that the kind of masculine ideal which Jesus presents as alternative counter-models is masculine ideals in service for life as in opposition to life-denying, death-dealing ideologies, patterns and religious and cultural practices of patriarchal

masculinities. Borrowing de Gruchy's (2009) idea of *Vital* Theology,[111] I propose a concept of *Vital* masculinities as demonstrated through images present in the kind of man Jesus Christ was. Masculinities in service of life recognises and echoes de Gruchy's (2009:3) assertions that, "our biblical hermeneutics puts the bible in service to life, rather than life in service to the bible" which echoes Christ's actions and proclamation in John's gospel that: "I have come that they may have life and have it abundantly" (John 10:10). This concept of life can apply as an evaluative principle for alternative ideals of masculinity.

It can be suggested that most women are generally predisposed to 'vital' femininities on the basis that they possess relational forms of femininities where identities often involve an internalised relation to self and others. Seidler (1989:143) for example has noted that it is often difficult to disentangle what women want for themselves and what they need for themselves because "women often grow up learning to care for others, and so put the interest of others before their own." On the contrary, according to Seidler (1989), this is not so with men where identity often involves an externalised relation to self "in which men learn to measure themselves against individual success and achievement. In contemporary cultural socialisation where men understand 'masculine well-being' (life) in relation to how men should be independent and self-sufficient, Christological models where men are required to be channels of life will not make sense. Seidler (1989:143) shows how the challenge for men to be relational can often make men withdrawn and develop inaccessible personalities where they forsake their relatedness to others in order to prove their masculinity. This is not what we see and read of Jesus. The type of masculinity Jesus portrays is one which is accessible and his strength was shown in his ability to empower others in making them independent and self-sufficient. He therefore did not withdraw to himself to prove his sense of masculinity but applied his sense of being man in the task of making others access 'life.'

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[111] De Gruchy (2009) describes 'Vital' as coming from the Latin *vitalis* "of or belonging to life," which in turn comes from *vita* "life," and is related to *vivere* "to live."

9.3.2 Kenotic Masculinity

According to Sara Coakley (2002), kenosis is voluntary self-emptying. The representation of Jesus' maleness as kenosis of masculinity therefore exemplifies self-sacrificial love and giving as illustrated in Philippians 2:5-11.[112] Renowned as a Pauline Epistle[113] by Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal believers (and scholars alike), Philippians 2:5-11 is categorised as one of the early 'hymns of Christ' which played a role in shaping Christology and gave response to pressing pastoral needs in Paul's community (see Martin 1997 and Nebreda 2011). In brief, according to Martin (1997) the context supposes that Paul is addressing a series of distressing issues related to selfishness and envy in the Philippian church. Martine (1997: xii-xlvii) for this reason argues that the assertion "which *was* in Christ Jesus" makes it natural that Paul's subsequent citation should be seen as a call to some kind of 'imitation of Christ' (imitating Christ's humanity) that is to guide Christians in their conduct towards others (see also Byron 2006:111). Nebreda (2011:27) suggests that this hymn approached from its social setting should aim at transforming "the Christ-following community in search for an identity which ultimately derives from Jesus the Christ as described in the hymn. The question which arises for masculinity study in religious contexts is how transformation is envisioned by men imitating Christ. Certain Christological themes emerge from the hymn and these can be applied as alternative counter-models to predominant forms of masculinities as discussed in the following two sections.

The first kenotic concept we consider is exemplified in Jesus' humility which results first, in self-emptying and second, in acts of servanthood. The Christological significance of the kenotic discourse as a deconstructive motif of predominant masculinities alludes to the fact that Jesus as the second person of the Trinity willingly accepted not to hold on to status, authority, power or superiority. In Luke's presentation of Jesus in the gospel narrative illustrates how "He (Jesus) shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the

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[112] Specific verses considered for the purpose of this section are 5-8: **5**Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus,**6**Who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, **7**but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. **8** And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross.

[113] Although all Evangelicals affirm Pauline authorship, it is important to note that critical New Testament scholarship argues that not all 13 Epistles attributed to Pauline authorship in the New Testament writing were written by Paul. Byron (2006) for example contends that New Testament scholars agree that Paul wrote 7 of the letters. The remaining (termed as deutero-Pauline letters) are said to have been written years later by pseudonymous authors. This includes the letter to Philippians.

Highest" (Luke 1:32). The position of 'highness' (divine privilege) is in fact countered by the picture painted in this hymn that though Christ had a right to status of divinity, the incarnation illustrates an act of self-emptying and is used to describe the divine becoming human as self-sacrifice. I carefully chose to use "divine privilege" here because as I have already shown, men also believe they have some 'divine privileges' and 'masculine rights' to exert domination (see Partab 2012 – who speaks about privileges of patriarchy).

According to the example found in the hymn then, all are called to act as Christ acted. In his state of humanity Jesus is not portrayed as in completion with God, nor greedy for power (and to exercise that power), attention and recognition (although the literary portrait of Jesus in the gospels shows a man filled with power to heal, to cast out demons and power to raise the dead which eventually attracts attention and recognition). However, the chief issue is how Jesus uses his power in a self-emptying manner to empower others. Coakley (2002:3) shows how Christ's kenōsis (voluntary self-emptying) offers a challenge to patriarchy. For Pryce (1994:245) Jesus is the 'ultimate hero' because he embodies the movement from power to love "though the true nature of Jesus' heroism is diminished by the sexism of the Church." Christ's complete self-emptying (Philippians 2:6-11) as the second person of the Trinity must therefore be looked at as a kenōsis of *maleness* that sets a standard, a model that dethrones selfhood, domination and superiority (Owino 2010).

The second Christological significance of the kenotic discourse for alternative masculinities is also seen in the concept of Christ's humility to "become nothing" (Conway 2008), thereby "taking the form of a servant" for the purpose of benefiting others. Martin (1997: xv) asserts that "Christ became man and was obedient by taking the role of a 'slave' (*doulos*)." The contrary is true regarding how most men are socialised into masculinities cultured in men becoming 'lords' (*kyrios*) rather than to be servants. It is in becoming lords that men acquire masculinities which 'lord it over' others (women and 'weaker' men). Masculine lordship does not model virtues of servanthood but assumes for example, that women find their personhood in service and suffering. Phiri (2001:99) for example points out how women are expected to be the "suffering servants" on the basis that Christ also suffered. The question that this raises is why only women? What makes men to be exempt from servanthood? Why should men be exempted from Christ-like self-giving and servanthood? Should kenosis as sacrifice exemplified by Christ only

be equated to womanhood? (see Rakoczy 2004 and Owino 2010). To the contrary, we see that Jesus' kenosis of maleness calls for voluntary self-emptying of 'lordship' as a counter-model that calls men to likewise become servants to others. The best image of servanthood which Jesus evokes is seen in his practical acts of loving service to his disciples. His servanthood role as Son of man who came "not to be served but to serve" (Matthew 20:25-28) did not lord it over others. His servanthood is depicted in his humbling act of washing the disciple's feet (John 13:4-1) (Owino 2010), an act that was lowly considered as duty for slaves. But even then, this act does not portray a 'crisis' regarding what manner of 'man' Jesus ought to be, now that he seems to abdicating power.

Christ's kenosis should therefore be seen as a counter-model to contemporary self-seeking perceptions of what it means to be an ideal man as Jesus represents for men the need to empty themselves of patriarchal privileges and patterns in self-sacrificial service to serve and empower others under their charge. Kenosis of maleness as a call for men to follow and imitate Christ challenges Christian men to adopt alternative ideals of masculinities which seek to better and improve others. This is a counter-model to hierarchical ordering often demonstrated for example in ideologies of headship and male androcentricism in leadership rather than being guided by partnership and mutuality. This cuts across the status quo of what it is to be an ideal man. Jesus becomes a counter-model of hegemonic traditional masculinities because he counters (offers an alternative view) understandings through his actions, which went against the expected norms for men in his context.

Third, Paul's reflection of the cross and the crucifixion as an example of Christ's humility in Philippians 2:5-11 also presents men with a call to imitate Jesus' kenosis of maleness which portrays selfless love on the cross as a sacrifice death. Conway (2008:71) for example suggests that the language of "dying" used by Paul in this case indicates giving one's life "for" some course, or giving one's life "instead of" an individual or community, which paints a picture of one dying for the benefit of something or somebody. As the work of Martin (1997: xlvii) reminds us, Philippians 2:6-11 traces the saga of salvation where Christ's privilege was not a means of his self-aggrandizement (like Adam) but chooses utter obedience which is imaged in his death. Contending further, Martin (1997: xx) argues that this hymn was "used of Christ therefore to bring out the Adamic

character of Christ's life, death and resurrection…simply describing the character of Christ's ministry and sacrifice." Christ's kenosis to death on the cross is therefore not looked at as one who was a victim but illustrates a vicarious death. Conway (2008:71) argues that the vicarious death of Jesus stands firmly grounded in Greek tradition where such a death is reckoned as noble and was a sure way of displaying one's courage.

Christ's kenosis of maleness therefore symbolises a life offered in service to others achieved not through masculine self-preservation but through one who demonstrates this service by suffering, sacrifice, and not only death, but death on a cross. As much as Jesus fructification was a noble, vicarious death, in his context, a crucified male was portrayed as 'unmanly.' Conway (2008:67) reminds us that in the context of ancient Greco-Roman hegemonic masculinity, a crucified body was a violated or penetrated body, "It was a body subjected to the power of others, and thus an emasculated body." Conway (2008:72) points out that such an unmanly death of "humiliation of being stripped before his crucifixion would serve to emasculate him, rather than reveal his masculinity" (see also van Klinken 2013:11). In fact, in our contemporary context, Jesus would not be considered a 'real' man but a 'sissy.' He was not going to be 'macho' for many men since a man hanging on a cross will be considered a loser, one who is not strong and cannot fight his enemies back (and yet he is privileged with power and authority). Jesus would be considered 'feminine.'

The crucifixion therefore portrays an image where Jesus' masculinity becomes a struggle for men to emulate or use as an exemplary manhood since masculinity in this case is manliness patterned on a willingness to lose while others gain. In most contemporary popular cultures, Jesus would not be considered a model of ideal masculinity, a fact which Conway (2008) describes as "most savage, most disgraceful punishment." But, what might seem as 'shameful' masculine obedience (death of a man for others) in which Jesus embodies what I call 'vulnerability' and a weakness of masculinity, evokes Christ's alternative counter-model (and discourses) to dominant patriarchal perceptions of manhood. Conway (2008) argues that from a gender-critical perspective, the retelling of the nature of Christ's death turns Jesus from unmanliness to true meaning of masculinity for potential followers. In the gospels we encounter further manly acts of Christ: a weeping Jesus (John 11:35); a Jesus who was deeply moved by seeing 'another' weeping (John 11:33); a Jesus who wept over the city (Luke 19:41); and a Jesus whose meditation

embodies vulnerability and weakness as he prays "Let this cup pass from me" (Luke 22:42). On the contrary, I agree with Byron (2006:112 and Seilder 1989:144) that seldom are men encouraged to show weakness and vulnerability. Men are socialised and learn to be 'manly' by locking their hurts, feelings, emotions and vulnerabilities deep inside themselves (see Selder 1989) where anger is then identified with strength. Byron (2006) contends that in a society where only the strong survive, it is virtually impossible to find the courage or the words for acknowledging weakness and limitations. Jesus counters such representations of manhood by demonstrating sacrifice and servanthood as virtues of true masculinity.

Christ's kenotic masculinity is therefore seen as a 'deviant' model of manhood where he presents an alternative posture for masculinity which poignantly challenges Christian men not to discount weakness and vulnerability but to use the same as strength (by focusing to empower others).Tina Beattie (2006:161) shows how the vulnerability of Christ reveals God's own power in vulnerability. Christ emptying Christ-self at the incarnation depicts a rendering of power to empower those are considered weak, outcasts (in this case, sinners) back to a life of relationship. With kenosis, the patriarchal representations of a masculine brought to question.

Seidler (1998) observes that boys and men are brought up to distance themselves from fear, to put a brave face to the world and learn strength identified with a stiff upper lip. This, he argues, builds an enormous tension into contemporary conceptions of masculinity where men have to constantly prove their masculinity (Seidler 1989:157). On the contrast Christ portrays an alternative form of masculinity which learns to experience and accept weakness and vulnerability as courage and strength. Being 'really masculine' is exposing one's masculinity to fears of rejection, humiliation, shame, insufficiency, and suffering and to risks of sacrificial kenosis of self for others. Jesus exemplifies an alternative discourse that counters the cost tagged on traditional forms of masculinities. As long as men hold onto the cost of traditional masculinities, I argue, relinquishing privilege, patriarchal power and authoritarian control will not be acquired. But when men learn the language of kenosis, although it may at first seem as weakness and emasculation, men with time accept to become 'vulnerable' and in the long run learn that

privilege and power is not for domination and control but is meant to empower.[114]

9.3.3   Redemptive and Liberating Masculinity

Chitando and Chirongoma (2012:1) have initiated the concepts of 'redemptive masculinities' to describe masculinities which are life giving alongside the idea of 'liberating masculinities' as one which seek to set masculinities free or "masculinities that set men and others free." In this case, African theologians engaging issues of gender and religion argue that patriarchal masculinities are to be deconstructed and alternative ideals of 'redemptive' and 'liberating masculinities' are to be promoted (see van Klinken 2013:179). I further suggest that there is need to transform perceptions of masculinities not because males are not men enough, but because men are not human enough. It is only by men becoming human that they will realise the non-redemptive ways through which they display their maleness. It is from this perspective that there is need to develop masculinities that promote wellbeing for all, and Jesus the Christ, is seen to have portrayed a redemptive and a liberating form of maleness.

Jesus' interaction and dealing with women in his context is particularly seen as liberating and not only empowering but also affirming at various levels. In displaying a counter-expectation of a Jewish rabbi, Jesus accepts to have female disciples (learners). Satlow (1996:36) shows how in the Jewish culture "to be a woman or a Gentile was essentially to be in a natural state. To be a rabbinic man of God is to be transformed, to rule over those natural perceptions that women and Gentiles manifest."[115] This observation has two striking implications in relation to what is expected of Jesus as a rabbi in regards to masculine ideologies.

First, as a Jew standing within a rabbinic tradition, Jesus' 'status' as a transformed godly man is expected to have nothing in association with the natural state of women and Gentiles or else he stands not to be considered an authentic teacher in Jewish tradition.

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[114] Even though notions of Christ's kenosis can be applied as deconstructive to dominant masculinities aimed at transforming perceptions of ideal manhood in contemporary Christian faith communities, not all gender scholars buy into this paradigm. Van Klinken (2013:11) for example points to the difficulty one is exposed to in untying the knot of kenosis especially that "Jesus dies willingly, thus retaining a certain amount of control over the events."

[115] The 'natural tendencies' referred to here is the assumed lack of ability for women and gentiles to control themselves.

Second, Jesus chooses not to rule over the 'natural perceptions' of women and Gentiles as was normatively expected in exercising ones' masculine power and control in his context, but demonstrates a redemptive and a subversive masculinity which liberates and empowers.

Because studying Torah is contracted as the masculine activity *par excellence* (see Satlow 1996:27-28), rabbis were only allowed to have male disciples (students/followers), a condition that Jesus subverts. It was believed in Jesus' world that men possessed the ability to control their desires and urge where as women were "consistently portrayed as lacking sexual self-control" (Satlow 1996). This attitude which portrayed women as lacking self-mastery was considered a sign of weakness and characterised as feminine (Satlow 1996:21), made women be associated with the earthly and corruptible in contrast to the male (Satlow 1996:22). This then prohibited women from receiving rabbinic Torah teachings, a process which Satlow (1996:27) points out, "as the virtue of Torah study which leads to a relationship to God" a duty which was solely rendered masculine (assigned to males only), because of their "capacity to exercise self-control" (Satlow 1996:21). Satlow (1996:32) therefore concludes, "It is my contention that Torah study is constructed as distinctly masculine because women were seen as lacking the self-discipline needed for this activity."

With Christianity standing unapologetically on the Jewish monotheistic tradition, one begins to draw parallels why women were not to be students or disciples of a rabbi and according to Rob Day-Walker (2008), women were expected to learn from their husbands at home. We begin to make parallels why it was expected that:

> "**11** A woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. **12** I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent. **13** For Adam was formed first, then Eve; **14** and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor." (RSV 1 Timothy 2:11-14).

We can grasp the ideology why femininity can 'only be in relation' to the divine through the masculine. We can also then begin to make links and understand the hierarchical gender ideology and belief why it is the male who is to occupy the office of the priest, prophet and a king at home.

However, Jesus subverts the rabbinic construction of masculinity which "presented women as posing a particular threat to male self-control" seen as sexually tempting to men and as unable to resist sexual advances (see Satlow 1996:29). He becomes a liberating masculine agent by allowing women to be disciples and to learn the truths of the kingdom.[116] Rakoczy (2004:216) observes that from the Gospels Jesus called both women and men to be disciples and that gender did not demand different response for discipleship. First, this underplays the masculine beliefs and teachings of rabbis in his Jewish context. Second, this portrays women as those who can be trusted with truths and be able to pass it over to others effectively. If they can learn from a rabbi, then they can teach what they have learned (Day-Walker 2008). Jesus' maleness is therefore seen as liberating and transformative to Jewish women in his context and this exemplifies the nature in which men should deploy their masculinity in liberating and empowering those around them in a receptive and redemptive manner. This is especially vital in religious and cultural contexts which still hold masculine traits as superior to femininity. Pryce in this case argues:

> If the masculinity of Jesus Christ is to be a model for men then that model is to be found in the love of God for women and men made uniquely present in him. … For Jesus is one who inspires change in men (1994:246).

One gospel story which demonstrates such a liberating change as a challenge that Jesus presents to men is offered in Christ's action and proclamation to two sisters, Mary and Martha in Luke 10:38-42.[117] Day-Walker (2008) argues that New Testament scholars agree that this story represents a discussion in Lucan community whether or not women can be disciples. Day-Walker (2008) vividly paints a picture of how Jesus as a visiting rabbi at the home of Mary and Martha presents these two women with an opportunity to break free from the normative 'unjust' systems of what culture expected of women. Day-Walker (2008:217) then contends, "Martha is, indeed, doing the culturally acceptable

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[116] As I have mentioned elsewhere, having women disciples (Mary surnamed Magdalene, Joanna the wife of Herod's steward Chuza, Susanna and several others who ministered to them out of their own resources—Luke 8:2-3; Mark 15:40-41; and Matthew 27:55-56 RST), travelling openly with a male rabbi in a Jewish context was a breach of custom (Owino 2010).

[117] **38**Now as they went on their way, he entered a village; and a woman named Martha received him into her house. **39** And she had a sister called Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching. **40** But Martha was distracted with much serving; and she went to him and said, "Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to serve alone? Tell her then to help me."**41** But the Lord answered her, "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things; **42** one thing is needful. Mary has chosen the good portion, which shall not be taken away from her" (RST).

thing—what is expected of her" by taking a woman's traditional place in the kitchen while her sister Mary sits "at the feet of a man." As things turn out, Jesus commends Mary by interrupting "Martha's unusual thinking, warning her in advance to pay attention by repeating her name: "Martha, Martha" (Day-Walker 2008:217). Day-Walker (2008:218) continues to assert, "Preparing food, of course, is women's work, freeing the men for the "real work" of intellectual conservation or studying Torah."

This story offers us a counter-model on how Jesus perceived women as able disciples of his teachings, a position which was rather secured for the masculine fit. As Pryce (1994:245) argues, we see how Jesus' dealings with women in his humility show that he rejected the prevailing masculinities of his day, "and thus he is a model for men now." By pulling Mary and Martha from the "safety" of the kitchen, Day-Walker (2008:218) observes that Jesus bends gender boundaries, subverts the gender hierarchy, undermines sexist norms and focuses the attention of Mary and Martha as active participants of revolution stating:

Jesus recognized Mary and Martha as his equals (in contradistinction to his Jewish culture at large!). To Jesus, women have equal moral agency with men; equal ability to teach and critique the received tradition; and equal share in shaping his kind of revolution – the kind that leads people to new cultural, political, and spiritual understandings and patterns of life (2008:218). One of such alternative understandings of equality is presented through Jesus' reconstruction model of relationship as 'disciples of equals' through ideologies of partnership as illustrated in the following section.

9.3.4   Masculinities of Partnership and Equity

In her work, *Discipleship of Equals* Fiorenza (1993:11) seeks a discipleship of equals which reflects the kingdom of God and highlights the meaning of this concept as "to demystify the cultural and theological constructs of femininity and masculinity that are dualistic, heterosexist, and essentialist as ideological obfuscations of multiplicative structures of patriarchal domination." As a critical deconstruction of patriarchal and kyriarchal power, discipleships of equals propose an understanding of a community where the kingdom of God is made present through an "alternative world of justice and well-being intended by

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the life-giving power of God as reality and vision in the midst of death-dealing powers of patriarchal oppression and dehumanization" (Fiorenza 1993:12). The meaning behind this concept of discipleship of equals must therefore not only focus on the notion of equality between men and women and constructs of masculinity and femininity but takes the 'disciplines of the disciples' (followers of Jesus' teachings and way of life) as their way of life. It is in this context of 'life' that Jesus counter-models an alternative community within understandings of the kingdom of God that is to be embraced by his disciples who are to all equal regardless of gender. Matthew presents Jesus' understanding of this alternative community as:

> **8** But you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brethren. **9** And call no man your father on earth, for you have one Father, who is in heaven. **10** Neither be called masters, for you have one master, the Christ. **11** He who is greatest among you shall be your servant; **12** whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted (RSV Matthew 23:8-12).

Jesus assertion is so radical in his Jewish context where masculinity meant masculine rule, control, power and domination. Disciples in this new kingdom community are all brothers and sisters. We notice from Jesus' critique of superiority, domination and subordination that there are no rabbis, fathers, masters or those considered to be at the top of the ladder (greatest). Because constructs of masculinity and femininity are influenced by language and symbols of power and domination, we see Jesus clearly deconstructs masculine ideologies of hierarchical gender and class ordering which usually causes men to be perceived as superior than women. As Rakoczy (2004) notes, the model of relationships in Jesus' new 'family' (a new community), made up of equal disciples is one that is a paradox because there are not 'fathers' but is to be characterised with those who will receive the *basileia* (the reign of God) like a child/slave (see Mark 10:15, Luke 8:19-21). We see Jesus challenging and deconstructing what was considered as masculine honour into the likeness of a worthless child. Jerome Neyrey (2003) has indicated that most of the remarks of Jesus "on the way" to Jerusalem serve to redefine "honor" for males in the kingdom of God. In this regard, Jesus presents a new social hierarchy based on values not gendered identities. As Neyrey (2003:64) observers, Matthew presents this new values as, "The greatest in the kingdom of heaven is not the ruler or leader but a child (18:1-6); the "great ones" and the "first' should be like Jesus, the servant and last of all (20:25-28); The last is first, first is last (19:30; 20:16); least is greatest, greatest is least

(18:1-4) and slave is first (20:27). In other words, disciples as equal are partners. With partnership, power is dissolved to the extent that it becomes difficult to distinguish who is great and who is least because the greatest among others will resemble the least among all. Rakoczy (2004:217) therefore contends, "They are to act without dominating power and it's accompany subordination. Children receive and give; they do not crush others with destructive power."

Because the kind of masculinities promoted in contemporary Christianity offers minimum space for women and other subordinate men to be equal partners, Jesus would therefore counter-model most MMC assertions of headship not as kings and masters but servants and least. Leadership would not be encompassed for the male as priest and prophet at the home but as the least with humility among 'priesthood of all believers.'[118] Since becoming a disciple means 'giving up' all that one possess, then men are to give up dominating and patriarchal power as control in order to embrace love as power that liberates and empowers the weak, the outcasts, and the downtrodden. These two concepts of discipleship of equal and partnership therefore deconstruct patriarchal dominance and hierarchical power relations and structures that perceive masculinity as superior and femininity as inferior. Transformation is realised as men and women adopt a partnership model of power relations which reinterprets religious beliefs and cultural practices through what Jesus advocated.

Chapter Summary

Using 'redemptive masculinities' as a conceptual framework, this chapter has explored ways in which Jesus the Christ informs ideals of alternative masculinities within Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity. My objective has been to examine how Jesus Christ, who is considered central to Protestant theology can be a resource for transforming masculinities. I have discussed faith discourses within the MMC showing how they appeal to notions of Jesus Christ as a role model for recreating Christian masculinities. While paying particular attention to various contestations, I have engaged views by Biblical, feminist, African theologians and gender scholars illustrating the existing quest for framing Christological discourses for redemptive masculinities. My

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[118] Galatians 3:27-28 elaborates what 'priesthood of all believers' mean where all, baptised in one Christ are considered to be equal followers of Christ. In this case, there are no distinctions between "male and female, Jew or Gentile, slave or free."

focal argument in the chapter is that Jesus Christ is not only a role model for alternative masculinities but should be considered as a counter-model against dominant and traditional patriarchal masculinities which are promoted by Buchan and considered as ideal by most Mighty Men within popular South African contemporary culture. In so arguing, I come to a conclusion that even though Jesus Christ appeals as a resource for transforming masculinities, the appeals are highly ambivalent between the humble and servant Christ to the powerful and "non-effeminate" man.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.0   Introduction

As I conclude this study, I evoke Sara Davis's and Mary Gergen's observation that:

> One can ask questions about the world, but one cannot claim to have
> discovered the truth. The best one can expect is that a new interpretation,
> a different perspective, or an interesting slant can be created" (1997:7).

This statement holds true as I think of the best way to draw this study to a conclusion—that this may not be the overall 'truth' about Angus Buchan and the MMC but it does provide an alternate interpretation and a different perspective on the MMC phenomenon. Therefore, as a conclusion to this study, this chapter pulls together some significant findings that emerged from the study. First, I briefly revisit the aims of the study by summarising some of its key findings. Second, I discuss some major implications of these findings. Third, I identify some gaps in the study by noting its limitations. Fourth, I state the strengths of the study as I highlight its contribution to new knowledge. I then conclude by briefly outlining suggestions for further research.

10.1   An Empirical Study on the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC)

This empirical study attempted to inquire on constructions of masculinities within the MMC. The purpose of the study was to explore how faith discourses within the MMC shape perceptions, representations and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant (mainly, Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity) in post-apartheid South Africa. The intention of the study therefore was to assess the extent to which these constructions of masculinity either reinforce patriarchy and oppression or hold the possibility for change which can lead to gender social transformation.

The critical question that the study sought to address was:

How do faith discourses within the MMC shape perceptions and constructions of masculinities within contemporary Protestant Christianity in post-apartheid South Africa, and to what extent do these constructions of masculinities either re-inscribe patriarchal oppression or contribute towards gender-social transformation?

To address my objectives of this study, the study identified faith discourses which existed within the MMC with an intention to demonstrate how these faith discourses informed perceptions and constructions of masculinities. In analysing the eminent notions, the findings of this study show how faith discourses at the MMC are geared towards constructing 'godly manhood' as an ideal form of masculinity. This further illustrated how perceptions of being 'Mighty Men' informed constructions of 'godly manhood' as portrayed in faith discourses. With their main concern being responsible manhood, the MMC seeks to call men to take back their rightful places and positions in the household and in society as a process intended to recreate Christian masculinities.

Careful attention was paid to the complex links between religion and other socio-cultural, economic and political factors which have informed perceptions and constructions of masculinity evident within the MMC. Methodologically, the study adopted a qualitative multimethods design as an appropriate research method for this study by utilising a mixed method approach.

The study applied intersectionality as a conceptual lens through which the study was undertaken. Chapter two of this study provided the contours of intersectionality as a conceptual framework for masculinity studies. The study has therefore established that constructions of masculine identities are best understood within a web of interwoven factors in a given context. In other words, this study concurred with the emphasis that social identities are not independent categories, hence, exploring constructions of masculinities necessitated the need to examine how multiple social forces of race, class, gender, religion, age, sexuality, politics, economics and culture intertwine to shape experiences of being a 'man' in post-apartheid South Africa. Chapter two of this thesis therefore described how multiple masculine identities are constructed as variables intersect and shape perceptions of who a 'man' should be, especially for such a study that

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sought to interrogate men and masculinity within the scope of Christian theology.

What became evident from the findings of this study is that although faith discourses were geared to recreate 'godly manhood' these discourses portrayed awareness of a wider socio-cultural, economic and political context. For this reason, Chapter three of this study reviewed the South(ern) African context in which the study is located. It was apparent from my findings of this study that post-apartheid South Africa is informed by histories of Christianity and colonialism which shaped masculinities in a particular way. It is within the past histories of the South African context that the MMC seem to have called men to return to 'godly manhood.' Portraying expressions of Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity, Chapter four established the MMC within Evangelicalism as a South African form of Christianity. I strongly argued that religious spaces are sub-cultural spaces in and through which representations of masculinities are constructed and maintained through power dynamics. It was therefore evident that the MMC is a 'sub-cultural system' and space in which religious moral values and institutionalised gender ideologies exist.

10.2   Major Implications of Study Findings

The perceived 'crises' in masculinity, the post-apartheid South African context and the need for 'godly manhood' were established in this thesis as the three key contributing factors to the creation of the MMC. Chapter six further entrenched the idea that the main reason why the MMC made a call for a "return to godly manhood" was because of the perception that masculinity is in 'crisis.' Faith discourses within the MMC established four main areas in which masculinity 'crisis' was perceived to exist. The major finding of the study in this case was that the MMC has responded in a reactionary (defensive) manner. This is seen as a back-lash to feminism and advances made by women towards gender equality and socio-economic shifts in post-apartheid South Africa. However, I argued that the identified 'crises' are more perceived than real. The implication therefore necessitates a question: to what extent will perceptions ever be real? Theoretically, perceptions of 'crisis' in masculinity might not be real, but in a practical sense 'crises' may not just be perceptions of 'crises' but are real issues that men are struggling with, hence crises in their masculine self-understanding.

In Chapter seven, the study drew significantly from faith discourses on post-apartheid South Africa. The major argument in this chapter was that the MMC portray expressions of conflicting faith discourses within the post-apartheid socio-political and economic South African context in which a call for a "return to godly manhood" has been made. This, as I argued, resulted in conflicting and contradictory perceptions of the notions of 'Mighty Men' and "godly manhood." The main finding in this case was that faith discourses within the MMC religiously seek to shape, re-establish and reinforce contradictory, authoritarian and patriarchal constructions of masculinities within a post-apartheid South Africa as responses to changes in gender roles within intersections of socio-political and economic shifts. The study findings show that it was difficult to distinguish between notions of Christian forgiveness and racial reconciliation. The implications in this case therefore is that the rise of new challenges and constitutional amendments in post-apartheid South Africa have unsettled men's traditional dominant roles and destabilised conventional patriarchal mind-sets although patriarchy still remains strongly rooted in most Charismatic Evangelical settings. Hence, Buchan's faith discourse and the MMC's call for men to remain 'mighty' by embracing conservative and traditional ways of being men establishing conflicting tensions on perceptions of 'godly manhood' which are not socially transformative.

Chapter eight established another significant finding of this study. Faith discourses portrayed how notions of divine order and God's design informed perceptions of masculinity in seeking to construct ideals of 'godly manhood.' Because "God's order" starts with the male, gender roles of provider, protector and spiritual leadership were attributed to men as ideals for 'Mighty Men.' As established in this study, faith discourses portrayed in notions of divine order and God's "design" for men and women reinstated a theology of male superiority and inferiority of women. This study also established that although men need to be responsible, the idea of men taking 'responsibility' contained dangers of slipping back to "soft patriarchy" where Christian men are seen to be "innocent enough" while end up becoming "benevolent dictators" (Chitando 2007; Nadar 2009; Van Klinken 2013).

10.3 Contribution to New Knowledge and Areas for Further Research

Overall, the study sought to make a significant contribution to the growing body of scholarship in the field of religion and masculinity, seeking to add knowledge within Evangelical scholarship. It has been significant to see how faith discourses within the MMC as a form of Protestant Christianity religiously seek to construct ideals of masculinity within Charismatic, Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity. A significant finding of the study is that there are multiple voices of masculinities evident among the MMC, which are not fixed but are varied and dynamically change within intersections of many factors. The MMC as a religious space therefore informs divergent discourses of masculinity depicting godly manhood in otherwise conflicting models of masculinities (Owino 2012). Hence, patterns of "godly manhood" have embraced traditional and conventional models of what it means to be 'Mighty Men' for God, and men are encouraged to ascribe to patriarchal forms of masculinities.

A significant contribution to knowledge has also been made in the area of how religion can be useful towards transforming masculinities. Alongside other studies, this current study has suggested ways in which Jesus Christ can be used not as a model of masculinity but a counter-model where alternative and transformative discourses are made available towards a theology of 'redemptive masculinities.'

As argued in the study, the concept of godly manhood constructed within the intersections of cultural ideals and religious beliefs which encouraged men to get in touch with their inner selves inevitably betrays the presence of conflicting masculinities and remains a subject of further research. Two areas for further research became apparent during the process of this study. First, the concept of 'fatherhood' within the MMC requires further research. The link between sexuality, fertility and male power and status compels further research. Second, the implications of same-sex sexualities on perceptions of 'godly manhood' is also a subject left for further research.

The quest to recreate traditional, patriarchal and stoical archetypal masculinities promoted within the MMC, establishes this religious space as unsafe for Christian men who seek transformative forms of masculinity. Conversely, the MMC can also be a space where men are challenged to remove 'masculine masks' and become real human beings

(Owino 2012) who respond transformatively in a changing post-apartheid South African context.

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APPENDIX 1

INFORMED CONSENT/FORM

Introduction

I am Kennedy Owino, currently a registered doctoral student at the School of Religion Philosophy and Classics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). My field of research study focuses on issues of religion targeting gender and theology from a multi-inter disciplinary perspective. I appreciate your interest and willingness to participate in the study.

The Study and its Purpose

As a higher learning institution, UKZN requires me to conduct a study and write a thesis on my findings as an academic process of completing the mentioned degree. The proposed topic of my study is: ***Return to "Godly Manhood": Emerging Evangelical Constructions of Masculinities in the South African Context as Demonstrated through the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC).***

The aim of this study is to analyse aspects (patterns) of Evangelical Christianity, theology and traditions that contribute to, and influence perceptions and constructions of emerging forms of masculinities in the process of wanting to "restore godly manhood" among Charismatic, Evangelical men in the South African Context. The study seeks to involve especially those men who have attended the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC). The study also intends to apply models of alternative manhood drawn from Jesus Christ towards transforming contemporary masculinities

Allow me to outline some important aspects in relation to your involvement before you can give consent of your participation in this study.

1. Informed Consent Signed

You will be required to sign this informed consent form before you can get involved in the interview sessions. This is to indicate your consent on the basis that the details of the

study has been explained to you and you agree to participate.

2. Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, based on your free will. You can stop this interview at any point should you not want to continue. However, your participation to the end of this study will be fully appreciated for its good success.

3. Privacy and Confidentiality

Because the study involves providing information about yourself, I wish to assure you that this will remain confidential to me as the researcher. This consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire and the information will remain confidential. In all the subsequent dissemination of my study findings in the form of finished thesis, oral participations, Publications, etc, you will remain anonymous and your personal identity and opinions will remain private and will not be referred to overtly. It is to ensure that your right is protected and your agreement to participate is not violated.

4. Risk Factor

You are assured that any decision as a result of this study will not in any way affect your you (or your ministry negatively). I assure you that the data and information obtained from you (or your ministry) remains confidential and the same will securely be disposed off after the thesis has gone through the examination process with the faculty office at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

5. Potential Benefits

I do not promise you (or your church) any monetary benefits or financial gifts for taking part in this study. However, the study is purposed to contribute academic and theological knowledge. Since the study seeks to contribute towards change and transformation among men, I will present my study findings to the churches (and ministries) involved. In this way, its findings will be available to those who practically intend to apply its proposed suggestions among Charismatic, Evangelical Christians on issues in relation to Christian men and masculinity.

For any inquiry you may contact:

Research Student

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Email:nadars@ukzn.ac.za

6. Agreement to participate

I hereby confirm that the details of this study have been explained and that I fully understand what is expected of my participation. I there agree to participate in this study.

_____   _____

Name of the participant   Signature of participant

Date

APPENDIX 2

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS QUESTIONNAIRES FOR PASTORS

Personal Details

Name …………………………………………………... Date ……………………
Age …………………………………………….
Strand of Evangelical (Conservative, Charismatic or Pentecostal ………………………

Interview Questions

1   Questions on Masculinity and becoming a "Real man"

1.1   From your understanding, what does it mean to be a "man" or a "mighty Men"?

1.2   Are there areas that you think men are not "men" and "Mighty Men" enough?

1.3   You must have heard about the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC). What is your general perception of regarding this men's gathering?

1.4   In what ways do you see the men's group at your church contributing to men becoming better and mighty?

    (a) At home?

    (b) In your work place?

    (c) At your community?

2   Questions on Masculinity and Power

2.1   Are there situations you think men at times feel as "not man enough?"
    (a) If yes explain each of these cases.

2.2   What is your teaching on the relationship between men and women?

2.3   In what ways do you think your teaching at church on the relationship of men and women either same or different from the teaching of Angus Buchan at the Mighty Men's Conference?

2.4   What is your position on power relations between husband and wife?

2.5   Has there been moments when you felt your role as a man is threatened in:
    (a) Your family,

(b) At your work place or

(c) In your community?

2.6   What does it mean for a man to be a priest, a prophet and a king in his home?

2.7   When you feel your wife and children are undermining your role as the head of the family, what do you do?

(a) In such cases (if any), what did you do to restore your position as the head, priest and the king of your family as taught by your church?

2.8   What do you dread most as a pastor in the current and future South Africa?

2.9   Are there ways in which the new South Africa has made men powerful or powerless?

3   Questions on Jesus Christ and "godly man"

3.1   What is your understanding of being a "godly man" and "Christian man?"

3.2   In what ways should the church shape men's understanding of what it means for to be a "Christian godly man?"

3.3   Which biblical story stands out for you as a good example of how Jesus was a "godly man" in his earthly life?

3.4   From your teaching as a pastor, how would you describe:

(a) The way Jesus Christ understood what it means to be a man?

(b) How Jesus Christ handled power?

3.5   What do you think men should lean from the example of Jesus Christ how he handle power.

3.6   As a man, how do you feel about yourself when you realise that Jesus was a man like you?

3.7   Are there good examples that you can learn as a man from the earthly life of Jesus?

Thank you for participating in this research study. I trust that its findings will add value to the lives of Christian men.

APPENDIX 3

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS QUESTIONNAIRES FOR 'MIGHTY MEN'

Personal Details

Name …………………………………………………... Date ……………………

Age …………………………………………….

Strand of Evangelical (Conservative, Charismatic or Pentecostal ………………………

Interview Questions

1   Questions on Masculinity and the Mighty Men Conferences

1.1   What does it mean to be a "mighty man?"

1.2   Are there areas that you think you (or men) are no "mighty" enough?

1.3   In what ways has your culture contributed in shaping you into a "man" or a "real man"?

1.4   What has been your general experience of the Mighty Men's Conferences?

1.5   Would you say the Mighty Men's Conference has made you into a better man?

1.6   If yes, in what way has the Mighty Men Conference contributed in making you into a better man at:

   (a) At home?

   (b) In your work place?

   (c) At your community?

1.7   Are there men whom you know attended the Mighty Men's conferences and are still not "mighty men" for God? If yes, what could be real issue at stake?

2   Questions on Masculinity and Power

2.1   Are there situations that you have felt not "man enough" at home, at your work place or in your community?

(a) If yes explain each these cases.

2.2   What does your church teach on the relationship between wife and husband?

2.3   In what way is the teaching of your church on the relationship of men and women same or different from the teaching of Angus Buchan at the Mighty Men's Conference?

2.4   What is the position of your churches' teaching on the use on power relations between man and woman?

2.5   In what ways has the Mighty Men's Conference enabled you to understand your role as a man in the context of your family, at your work place and in the community?

2.6   Has there been moments when you felt that your role as a man is threatened in:

(a) Your family,

(b) At your work place or

(c) In your community?

2.7   What does it mean to you to be a priest, prophet and king in your family?

2.8   When you feel your wife and children are undermining your role as the head of the family, what do you do?

(a) In such cases (if any), what did you do to restore your position as the head, priest and the king of your family as taught by Angus Buchan and your church?

2.9   What do you dread most in your life as a man in the current and future South Africa?

2.10   Are there ways in which the new South Africa made you powerful or powerless as a man?

3   Questions on Jesus Christ and "godly man"

3.1   What is your understanding of being a "godly man" and "Christian man?"

3.2   How has your church and the Mighty Men's Conference shaped your understanding of what it means for you to be a "Christian godly man?"

3.3   Which biblical story stands out for you as a good example of how Jesus was a "godly man" in his earthly life?

3.4   From the teaching of your church and of the Mighty Men's Conference, how would you describe:

(a) The way Jesus Christ understood what it means to be a man?

(b) How Jesus Christ as a man handled power?

3.8   As a man, what have you learnt from the example of Jesus Christ how he handle power.

3.5   How do you feel about yourself as a man when you realise that Jesus was a man like you?

3.6   Are there good examples that you can learn as a man from the earthly life of Jesus?

Thank you for taking part in this research. I trust that its findings will add value to the lives of men.

APPENDIX 4

ORAL INTERVIEWS WITH 'MIGHTY MEN'

Number	Code	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
Mighty Man 1	MM1	10 January 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 2	MM2	17 January 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 3	MM3	24 January 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 4	MM4	31 January 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 5	MM5	7 February 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 6	MM6	14 February 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 7	MM7	21 February 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 8	MM8	10 April 2011	Cape Town
Mighty Man 9	MM9	17 April 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 10	MM10	24 April 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 11	MM11	10 July 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 12	MM12	17 July 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 13	MM13	24 July 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 14	MM14	6 August 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 15	MM15	13 August 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 16	MM16	27 August 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 17	MM17	20 November 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 18	MM18	28 November 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 19	MM19	10 December 2011	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 20	MM20	22 January 2012	Pietermaritzburg

Number	Code	Date of Interview	Place of Interview
Mighty Man 21	MM21	28 January 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 22	MM22	10 March 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 23	MM523	24 March 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 24	MM24	21 April 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 25	MM25	30 April 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 26	MM26	19 May 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 27	MM27	9 June 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 28	MM28	16 June 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 29	MM29	23 June 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 30	MM30	30 June 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 31	MM31	7 July 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 32	MM32	14 July 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 33	MM33	21 July 2012	Pietermaritzburg
Mighty Man 34	MM34	28 July 2012	Pietermaritzburg

APPENDIX 5

UKZN ETHIC'S COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

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Ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

27 May 2011

Mr. K Owino (208516810)
School of Religion and Theology

Dear Mr. Owino

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0264/011D
PROJECT TITLE: Return to "Godly Manhood": Emerging Evangelical Constructions of Masculinities in the South African Context as Demonstrated through the Mighty Men's Conference (MMC).
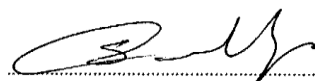
EXPEDITED APPROVAL

I wish to inform you that your application has been granted Full Approval through an expedited review process:

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.**

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor – Prof. Isabel A. Phiri
cc. Prof. Sarojini Nadar
cc. Mrs. B Jacobsen

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